

# GESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR

AS EDITED AND ENLARGED

BY THE LATE

E. KAUTZSCH



SECOND ENGLISH EDITION

Revised in accordance with the twenty-eighth

German edition (1909)

by

A. E. COWLEY



With a facsimile of the Siloam inscription by J. EUTING  
and a Table of Alphabets by M. LIDZBARSKI

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E. KAUTZSCH

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

SECOND ENGLISH EDITION

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE translation of the twenty-sixth German edition of this grammar, originally prepared by the Rev. G. W. Collins and revised by me, was published in 1898. Since that date a twenty-seventh German edition has appeared; and Prof. Kautzsch was already engaged on a twenty-eighth in 1908 when the English translation was becoming exhausted. He sent me the sheets as they were printed off, and I began revising the former translation in order to produce it as soon as possible after the completion of the German. The whole of the English has been carefully compared with the new edition, and, it is hoped, improved in many points, while Prof. Kautzsch's own corrections and additions have of course been incorporated. As before, the plan and arrangement of the original have been strictly followed, so that the references for sections and paragraphs correspond exactly in German and English. Dr. Driver has again most generously given up time, in the midst of other engagements, to reading the sheets, and has made numerous suggestions. To him also are chiefly due the enlargement of the index of subjects, some expansions in the new index of Hebrew words, and some additions to the index of passages, whereby we hope to have made the book more serviceable to students. I have also to thank my young friend, Mr. Godfrey R. Driver, of Winchester College, for some welcome help in correcting proofs of the Hebrew index and the index of passages. בן חכם ישמח אב. Many corrections have been sent to me by scholars who have used the former English edition, especially the Rev. W. E. Blomfield, the Rev. S. Holmes, Mr. P. Wilson, Prof. Witton Davies, Mr. G. H. Skipwith, and an unknown correspondent

at West Croydon. These, as well as suggestions in reviews, have all been considered, and where possible, utilized. I am also much indebted to the Press-readers for the great care which they have bestowed on the work.

Finally, I must pay an affectionate tribute to the memory of Prof. Kautzsch, who died in the spring of this year, shortly after finishing the last sheets of the twenty-eighth edition. For more than thirty years he was indefatigable in improving the successive editions of the Grammar. The German translation of the Old Testament first published by him in 1894, with the co-operation of other scholars, under the title *Die Heilige Schrift des ATs*, and now (1910) in the third and much enlarged edition, is a valuable work which has been widely appreciated: the *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des ATs*, edited by him in 1900, is another important work: besides which he published his *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* in 1884, two useful brochures *Bibelwissenschaft und Religionsunterricht* in 1900, and *Die bleibende Bedeutung des ATs* in 1903, six popular lectures on *Die Poesie und die poetischen Bücher des ATs* in 1902, his article 'Religion of Israel' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. (1904), pp. 612-734, not to mention minor publications. His death is a serious loss to Biblical scholarship, while to me and to many others it is the loss of a most kindly friend, remarkable alike for his simple piety and his enthusiasm for learning.

A. C.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,

Sept. 1910.

## FROM THE GERMAN PREFACE

THE present (twenty-eighth) edition of this Grammar,<sup>1</sup> like the former ones, takes account as far as possible of all important new publications on the subject, especially J. Barth's *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Semitischen*, pt. i, Lpz. 1907; the important works of C. Brockelmann (for the titles see the heading of § 1; vol. i of the *Grundriss* was finished in 1908); P. Kahle's *Der masoretische Text des A Ts nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden*, Lpz. 1902 (giving on p. 51 ff. an outline of Hebrew accidence from a Babylonian MS. at Berlin); R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, Lpz. 1905 f., 2 vols. (discriminating between certain, probable, and proposed emendations; see § 3 g, end); Th. Nöldeke's *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg, 1904; Ed. Sievers' *Metrische Studien* (for the titles of these striking works see § 2 r). The important work of J. W. Rothstein, *Grundzüge des hebr. Rhythmus*, &c. (see also § 2 r), unfortunately appeared too late to be used. The two large commentaries edited by Nowack and Marti have been recently completed; and in P. Haupt's Polychrome Bible (*SBOT.*), part ix (Kings) by Stade and Schwally was published in 1904.

For full reviews of the twenty-seventh edition, which of course have been considered as carefully as possible, I have to thank Max Margolis (in *Hebraica*, 1902, p. 159 ff.), Mayer

<sup>1</sup> The first edition appeared at Halle in 1813 (202 pp. small 8vo); twelve more editions were published by W. Gesenius himself, the fourteenth to the twenty first (1845-1872) by E. Rödiger, the twenty-second to the twenty-eighth (1878-1910) by E. Kautzsch. The first abridged edition appeared in 1896, the second at the same time as the present (twenty-eighth) large edition. The first edition of the 'Übungsbuch' (Exercises) to Gesenius-Kautzsch's Hebrew Grammar appeared in 1881, the sixth in 1908.

Lambert (*REJ.* 1902, p. 307 ff.), and H. Oort (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1902, p. 373 ff.). For particular remarks and corrections I must thank Prof. J. Barth (Berlin), Dr. Gasser, pastor in Buchberg, Schaffhausen, B. Kirschner, of Charlottenburg, (contributions to the index of passages), Pastor Köhler, of Augst, Dr. Liebmann, of Kuczkow, Posen, Prof. Th. Nöldeke, of Strassburg, Pastor S. Preiswerk junior, of Bâle, Dr. Schwarz, of Leipzig, and Prof. B. Stade, of Giessen (died in 1906). Special mention must be made of the abundant help received from three old friends of this book, Prof. P. Haupt, of Baltimore, Prof. Knudtzon, of Kristiania, and Prof. H. Strack, of Berlin, and also, in connexion with the present edition, Prof. H. Hyvernat, of the University of Washington, who has rendered great service especially in the correction and enlargement of the indexes. I take this opportunity of thanking them all again sincerely. And I am no less grateful also to my dear colleague Prof. C. Steuernagel for the unwearying care with which he has helped me from beginning to end in correcting the proof-sheets.

Among material changes introduced into this edition may be mentioned the abolition of the term *šwā medium* (§ 10 d). In this I have adopted, not without hesitation, the views of Sievers. I find it, however, quite impossible to follow him in rejecting all distinctions of quantity in the vowels. It is no doubt possible that such matters may in the *spoken* language have worn a very different appearance, and especially that in the period of nearly a thousand years, over which the Old Testament writings extend, very great variations may have taken place. Our duty, however, is to represent the language in the form in which it has been handed down to us by the Masoretes; and that this form involves a distinction between unchangeable, tone-long, and short vowels, admits in my opinion of no doubt. The discussion of any earlier stage of development belongs not to Hebrew grammar but to comparative Semitic philology.

The same answer may be made to Beer's desire (*ThLZ.* 1904,

col. 314 f.) for an 'historical Hebrew grammar describing the actual growth of the language on a basis of comparative philology, as it may still be traced within the narrow limits of the Old Testament'. Such material as is available for the purpose ought indeed to be honestly set forth in the new editions of Gesenius; but Beer seems to me to appraise such material much too highly when he refers to it as necessitating an 'historical grammar'. In my opinion these historical differences have for the most part been obliterated by the harmonizing activity of the Masoretes.

. . . . .

E. KAUTZSCH.

HALLE,  
*July, 1909.*

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 42, line 13 from below, *for* note 1 *read* note 3.

Page 63, § 15 *p.* [See also Wickes, *Prose Accentuation*, 130 f., 87 n. (who, however, regards the superlinear, Babylonian system as the earlier); and Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, 76, 78. In Ginsburg's *Hebrew Bible*, ed. 2 (1908), pp. 108 f., 267 f., the two systems of division are printed *in extenso*, in parallel columns—the 10 verses of the superlinear (Babylonian) system consisting (in Exodus) of v. <sup>2.3-6.7.8-11.12.13.14.15.16.17</sup> (as numbered in ordinary texts), and the 12 verses of the sublinear (Palestinian) system, consisting of v. <sup>2-3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13-16.17</sup>.—S. R. D.]

Page 65, note 1, *for* נָאֵן read נָאֵן (as § 105 a).

[Editions often vary in individual passages, as regards the accentuation of the first syllable: but in the 7 occurrences of נָאֵן, and the 6 of נָאֵן, Baer, Ginsburg, and Kittel agree in having an accent on both syllables (as נָאֵן) in Gn 50<sup>17</sup>, Ex 32<sup>31</sup>, ψ 116<sup>16</sup>, and Metheg on the first syllable and an accent on the second syllable (as נָאֵן) in 2 K 20<sup>3</sup>=Is 38<sup>3</sup>, Jon 1<sup>14</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, ψ 116<sup>4</sup>, 118<sup>25.26</sup>, Dn 9<sup>4</sup>, Ne 1<sup>5.11</sup>, except that in ψ 116<sup>4</sup> Ginsburg has נָאֵן.—S. R. D.]

Page 79, § 22 *s.* *before* הִרְדִּיָּהוּ *insert* exceptions to *b* are. *After* Jer 39<sup>12</sup> *add* ψ 52<sup>5</sup>; *and for* Ez 9<sup>6</sup> *read* Ezr 9<sup>6</sup>.

[So Baer (cf. his note on Jud 20<sup>43</sup>; also on Jer 39<sup>12</sup>, and several of the other passages in question): but Ginsburg only in 10 of the exceptions to *b*, and Jacob ben Hayyim and Kittel only in 5, viz. Jer 39<sup>12</sup>, Pr 11<sup>21</sup>, 15<sup>1</sup>, ψ 52<sup>5</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>6</sup>.—S. R. D.]

Page 111, line 12, *for* הִרְדִּיָּהוּ *read* הִרְדִּיָּהוּ.

Page 123, § 45 *e.* *add:* cf. also לְהַפְּכָה followed by נָא, Is 13<sup>19</sup>, Am 4<sup>11</sup> (§ 115 *d*).

Page 175, § 67. See B. Halper, 'The Participial formations of the Geminate Verbs' in *ZAW.* 1910, pp. 42 ff., 99 ff., 201 ff. (also dealing with the regular verb).

Page 177, at the end of § 67 *g* the following paragraph has been accidentally omitted:

Rem. According to the prevailing view, this strengthening of the first radical is merely intended to give the bi-literal stem at least

a tri-literal appearance. (Possibly aided by the analogy of verbs פ"ם, as P. Haupt has suggested to me in conversation.) But cf. Kautzsch, 'Die sog. aramaisierenden Formen der Verba y"ע im Hebr.' in *Oriental. Studien zum 70. Geburtstag Th. Nöldekes*, 1906, p. 771 ff. It is there shown (1) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often serves to emphasize a particular meaning (cf. יָגַר, but יִגְרֹהוּ, יִגְרֹל and יִגְרֹל, יָפַב and יָפַב, יָסַב and יָסַב, יָשַׁם and יָשַׁם), and elsewhere no doubt to dissimilate the vowels (as יָגַר, יָדַל, never יָגַר, יָדַל, &c.): (2) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often appears to be occasioned by the nature of the first letter of the stem, especially when it is a sibilant. Whether the masoretic pronunciation is based on an early tradition, or the Masora has arbitrarily adopted aramaizing forms to attain the above objects, must be left undecided.

Page 193, the second and third paragraphs should have the marginal letters *d* and *e* respectively.

Page 200, § 72 z, line 2, after Est 2<sup>18</sup> add 4<sup>14</sup>.

Page 232, § 84<sup>a</sup> s, add שְׁמָה 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>.

Page 236, § 85 c, add הַנוֹקָה Ezr 4<sup>22</sup>.

Page 273, § 93 qq end, add מוֹסֵרוֹת Jer 5<sup>5</sup>, רַבָּעִים, שְׁלִשִּׁים Ez 20<sup>5</sup>, שְׁמֹות Is 49<sup>8</sup>, שְׁמָמִים La 1<sup>16</sup> (cf. König, ii. 109).

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have occasionally been used for works and periodicals frequently quoted:—

- AJSL.* = American Journal of Semitic Languages.  
*CIS.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.  
*Ed.Mant.* = Biblia Hebraica ex recensione Sal. Norzi edidit Raphael Hayyim Basila, Mantuae 1742-4.  
*Jabl.* = Biblia Hebraica ex recensione D. E. Jablonski, Berolini, 1699.  
*JQR.* = Jewish Quarterly Review.  
*KAT.*<sup>3</sup> = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 3rd ed. by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, 2 vols., Berlin, 1902 f.  
*Lexicon* = A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, based on the Thesaurus and Lexicon of Gesenius, by F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, 1906.  
*NB.* = J. Barth, Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen. Lpz. 1889-94.  
*NGGW.* = Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
*OLZ.* = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Vienna, 1898 ff.  
*PRE.* = Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 3rd ed. by A. Hauck. Lpz. 1896 ff.  
*PSBA* = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology. London, 1879 ff.  
*REJ.* = Revue des Études Juives. Paris, 1880 ff.  
*Sam.* = The (Hebrew) Pentateuch of the Samaritans.  
*SBOT.* = Sacred Books of the Old Testament, ed. by P. Haupt. Lpz. and Baltimore, 1893 ff.  
*ThLZ.* = Theologische Literaturzeitung, ed. by E. Schürer. Lpz. 1876 ff.  
*VB.* = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, ed. by A. Jeremias and H. Winckler. Lpz. 1907 ff.  
*ZA.* = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete, ed. by C. Bezold. Lpz. 1886 ff.  
*ZAW.* = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, ed. by B. Stade, Giessen, 1881 ff., and since 1907 by K. Marti.  
*ZDMG.* = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Lpz. 1846 ff., since 1903 ed. by A. Fischer.  
*ZDPV.* = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins, Lpz. 1878 ff., since 1903 ed. by C. Steuernagel.

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## CHAPTER II. THE SENTENCE

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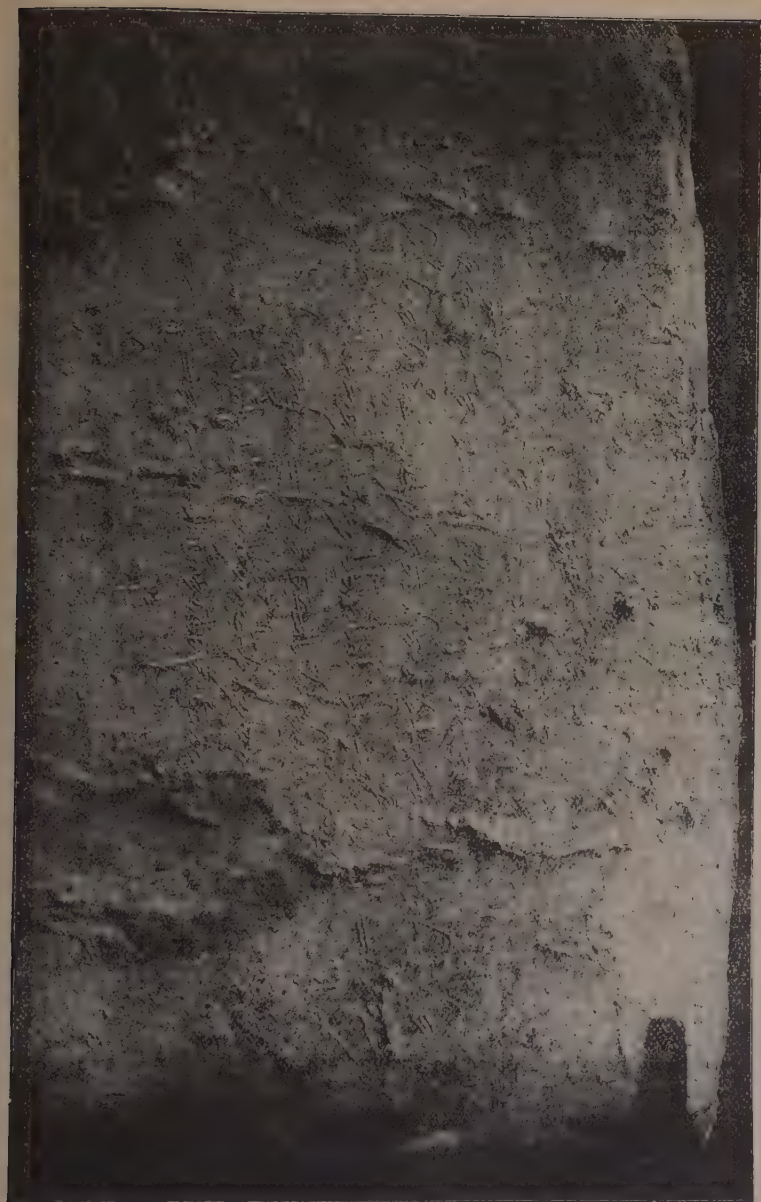
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THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION. From Müller-Benzinger, *Landeschafsbildertitel* (H. Grund : Berlin).



# HEBREW GRAMMAR

## INTRODUCTION

### § 1. *The Semitic Languages in General.*

B. Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gramm.*, Lpz. 1879, § 2 ff.; E. König, *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, i. Lpz. 1881, § 3; H. Strack, *Einkl. in das A. T.*, 6th ed., Munich, 1906, p. 231 ff. (a good bibliography of all the Semitic dialects); Th. Nöldeke, article 'Semitic Languages', in the 9th ed. of the *Encycl. Brit.* (*Die semit. Sprachen*, 2nd ed., Lpz. 1899), and *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb., 1904; W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Camb. 1890; H. Reckendorf, 'Zur Charakteristik der sem. Sprachen,' in the *Actes du X<sup>me</sup> Congrès internat. des Orientalistes* (at Geneva in 1894), iii. 1 ff., Leiden, 1896; O. E. Lindberg, *Vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, i A: Konsonantismus, Gothenburg, 1897; H. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, Berlin, 1898; E. König, *Hebräisch und Semitisch: Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Gesch. der sem. Sprachen, &c.*, Berlin, 1901; C. Brockelmann, *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, Lpz. 1906, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, vol. i (Laut- und Formenlehre), parts 1-5, Berlin, 1907 f. and his *Kurzgef. vergleichende Gramm.* (Porta Ling. Or.) Berlin, 1908.—The material contained in inscriptions has been in process of collection since 1881 in the Paris *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. To this the best introductions are M. Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, in 2 parts (text and plates), and his *Ephemeris zur sem. Epigraphik* (5 parts published), Giessen, 1900 f. [G. A. Cooke, *Handbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903].

1. The Hebrew language is one branch of a great family of languages in Western Asia which was indigenous in Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, and Arabia, that is to say, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean to the other side of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. In early times, however, it spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and by means of Phoenician colonies over many islands and sea-boards of the Mediterranean, as for instance to the Carthaginian coast. No comprehensive designation is found in early times for the languages and nations of this family; the name *Semites* or *Semitic*<sup>1</sup> *languages* (based upon the fact that according to Gn 10<sup>21</sup> ff. almost all nations speaking these languages are descended from Shem) is, however, now generally accepted, and has accordingly been retained here.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> First used by Schlözer in Eichhorn's *Repertorium für bibl. u. morgenl. Literatur*, 1781, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> From Shem are derived (Gn 10<sup>21</sup> ff.) the Aramaean and Arab families as well as the Hebrews, but not the Canaanites (Phoenicians), who are traced back to Ham (vv. 6-15 ff.), although their language belongs decidedly to what is now called Semitic. The language of the Babylonians and Assyrians also was long ago shown to be Semitic, just as Aššur (Gn 10<sup>22</sup>) is included among the sons of Shem.

b 2. The better known Semitic languages may be subdivided<sup>1</sup> as follows:—

I. The South Semitic or Arabic branch. To this belong, besides the classical literary language of the Arabs and the modern vulgar Arabic, the older southern Arabic preserved in the Sabaeen inscriptions (less correctly called Himyaritic), and its offshoot, the Ge'ez or Ethiopic, in Abyssinia.

II. The Middle Semitic or Canaanitish branch. To this belongs the Hebrew of the Old Testament with its descendants, the New Hebrew, as found especially in the Mishna (see below, § 3 a), and Rabbinic; also Phoenician, with Punic (in Carthage and its colonies), and the various remains of Canaanitish dialects preserved in names of places and persons, and in the inscription of Mēša', king of Moab.

c III. The North Semitic or Aramaic branch. The subdivisions of this are—(1) The Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, the literary language of the Christian Syrians. The religious books of the Mandaeans (Nasoraean, Sabians, also called the disciples of St. John) represent a very debased offshoot of this. A Jewish modification of Syriac is to be seen in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. (2) The Western or Palestinian Aramaic, incorrectly called also 'Chaldee'.<sup>2</sup> This latter dialect is represented in the Old Testament by two words in Gn 31<sup>47</sup>, by the verse Jer 10<sup>11</sup>, and the sections Dn 2<sup>4</sup> to 7<sup>28</sup>; Ezr 4<sup>8</sup> to 6<sup>18</sup>, and 7<sup>12-26</sup>, as well as by a number of non-Jewish inscriptions and Jewish papyri (see below, under *m*), but especially by a considerable section of Jewish literature (Targums, Palestinian Gemara, &c.). To the same branch belongs also the Samaritan, with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and, except for the rather Arabic colouring of the proper names, the idiom of the Nabataean inscriptions in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the East of Palestine, &c.

For further particulars about the remains of Western Aramaic (including those in the New Test., in the Palmyrene and Egyptian Aramaic inscriptions) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Lpz. 1884, p. 6 ff.

d IV. The East Semitic branch, the language of the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, the third line of the Achaemenian inscriptions.

On the importance of Assyrian for Hebrew philology especially from a lexicographical point of view cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen*

<sup>1</sup> For conjectures as to the gradual divergence of the dialects (first the Babylonian, then Canaanite, including Hebrew, lastly Aramaic and Arabic) from primitive Semitic, see Zimmer, *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, ii. p. 644 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In a wider sense *all* Jewish Aramaic is sometimes called 'Chaldee'.

hebr.-aram. *Wörterbuchs zum A. T.*, Lpz. 1886; P. Haupt, 'Assyrian Phonology, &c.', in *Hebraica*, Chicago, Jan. 1885, vol. i. 3; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1906.

If the above division into four branches be reduced to two principal groups, No. I, as South Semitic, will be contrasted with the three North Semitic branches.<sup>1</sup>

All these languages stand to one another in much the same relation as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old Norse, Danish, Swedish; High and Low German in their earlier and later dialects), or as the Slavonic languages (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old Slavonic, Serbian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as the Phœnician and Assyrian, or preserved only in a debased form, as Neo-Syriac among Syrian Christians and Jews in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, Ethiopic (Ge'ez) in the later Abyssinian dialects (Tigrè, Tigrîña, Amharic), and Hebrew among some modern Jews, except in so far as they attempt a purely literary reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. Arabic alone has not only occupied to this day its original abode in Arabia proper, but has also forced its way in all directions into the domain of other languages.

The Semitic family of languages is bounded on the East and North by another of still wider extent, which reaches from India to the western limits of Europe, and is called Indo-Germanic<sup>2</sup> since it comprises, in the most varied ramifications, the Indian (Sanskrit), Old and New Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, as well as Gothic and the other Germanic languages. With the Old Egyptian language, of which Coptic is a descendant, as well as with the languages of north-western Africa, the Semitic had from the earliest times much in common, especially in grammatical structure; but on the other hand there are fundamental differences between them, especially from a lexicographical point of view; see Erman, 'Das Verhältniss des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen,' in the *ZDMG.* xlii, 1892, p. 93 ff., and Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 3.

3. The grammatical structure of the Semitic family of languages, *f* as compared with that of other languages, especially the Indo-Germanic, exhibits numerous peculiarities which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. These are—(a) among the consonants, which in fact form the substance of these languages, occur peculiar gutturals of different grades; the vowels are subject, within the same consonantal framework, to great changes in order to express various modifications of the same stem-meaning; (b) the word-stems are almost invariably triliteral, i.e. composed of three consonants; (c) the verb is restricted to two tense-forms, with a peculiarly regulated use; (d) the noun has only two genders (masc. and fem.); and peculiar expedients are adopted for the purpose of indicating the case-relations; (e) the

<sup>1</sup> Hommel, *Grundriss der Geogr. und Gesch. des alten Orients*, Munich, 1904, p. 75 ff., prefers to distinguish them as Eastern and Western Semitic branches. Their geographical position, however, is of less importance than the genealogical relation of the various groups of dialects, as rightly pointed out by A. Jeremias in *Th.LZ.* 1906, col. 291.

<sup>2</sup> First by Klaproth in *Asia Polyglotta*, Paris, 1823; cf. Leo Meyer in *Nachrichten d. Gött. Gesellschaft*, 1901, p. 454.

oblique cases of the personal pronoun, as well as all the possessive pronouns and the pronominal object of the verb, are denoted by forms appended directly to the governing word (suffixes); (f) the almost complete absence of compounds both in the noun (with the exception of many proper names) and in the verb; (g) great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations, e.g. the small number of particles, and the prevalence of simple co-ordination of clauses without periodic structure. Classical Arabic and Syriac, however, form a not unimportant exception as regards the last-mentioned point.

g 4. From a lexicographical point of view also the vocabulary of the Semites differs essentially from that of the Indo-Germanic languages, although there is apparently more agreement here than in the grammar. A considerable number of Semitic roots and stems agree in sound with synonyms in the Indo-Germanic family. But apart from expressions actually borrowed (see below, under i), the real similarity may be reduced to imitative words (onomatopoeica), and to those in which one and the same idea is represented by similar sounds in consequence of a formative instinct common to the most varied families of language. Neither of these proves any *historic* or *generic* relation, for which an agreement in grammatical structure would also be necessary.

Comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Studien über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft*, Lpz. 1873; Nöldechen, *Semit. Glossen zu Fick und Curtius*, Magdeb. 1876 f.; McCurdy, *Aryo-Semitic Speech*, Andover, U. S. A., 1881. The phonetic relations have been thoroughly investigated by H. Möller in *Semitisch und Indogermanisch*, Teil i, *Konsonanten*, Copenhagen and Lpz. 1907, a work which has evoked considerable criticism.

h As onomatopoeic words, or as stem-sounds of a similar character, we may compare, e.g. לָקַק, לָחַק, λείχω, *lingo*, Skt. *lih*, Eng. *to lick*, Fr. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*; גָּלַל (cf. אָגַל, עָגַל) κυλίω, *volvo*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, Eng. *to well*; גָּרַר, חָרַר, חָרַר, χαράττω, Pers. *khâridan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, Germ. *kratzen*; פָּרַק *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, &c.; Reuss, *Gesch. der hl. Schriften A.T.'s*, Braunschw. 1881, p. 38. draws attention moreover to the Semitic equivalents for *earth*, *six*, *seven*, *horn*, *to sound*, *to measure*, *to mix*, *to smell*, *to place*, *clear*, *to kneel*, *raven*, *goat*, *ox*, &c. An example of a somewhat different kind is *am*, *ham* (*sam*), *gam*, *ham*, in the sense of the German *samt*, *zusammen*, *together*; in Hebrew אָמַם (whence אָמַם *people*, properly *assembly*), עִם (with) *samt*, בָּם also, moreover, Arab. جَمَعَ *to collect*; Pers. *ham*, *hamah* (*at the same time*); Skt. *samâ* (*with*), Gk. ἅμα (*ἄμφω*), δμός, δμοῦ (*δμολος*, *δμοδος*), and harder κοινός, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, *cunctus*; with the corresponding sibilant Skt. *sam*, Gk. σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samt*, *sammeln*; but many of these instances are doubtful.

i Essentially different from this internal connexion is the occurrence of the same words in different languages, where one language has borrowed directly from the other. Such *loan-words* are—

(a) In Hebrew: some names of objects which were originally indigenous in Babylonia and Assyria (see a comprehensive list of Assyrio-Babylonian loan-words in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament in Zimmern and Winckler, *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, ii. p. 648 ff.), in Egypt, Persia, or India, e.g. נַחַל (also in the plural) *river*, from Egyptian *yoor*, generally as the name of the Nile (late Egypt. *yaro*, Assy. *yaru'u*), although it is possible that a pure Semitic נַחַל has been confounded with the Egyptian name of the Nile (so Zimmern); קָנֹחַ (Egyptian) Nile-reed (see Lieblein, 'Mots égyptiens dans la Bible,' in *PSBA.* 1898, p. 202 f.); פָּרְדֵּס (in Zend *pairidaēza*, circumvallation = *παράδεισος*) *pleasure-garden, park*; אֶדְרֵכָן *daric*, Persian gold coin; תְּכַיִּים *peacocks*, perhaps from the Malabar *tôgai* or *tôghai*. Some of these words are also found in Greek, as כַּרְבָּס (Pers. *karbās*, Skt. *karpāsa*) *cotton, κάπναος, carbasus*. On the other hand it is doubtful if קוף corresponds to the Greek κῆπος, κῆβος, Skt. *kapi*, *ape*.

(b) In Greek, &c.: some originally Semitic names of Asiatic products and articles of commerce, e.g. בִּזְיָן *βύσσος, byssus*; לְבָנָה *λίβανος, libanotós, incense*; קָנֹה *κάνη, κάννα, canna, cane*; כֻּמְנוֹן *κύμνον, cuminum, cumin*; קַצְיָעָה *κασσία, cassia*; גַּמֶּל *κάμηλος, camelus*; עֲרָבֹן *ἀρραβών, arrhabo, arrha, pledge*. Such transitions have perhaps been brought about chiefly by Phoenician trade. Cf. A. Müller, 'Semitische Lehnworte im älteren Griechisch,' in Bezenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indo-germ. Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1877, vol. i. p. 273 ff.; E. Ries, *Quae res et vocabula a gentibus semiticis in Graeciam pervenerint*, Breslau, 1890; Muss-Arnolt, 'Semitic words in Greek and Latin,' in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xxiii. p. 35 ff.; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griech.*, Berlin, 1895; J. H. Bondi, *Dem hebr.-phöniz. Sprachzweige angehör. Lehnwörter in hieroglyph. u. hieratischen Texten*, Lpz. 1886.

5. No system of writing is ever so perfect as to be able to reproduce *k* the sounds of a language in all their various shades, and the *writing of the Semites* has one striking fundamental defect, viz. that only the consonants (which indeed form the substance of the language) are written as real letters,<sup>1</sup> whilst of the vowels only the longer are indicated by certain representative consonants (see below, § 7). It was only later that special small marks (points or strokes below or above the consonants) were invented to represent to the eye all the vowel-sounds (see § 8). These are, however, superfluous for the practised reader, and are therefore often wholly omitted in Semitic manuscripts and printed texts. Semitic writing, moreover, almost invariably proceeds from right to left.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So also originally the Ethiopic writing, which afterwards represented the vowels by small appendages to the consonants, or by some other change in their form. On the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform writing, which likewise indicates the vowels, see the next note, ad fin.

<sup>2</sup> The Sabaeen (Himyaritic) writing runs occasionally from left to right, and even alternately in both directions (*boustrophedon*), but as a rule from right to left. In Ethiopic writing the direction from left to right has become the rule; some few old inscriptions exhibit, however, the opposite direction. The cuneiform writing also runs from left to right, but this is undoubtedly borrowed from a non-Semitic people. Cf. § 5 d, note 3.

With the exception of the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform), all varieties of Semitic writing, although differing widely in some respects, are derived from one and the same original alphabet, represented on extant monuments most faithfully by the characters used on the stele of Mēša', king of Moab (see below, § 2 *d*), and in the old Phoenician inscriptions, of which the bronze bowls from a temple of Baal (*CIS.* i. 22 ff. and Plate IV) are somewhat earlier than Mēša'. The old Hebrew writing, as it appears on the oldest monument, the Siloam inscription (see below, § 2 *d*), exhibits essentially the same character. The old Greek, and indirectly all European alphabets, are descended from the old Phoenician writing (see § 5 *i*).

*l* See the Table of Alphabets at the beginning of the Grammar, which shows the relations of the older varieties of Semitic writing to one another and especially the origin of the present Hebrew characters from their primitive forms. For a more complete view, see Gesenius' *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta*, Lips. 1837, 4to, pt. i. p. 15 ff., and pt. iii. tab. 1-5. From numerous monuments since discovered, our knowledge of the Semitic characters, especially the Phoenician, has become considerably enlarged and more accurate. Cf. the all but exhaustive bibliography (from 1616 to 1896) in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, i. p. 4 ff., and on the origin of the Semitic alphabet, *ibid.*, p. 173 ff., and *Ephemeris* (see the heading of § 1 *a* above), i. pp. 109 ff., 142, 261 ff., and his 'Altsemitische Texte', pt. i, *Kanaanäische Inschriften* (Moabite, Old-Hebrew, Phoenician, Punic), Giessen, 1907.—On the origin and development of the Hebrew characters and the best tables of alphabets, see § 5 *a*, last note, and especially § 5 *e*.

*m* 6. As regards the relative age of the Semitic languages, the oldest literary remains of them are to be found in the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform) inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> with which are to be classed the earliest Hebrew fragments occurring in the old Testament (see § 2).

The earliest non-Jewish *Aramaic* inscriptions known to us are that of זכר king of Hamath (early eighth cent. B.C.), on which see Nöldeke, *ZA.* 1908, p. 376, and that found at Teima, in N. Arabia, in 1880, probably of the fifth cent. B.C., cf. E. Littmann in the *Monist*, xiv. 4 [and Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 195]. The monuments of Kalammus of Sam'al, in the reign of Shalmanezzer II, 859-829 B.C. (cf. A. Šanda, *Die Aramäer*, Lpz. 1902, p. 26), and those found in 1888-1891 at Zenjirli in N. Syria, including the Hadad inscription of thirty-four lines (early eighth cent. B.C.) and the Panammu inscription (740 B.C.), are not in pure Aramaic. The Jewish-Aramaic writings begin about the time of Cyrus (cf. *Ezr* 6<sup>3</sup> <sup>α</sup>), specially important being the papyri from Assuan ed. by Sayce and Cowley, London, 1906 (and in a cheaper form by Staerk, Bonn, 1907), which are precisely dated from 471 to 411 B.C., and three others of 407 B.C. ed. by Sachau, Berlin, 1907.

<sup>1</sup> According to Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, i. p. 11 ff., the inscriptions found at Nippur embrace the period from about 4000 to 450 B.C.

Monuments of the *Arabic* branch first appear in the earliest centuries A. D. (Sabæan inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth or fifth century, North-Arabian literature from the sixth century A. D.).

It is, however, another question which of these languages has adhered longest and most faithfully to the original character of the Semitic, and which consequently represents to us the earliest phase of its development. For the more or less rapid transformation of the sounds and forms of a language, as spoken by nations and races, is dependent on causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature, and the organic structure of a language is often considerably impaired even before it has developed a literature, especially by early contact with people of a different language. Thus in the Semitic group, the Aramaic dialects exhibit the earliest and greatest decay, next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitish, and in its own way the Assyrian. Arabic, owing to the seclusion of the desert tribes, was the longest to retain the original fullness and purity of the sounds and forms of words.<sup>1</sup> Even here, however, there appeared, through the revolutionary influence of Islam, an ever-increasing decay, until Arabic at length reached the stage at which we find Hebrew in the Old Testament.

Hence the phenomenon, that in its grammatical structure the ancient Hebrew agrees more with the modern than with the ancient Arabic, and that the latter, although it only appears as a written language at a later period, has yet in many respects preserved a more complete structure and a more original vowel system than the other Semitic languages, cf. Nöldeke, 'Das klassische Arabisch und die arabischen Dialekte,' in *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 1 ff. It thus occupies amongst them a position similar to that which Sanskrit holds among the Indo-Germanic languages, or Gothic in the narrower circle of the Germanic. But even the toughest organism of a language often deteriorates, at least in single forms and derivatives, while on the contrary, in the midst of what is otherwise universal decay, there still remains here and there something original and archaic; and this is the case with the Semitic languages.

Fuller proof of the above statements belongs to the comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. It follows, however, from what has been said: (1) that the Hebrew language, as found in the sacred literature of the Jews, has, in respect

<sup>1</sup> Even now the language of some of the Bèdawî is much purer and more archaic than that of the town Arabs. It must, however, be admitted that the former exalted estimate of the primitiveness of Arabic has been moderated in many respects by the most recent school of Semitic philology. Much apparently original is to be regarded with Nöldeke (*Die semit. Spr.*, p. 5 [= *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 9, art. SEMITIC LANGUAGES, p. 642]) only as a modification of the original. The assertion that the Arabs exhibit Semitic characteristics in their purest form, should, according to Nöldeke, be rather that 'the inhabitants of the desert lands of Arabia, under the influence of the extraordinarily monotonous scenery and of a life continually the same amid continual change, have developed most exclusively some of the principal traits of the Semitic race'.

to its organic structure, already suffered more considerable losses than the Arabic, which appears much later on the historical horizon; (2) that, notwithstanding this fact, we cannot at once and in all points concede priority to the latter; (3) that it is a mistake to consider with some that the Aramaic, on account of its simplicity (which is only due to the decay of its organic structure), is the oldest form of Semitic speech.

## § 2. *Sketch of the History of the Hebrew Language.*

See Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache u. Schrift*, Lpz. 1815, §§ 5-18; Th. Nöldeke's art., 'Sprache, hebräische,' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Bd. v, Lpz. 1875; F. Buhl, 'Hebräische Sprache,' in Hauck's *Realencycl. für prot. Theol. und Kirche*, vii (1899), p. 506 ff.; A. Cowley, 'Hebrew Language and Literature,' in the forthcoming ed. of the *Encycl. Brit.*; W. R. Smith in the *Encycl. Bibl.*, ii. London, 1901, p. 1984 ff.; A. Lukyn Williams, 'Hebrew,' in *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, ii. p. 325 ff., Edinb. 1899.

**a** 1. The name *Hebrew Language* usually denotes the language of the sacred writings of the Israelites which form the canon of the *Old Testament*. It is also called *Ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the New Hebrew of Jewish writings of the post-biblical period (§ 3a). The name Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστὶ) does not occur in the Old Testament itself. Instead of it we find in Is 19<sup>18</sup> the term *language of Canaan*,<sup>1</sup> and יְהוּדִית in the *Jews' language* 2 K 18<sup>26,28</sup> (cf. Is 36<sup>11,13</sup>) Neh 13<sup>24</sup>. In the last-cited passage it already agrees with the later (post-exilic) usage, which gradually extended the name *Jews*, *Jewish* to the whole nation, as in Haggai, Nehemiah, and the book of Esther.

**b** The distinction between the names *Hebrew* (עִבְרִי 'Εβραῖος) and *Israelites* (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) is that the latter was rather a national name of honour, with also a religious significance, employed by the people themselves, while the former appears as the less significant name by which the nation was known amongst foreigners. Hence in the Old Testament *Hebrews* are only spoken of either when the name is employed by themselves as contrasted with foreigners (Gn 40<sup>16</sup>, Ex 2<sup>6 f.</sup> 3<sup>18</sup> &c., Jon 1<sup>9</sup>) or when it is put in the mouth of those who are not Israelites (Gn 30<sup>14,17</sup> 41<sup>12</sup> &c.) or, finally, when it is used in opposition to other nations (Gn 14<sup>13</sup> 43<sup>32</sup>, Ex 2<sup>11,13</sup> 21<sup>2</sup>). In 1 S 13<sup>3,7</sup> and 14<sup>21</sup> the text is clearly corrupt. In the Greek and Latin authors, as well as in Josephus, the name 'Εβραῖος, *Hebraei*,<sup>2</sup> &c., alone occurs. Of the many explanations of the gentile עִבְרִי, the derivation from עֶבֶר *a country on the other side* with the derivative suffix י- (§ 86 h) appears to be the only one philologically possible. The name accordingly denoted the Israelites as being those who inhabited the 'eber, i. e. the district on the other side of the Jordan (or according to others the Euphrates), and would therefore originally be only appropriate when used by the nations on this side of the Jordan or Euphrates. We must, then, suppose that after the crossing of the river in question it had been retained by the Abrahamidae as an old-established name, and within certain limits

<sup>1</sup> That Hebrew in its present form was actually developed in Canaan appears from such facts as the use of *yām* (sea) for the west, *negeb* (properly *dryness*, afterwards as a proper name for the south of Palestine) for the south.

<sup>2</sup> The Græco-Roman form of the name is not directly derived from the Hebrew עִבְרִי, but from the Palestinian Aramaic 'ebrāyā, 'the Hebrew.'

(see above) had become naturalized among them. In referring this name to the patronymic Eber, the Hebrew genealogists have assigned to it a much more comprehensive signification. For since in Gn 10<sup>21</sup> (Nu 24<sup>24</sup> does not apply) Shem is called the *father of all the children of Eber*, and to the latter there also belonged according to Gn 11<sup>14</sup> ff. and 10<sup>25</sup> ff. Aramean and Arab races, the name, afterwards restricted in the form of the gentile 'ibri exclusively to the Israelites, must have originally included a considerably larger group of countries and nations. The etymological significance of the name must in that case not be insisted upon.<sup>1</sup>

The term ἑβραϊστί is first used, to denote the old Hebrew, in the prologue C to Jesus the son of Sirach (about 130 B.C.), and in the New Testament, Rv 9<sup>11</sup>. On the other hand it serves in Jn 5<sup>2</sup>, 19<sup>13-17</sup> perhaps also in 19<sup>20</sup> and Rv 16<sup>16</sup> to denote what was then the (Aramaic) vernacular of Palestine as opposed to the Greek. The meaning of the expression ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος in Acts 21<sup>40</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, and 26<sup>14</sup> is doubtful (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 19 f.). Josephus also uses the term *Hebrew* both of the old Hebrew and of the Aramaic vernacular of his time.

The Hebrew language is first called the *sacred language* in the Jewish-Aramaic versions of the Old Testament, as being the language of the sacred books in opposition to the *lingua profana*, i. e. the Aramaic vulgar tongue.

2. With the exception of the Old Testament (and apart from the *d* Phoenician inscriptions; see below, *f-h*), only very few remains of old Hebrew or old Canaanitish literature have been preserved. Of the latter—(1) an inscription, unfortunately much injured, of thirty-four lines, which was found in the ancient territory of the tribe of Reuben, about twelve miles to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibón (now Dibân), inhabited in earlier times by the Gadites, afterwards by the Moabites. In it the Moabite king Mēša' (about 850 B.C.) recounts his battles with Israel (cf. 2 K 3<sup>4</sup> ff.), his buildings, and other matters.<sup>2</sup> Of old Hebrew: (2) an inscription

<sup>1</sup> We may also leave out of account the linguistically possible identification of the 'Ibriyyim with the Ḥabiri who appear in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (about 1400 B.C.) as freebooters and mercenaries in Palestine and its neighbourhood.

<sup>2</sup> This monument, unique of its kind, was first seen in August, 1868, on the spot, by the German missionary F. A. Klein. It was afterwards broken into pieces by the Arabs, so that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made. Most of the fragments are now in the Louvre in Paris. For the history of the discovery and for the earlier literature relating to the stone, see Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. pp. 103 f., 415 f., and in the bibliography (under Me), p. 39 ff. The useful reproduction and translation of the inscription by Smend and Socin (Freiburg in Baden, 1886) was afterwards revised and improved by Nordlander, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, Lpz. 1896; by Socin and Holzinger, 'Zur Mesainschrift' (*Berichte der K. Sächsischen Gesell. d. Wiss.*, Dec. 1897); and by Lidzbarski, 'Eine Nachprüfung der Mesainschrift' (*Ephemeris*, i. 1, p. 1 ff.; text in his *Altsemitische Texte*, pt. 1, Giessen, 1907); J. Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1900, pp. 236 ff., 289 ff., 1901, p. 297 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, *Revue biblique internationale*, 1901, p. 522 ff.; F. Prätorius in *ZDMG*, 1905, p. 33 ff., 1906, p. 402. Its genuineness was attacked by A. Löwy, *Die Echtheit der Moabit. Inschr. im Louvre* (Wien, 1903), and G. Jahn in *Das Buch Daniel*, Lpz. 1904, p. 122 ff. (also in *ZDMG*, 1905, p. 723 ff.), but without justification, as shown by E. König in *ZDMG*, 1905, pp. 233 ff. and 743 ff. [Cf. also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. lxxxv ff.; Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.]

of six lines (probably of the eighth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>) discovered in June, 1880, in the tunnel between the Virgin's Spring and the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem; (3) about forty engraved seal-stones, some of them pre-exilic but bearing little except proper names<sup>2</sup>; (4) coins of the Maccabæan prince Simon (from 'the 2nd year of deliverance', 140 and 139 B.C.) and his successors,<sup>3</sup> and the coinage of the revolts in the times of Vespasian and Hadrian.

*c* 3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as found in the Old Testament and also in non-biblical monuments (see above, *d*), the language (to judge from its consonantal formation) remains, as regards its general character, and apart from slight changes in form and differences of style (see *k* to *w*), at about the same stage of development. In this form, it may at an early time have been fixed as a literary language, and the fact that the books contained in the Old Testament were handed down as *sacred* writings, must have contributed to this constant uniformity.

*f* To this old Hebrew, the language of the Canaanitish or Phœnician<sup>4</sup> stocks came the nearest of all the Semitic languages, as is evident partly from the many Canaanitish names of persons and places with a Hebrew form and meaning which occur in the Old Testament (e.g. *סְלִי-צֶדֶק*, *קֶרֶת סֶפֶר*, &c.;

<sup>1</sup> Of this inscription—unfortunately not dated, but linguistically and palaeographically very important—referring to the boring of the tunnel, a facsimile is given at the beginning of this grammar. See also Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. 105, 163, 439 (bibliography, p. 56 ff.; facsimile, vol. ii, plate xxi, 1); on the new drawing of it by Socin (*ZDPV*, xxii. p. 61 ff. and separately published at Freiburg i. B. 1899), see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 53 ff. and 310 f. (text in *Altsemit. Texte*, p. 9 f.). Against the view of A. Fischer (*ZDMG*, 1902, p. 800 f.) that the six lines are the continuation of an inscription which was never executed, see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 71. The inscription was removed in 1890, and broken into six or seven pieces in the process. It has since been well restored, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. If, as can hardly be doubted, the name *שְׁלִי* (i. e. *emissio*) Is 8° refers to the discharge of water from the Virgin's Spring, through the tunnel (so Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 594), then the latter, and consequently the inscription, was already in existence about 736 B.C. [Cf. Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.]

<sup>2</sup> M. A. Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen*, &c., Bresl. 1869, p. 33 ff.; Stade, *ZAW*, 1897, p. 501 ff. (four old-Semitic seals published in 1896); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, i. 169 f.; *Ephemeris*, i. 10 ff.; W. Nowack, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Archäol.* (Freib. 1894), i. 262 ff.; I. Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäol.*<sup>2</sup> (Tübingen, 1907), pp. 80, 225 ff., which includes the beautiful seal inscribed *לשמע עבד ירבעם* from the castle-hill of Megiddo, found in 1904; [Cooke, p. 362].

<sup>3</sup> De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, Par. 1874; M. A. Levy, *Gesch. der jüd. Münzen*, Breslau, 1862; Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, Lond. 1881; Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, Paris, 1888.—Cf. the literature in Schürer's *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter J. C.*<sup>3</sup>, Lpz. 1901, i. p. 20 ff.; [Cooke, p. 352 ff.].

<sup>4</sup> *כְּנַעֲנִי*, *כְּנַעֲנִי* is the native name, common both to the Canaanitish tribes in Palestine and to those which dwelt at the foot of the Lebanon and on the Syrian coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves *כְּנַעֲנִי* on their coins. The people of Carthage also called themselves so.

on 'Canaanite glosses'<sup>1</sup> to Assyrian words in the cuneiform tablets of Tell-el-Amarna [about 1400 B.C.] cf. H. Winckler, 'Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna,' in *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, vol. v, Berlin, 1896 f. [transcription and translation]; J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Lpz. 1907 f.; H. Zimmern, *ZA*. 1891, p. 154 ff. and *KAT*.<sup>3</sup>, p. 651 ff.), and partly from the numerous remains of the Phoenician and Punic languages.

The latter we find in their peculiar writing (§ 1 k, l) in a great number of inscriptions and on coins, copies of which have been collected by Gesenius, Judas, Bourgade, Davis, de Vogüé, Levy, P. Schröder, v. Maltzan, Euting, but especially in Part I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 ff. Among the inscriptions but few public documents are found, e.g. two lists of fees for sacrifices; by far the most are epitaphs or votive tablets. Of special importance is the inscription on the sarcophagus of King Esmünazar of Sidon, found in 1855, now in the Louvre; see the bibliography in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 23 ff.; on the inscription, i. 97 ff., 141 f., 417, ii. plate iv, 2; [Cooke, p. 30 ff.]. To these may be added isolated words in Greek and Latin authors, and the Punic texts in Plautus, *Poenulus* 5, 1-3 (best treated by Gildemeister in Ritschl's edition of Plautus, Lips. 1884, tom. ii, fasc. 5). From the monuments we learn the native orthography, from the Greek and Latin transcriptions the pronunciation and vocalization; the two together give a tolerably distinct idea of the language and its relation to Hebrew.

Phoenician (Punic) words occurring in inscriptions are, e.g. אל *God*, גר *man*, אדם *son*, בן *daughter*, בת *king*, מלך *servant*, עבד *priest*, כהן *sacrifice*, זבח *lord*, בעל *sun*, שמש *land*, ארץ *sea*, ים *stone*, אבן *silver*, כסף *iron*, ברזל *oil*, שמן *time*, עת *grave*, קבר *monument*, מצבת *place*, מקם *bed*, כל *all*, אחד *one*, עשר *two*, שני *three*, שלש *four*, ארבע *five*, חמש *six*, שש *seven*, שבע *ten*, עשר *to be*, כן (= Hebr. היה) *to hear*, שמע *to open*, פתח *to vow*, נדר *to bless*, ברך *to seek*, &c. Proper names: צרן *Sidon*, צר *Tyre*, חנא *Hanno*, הנבעל *Hannibal*, &c. See the complete vocabulary in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 204 ff.

Variations from Hebrew in Phoenician orthography and inflection are, *h* e.g. the almost invariable omission of the vowel letters (§ 7 b), as בית for *house*, קל for קול *voice*, צרן for צירון *chiefs*, כהנם for כהנים *priests*, אלנם (in Plaut. *alonim*) *gods*; the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 80 b) as well as נ (*ô*), the relative אש (Hebr. אשר), &c. The differences in pronunciation are more remarkable, especially in Punic, where the *i* was regularly pronounced as *û*, e.g. שפט *sûfet* (judge), שלש *sâlûs* (three), ראש *rûs* = ראש *head*; *i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound of *y*, e.g. הַנְּנִי *ynnynnu* (ecce eum), את (*ait*) *yth*; the *u* as *o*, e.g. מעקר *Mocar* (cf. מעכה LXX, Gn 22<sup>24</sup> Μαχα). See the collection of the grammatical peculiarities in Gesenius, *Monumenta Phoenicia*, p. 430 ff.; Paul Schröder, *Die phöniz. Sprache*, Halle, 1869; B. Stade, 'Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phöniz. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades,' in the *Morgenländ. Forschungen*, Lpz. 1875, p. 169 ff.

4. As the Hebrew writing on monuments and coins mentioned <sup>i</sup> in *d* consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old

<sup>1</sup> Cf. inter alia: *aparu*, also *haparu* (Assyr. *ep̄ru*, *ip̄ru*) = עפר; *hullu* = על (with hard *u*; cf. § 6 c, and Assyr. *hum̄ri* = עמרי, *hazzatu* = עצה); *iazkur* = יזכר, *zurukhu* = זרע, *abadat* = אבדה, *šahri* = שער, gate; *batnu* = בטן, belly; *kilûbi* = כלוב, net; *šaduk* = צדק (צדיק), &c. [Cf. Böhl, *Die Sprache d. Amarnabriefe*, Lpz. 1909.]

Testament books used merely the consonant-signs (§ 1 *k*), and even now the written scrolls of the Law used in the synagogues must not, according to ancient custom, contain anything more. The present pronunciation of this consonantal text, its vocalization and accentuation, rest on the tradition of the Jewish schools, as it was finally fixed by the system of punctuation (§ 7 *h*) introduced by Jewish scholars about the seventh century A.D.; cf. § 3 *b*.

- k* An earlier stage in the development of the Canaanitish-Hebrew language, i.e. a form of it anterior to the written documents now extant, when it must have stood nearer to the common language of the united Semitic family, can still be discerned in its principal features:—(1) from many archaisms preserved in the traditional texts, especially in the names of persons and places dating from earlier times, as well as in isolated forms chiefly occurring in poetic style; (2) in general by an *a posteriori* conclusion from traditional forms, so far as according to the laws and analogies of phonetic change they clearly point to an older phase of the language; and (3) by comparison with the kindred languages, especially Arabic, in which this earlier stage of the language has been frequently preserved even down to later times (§ 1 *m, n*). In numerous instances in examining linguistic phenomena, the same—and consequently so much the more certain—result is attained by each of these three methods.

Although the systematic investigation of the linguistic development indicated above belongs to comparative Semitic philology, it is nevertheless indispensable for the scientific treatment of Hebrew to refer to the ground-forms<sup>1</sup> so far as they can be ascertained and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic. Even elementary grammar which treats of the forms of the language occurring in the Old Testament frequently requires, for their explanation, a reference to these ground-forms.

- l* 5. Even in the language of the Old Testament, notwithstanding its general uniformity, there is noticeable a certain progress from an earlier to a later stage. Two periods, though with some reservations, may be distinguished: the *first*, down to the end of the Babylonian exile; and the *second*, after the exile.
- m* To the former belongs, apart from isolated traces of a later revision, the larger half of the Old Testament books, viz. (*a*) of the prose and historical writings, a large part of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; (*b*) of the poetical, perhaps

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<sup>1</sup> Whether these can be described simply as 'primitive Semitic' is a question which may be left undecided here.

a part of the Psalms and Proverbs; (c) the writings of the earlier prophets (apart from various later additions) in the following chronological order: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah I, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah (?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah II (ch. 40-55).

The beginning of this period, and consequently of Hebrew literature *n* generally, is undoubtedly to be placed as early as the time of Moses, although the Pentateuch in its present form, in which very different strata may be still clearly recognized, is to be regarded as a gradual production of the centuries after Moses. Certain linguistic peculiarities of the Pentateuch, which it was once customary to regard as archaisms, such as the epicene use of נַעַר *boy, youth*, for נַעֲרָה *girl*, and הוּא for הִיא, are merely to be attributed to a later redactor; cf. § 17 c.

The linguistic character of the various strata of the Pentateuch has been *O* examined by Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, Lpz. 1878; König, *De criticae sacrae argumento e linguae legibus repetito*, Lpz. 1879 (analysis of Gn 1-11); F. Giesebrecht, 'Der Sprachgebr. des hexateuchischen Elohisten,' in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 177 ff., partly modified by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xi. p. 201 ff.; Kräutlein, *Die sprachl. Verschiedenheiten in den Hexateuchquellen*, Lpz. 1908.—Abundant matter is afforded also by Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, Freib. 1893; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*<sup>2</sup>, Edinburgh, 1908; Strack, *Einleitung ins A. T.*<sup>6</sup>, Munich, 1906; König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893.

6. Even in the writings of this first period, which embraces *p* about 600 years, we meet, as might be expected, with considerable differences in linguistic form and style, which are due partly to differences in the time and place of composition, and partly to the individuality and talent of the authors. Thus Isaiah, for example, writes quite differently from the later Jeremiah, but also differently from his contemporary Micah. Amongst the historical books of this period, the texts borrowed from earlier sources have a linguistic colouring perceptibly different from those derived from later sources, or passages which belong to the latest redactor himself. Yet the structure of the language, and, apart from isolated cases, even the vocabulary and phraseology, are on the whole the same, especially in the prose books.

But the *poetic language* is in many ways distinguished from *q* prose, not only by a *rhythm* due to more strictly balanced (parallel) members and definite metres (see *r*), but also by peculiar *words* and *meanings*, *inflections* and *syntactical constructions* which it uses in addition to those usual in prose. This distinction, however, does not go far as, for example, in Greek. Many of these poetic peculiarities occur in the kindred languages, especially in Aramaic, as the ordinary modes of expression, and probably are to be regarded largely as archaisms which poetry retained. Some perhaps, also, are

embellishments which the Hebrew poets who knew Aramaic adopted into their language.<sup>1</sup>

The prophets, at least the earlier, in language and rhythm are to be regarded almost entirely as poets, except that with them the sentences are often more extended, and the parallelism is less regular and balanced than is the case with the poets properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, approaches nearer to prose.

γ On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see besides the Commentaries on the poetical books and Introductions to the O. T., J. Ley, *Grundzüge des Rhythmus*, etc., Halle, 1875; *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebr. Poesie*, Halle, 1887; 'Die metr. Beschaffenheit des B. Hiob,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1895, iv, 1897, i; Grimme, 'Abriss der bibl.-hebr. Metrik,' *ZDMG.* 1896, p. 529 ff., 1897, p. 683 ff.; *Psalmprobleme*, etc., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902 (on which see Beer in *ThLZ.* 1903, no. 11); 'Gedanken über hebr. Metrik,' in Altschüler's *Vierteljahrschrift*, i (1903), 1 ff.; Döller, *Rhythmus, Metrik u. Strophik in d. bibl.-hebr. Poesie*, Paderborn, 1899; Schloegl, *De re metrica veterum Hebraeorum disputatio*, Vindobonae, 1899 (on the same lines as Grimme); but especially Ed. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*: i *Studien zur hebr. Metrik*, pt. 1 *Untersuchungen*, pt. 2 *Textproben*, Lpz. 1901: ii *Die hebr. Genesis*, 1 *Texte*, 2 *Zur Quellenscheidung u. Textkritik*, Lpz. 1904 f.: iii *Samuel*, Lpz. 1907; *Amos metrisch bearbeitet* (with H. Guthe), Lpz. 1907; and his *Alttest. Miscellen* (1 *Is 24-27*, 2 *Jona*, 3 *Deutero-Zechariah*, 4 *Malachi*, 5 *Hosea*, 6 *Joel*, 7 *Obadiah*, 8 *Zephaniah*, 9 *Haggai*, 10 *Micah*), Lpz. 1904-7.—As a guide to Sievers' system (with some criticism of his principles' see Baumann, 'Die Metrik u. das A. T.,' in the *Theol. Rundschau*, viii (1905), 41 ff.; W. H. Cobb, *A criticism of systems of Hebrew Metre*, Oxford, 1905; Cornill, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, Tübingen, 1905, p. 11 ff.; Rothstein, *Zeitschr. für d. ev. Rel.-Unterricht*, 1907, p. 188 ff. and his *Grundzüge des hebr. Rhythmus*, Lpz. 1909 (also separately *Psalmtexte u. der Text des Hohen Liedes*, Lpz. 1909); W. R. Arnold, 'The rhythms of the ancient Heb.,' in *O. T. and Semitic Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, i. 165 ff., Chicago, 1907, according to whom the number of syllables between the beats is only limited by the physiological possibilities of phonetics; C. v. Orelli, 'Zur Metrik der alttest. Prophetenschriften,' in his *Kommentar zu den kl. Propheten*<sup>3</sup>, p. 236 ff., Munich, 1908.—In full agreement with Sievers is Baethgen, *Psalmen*<sup>3</sup>, p. xxvi ff., Göttingen, 1904. [Cf. Budde in *DB.* iv. 3 ff.; Duhm in *EB.* iii. 3793 ff.]

Of all views of this matter, the only one generally accepted as sound was at first Ley's and Budde's discovery of the Qina- or Lamentation-Verse (*ZA.W.* 1882, 5 ff.; 1891, 234 ff.; 1892, 31 ff.). On their predecessors, Lowth, de Wette, Ewald, see Löhr, *Klagelied*<sup>2</sup>, p. 9. This verse, called by Duhm 'long verse', by Sievers simply 'five-syllabled' (Fünfer), consists of two members, the second at least one beat shorter than the other. That a regular repetition of an equal number of syllables in *arsis* and *thesis* was observed by other poets, had been established by Ley, Duhm, Gunkel, Grimme, and others, especially Zimmern, who cites a Babylonian hymn in which the members are actually marked (*ZA.* x. 1 ff., xii. 381 ff.; cf. also Delitzsch, *Das babyl. Welterschöpfungsepos*, Lpz. 1896, pp. 60 ff.). Recently, however, E. Sievers, the recognized authority on metre in other branches of literature, has indicated, in the works mentioned above, a number of fresh facts and views, which have frequently been confirmed by the conclusions of Ley and others. The most important are as follows:—

Hebrew poetry, as distinguished from the quantitative Classical and Arabic

<sup>1</sup> That already in Isaiah's time (second half of the eighth century B. C.) educated Hebrews, or at least officers of state, understood Aramaic, while the common people in Jerusalem did not, is evident from 2 K 18<sup>26</sup> (Is 36<sup>11</sup>).

and the syllabic Syriac verse, is *accentual*. The number of unstressed syllables between the beats (*ictus*) is, however, not arbitrary, but the scheme of the verse is based on an irregular anapaest which may undergo rhythmical modifications (e. g. resolving the ictus into two syllables, or lengthening the arsis so as to give a double accent) and contraction, e. g. of the first two syllables. The foot always concludes with the ictus, so that toneless endings, due to change of pronunciation or corruption of the text, are to be disregarded, although as a rule the ictus coincides with the Hebrew word-accent. The metrical scheme consists of combinations of feet in *series* (of 2, 3 or 4), and of these again in *periods*—double threes, very frequently, double fours in narrative, fives in Lamentations (see above) and very often elsewhere, and sevens. Sievers regards the last two metres as catalectic double threes and fours. Connected sections do not always maintain the same metre throughout, but often exhibit a mixture of metres.

It can no longer be doubted that in the analysis of purely poetical passages, this system often finds ready confirmation and leads to textual and literary results, such as the elimination of glosses. There are, however, various difficulties in carrying out the scheme consistently and extending it to the prophetic writings and still more to narrative: (1) not infrequently the required number of feet is only obtained by sacrificing the clearly marked parallelism, or the grammatical connexion (e. g. of the construct state with its genitive), and sometimes even by means of doubtful emendations; (2) the whole system assumes a correct transmission of the text and its pronunciation, for neither of which is there the least guarantee. To sum up, our conclusion at present is that for poetry proper some assured and final results have been already obtained, and others may be expected, from the principles laid down by Sievers, although, considering the way in which the text has been transmitted, a *faultless* arrangement of metres cannot be expected. Convincing proof of the *consistent* use of the same metrical schemes in the prophets, and *a fortiori* in narrative, can hardly be brought forward.

The great work of D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprüngl. Form* (2 vols., Vienna, 1896; cf. his *Strophenbau u. Responson*, *ibid.* 1898, and *Komposition u. Strophenbau*, *ibid.* 1907), is a study of the most important monuments of early Semitic poetry from the point of view of strophic structure and the use of the refrain, i. e. the repetition of the same or similar phrases or words in corresponding positions in different strophes.

The arrangement of certain poetical passages in verse-form required by early scribal rules (Ex 15<sup>1-19</sup>; Dt 32<sup>1-43</sup>; Ju 5; 1 S 2<sup>1-10</sup>; 2 S 22, 23<sup>1-7</sup>; ψ 18, 136; Pr. 31<sup>10-31</sup>; 1 Ch 16<sup>8-36</sup>; cf. also Jo 12<sup>9-24</sup>; Ec 3<sup>2-8</sup>; Est 9<sup>7-10</sup>) has nothing to do with the question of metre in the above sense.

Words are used in poetry, for which others are customary in prose, e. g.  $\text{אָנֹשׁ}$  *man* =  $\text{אָדָם}$ ;  $\text{אֶרֶץ}$  *path* =  $\text{דֶּרֶךְ}$ ;  $\text{מִלָּה}$  *word* =  $\text{דְּבָר}$ ;  $\text{הָיָה}$  *to see* =  $\text{רָאָה}$ ;  $\text{אָתָּה}$  *to come* =  $\text{בֹּא}$ .

To the poetic meanings of words belongs the use of certain poetic epithets as substantives; thus, for example,  $\text{אֲבִיר}$  (only in constr. st.  $\text{אֲבִירִי}$ ) *the strong one for God*;  $\text{אֲבִיר}$  *the strong one for bull, horse*;  $\text{לְבָנָה}$  *alba for luna*;  $\text{צֹר}$  *enemy for אֵיב*.

Of word-forms, we may note, e. g. the longer forms of prepositions of place (§ 103 n)  $\text{עַל־}$  =  $\text{עָלַי}$ ,  $\text{אֶל־}$  =  $\text{אֵלַי}$ ,  $\text{עַד־}$  =  $\text{עָדַי}$ ; the endings  $\text{־י}$ ,  $\text{־ו}$  in the noun (§ 90); the pronominal suffixes  $\text{־מוֹ}$ ,  $\text{־מִי}$ ,  $\text{־מִי}$  for  $\text{מִי}$ ,  $\text{מִי}$ ,  $\text{מִי}$  (§ 58); the plural ending  $\text{־יִן}$  for  $\text{־יִם}$  (§ 87 e). To the *syntax* belongs the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, of the accusative particle  $\text{אֵת}$ ; the construct state even before prepositions; the shortened imperfect with the same meaning as the ordinary form (§ 109 i); the wider governing power of prepositions; and in general a forcible brevity of expression.

*t* 7. The *second* period of the Hebrew language and literature, after the return from the exile until the Maccabees (about 160 B.C.), is chiefly distinguished by a constantly closer approximation of the language to the kindred western Aramaic dialect. This is due to the influence of the Aramaeans, who lived in close contact with the recent and thinly-populated colony in Jerusalem, and whose dialect was already of importance as being the official language of the western half of the Persian empire. Nevertheless the supplanting of Hebrew by Aramaic proceeded only very gradually. Writings intended for popular use, such as the Hebrew original of Jesus the son of Sirach and the book of Daniel, not only show that Hebrew about 170 B.C. was still in use as a literary language, but also that it was still at least understood by the people.<sup>1</sup> When it had finally ceased to exist as a living language, it was still preserved as the *language of the Schools*—not to mention the numerous Hebraisms introduced into the Aramaic spoken by the Jews.

For particulars, see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, pp. 1-6. We may conveniently regard the relation of the languages which co-existed in this later period as similar to that of the High and Low German in North Germany, or to that of the High German and the common dialects in the south and in Switzerland. Even amongst the more educated, the common dialect prevails orally, whilst the High German serves essentially as the literary and cultured language, and is at least understood by all classes of the people. Wholly untenable is the notion, based on an erroneous interpretation of Neh 8<sup>8</sup>, that the Jews immediately after the exile had completely forgotten the Hebrew language, and therefore needed a translation of the Holy Scriptures.

*u* The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, in all of which the Aramaic colouring appears in various degrees, are: certain parts of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Ruth, the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetic books of Haggai, Zechariah, Isaiah III (56-66), Malachi, Joel, Jonah, Daniel; of the poetical books, a large part of Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and most of the Psalms. As literary compositions, these books are sometimes far inferior to those of the first period, although work was still produced which in purity of language and aesthetic value falls little short of the writings of the golden age.

*v* *Later words* (Aramaisms) are, e.g. אָחֲרָיָה declaration, אָנָם compel, בֶּר son, גִּיר chalk, זָמַן = עֵת time, זָקַף raise up, חִסֵּד Pi. reproach, טָלַל Pi. roof over,

<sup>1</sup> The extensive use of Hebrew in the popular religious literature which is partly preserved to us in the Midrašim, the Mišna, and the Liturgy, indicates, moreover, that Hebrew was widely understood much later than this. Cf. M. H. Segal, 'Mišnaic Hebrew and its relations to Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic,' in *J. Q. R.*, 1908, p. 647 ff. (also separately).

מָצָה stray, בָּרַק rock, מָלַךְ advise, סוּף end, לָקַח = קָבַל take, רָצַע = רָצַץ break, שָׁנָא be many, מָלַךְ = שָׁלַט rule, תָּקַף = תָּמַץ be strong.—Later meanings are, e.g. אָמַר (to say) to command; עָנָה (to answer) to begin speaking.—Orthographical and grammatical peculiarities are, the frequent *scriptio plena* of י and י־, e.g. דְּיִידִי (elsewhere דְּיִיד), even קִדְּשָׁה for קִדְּשָׁה; רֹב for רֶב; the interchange of ה־ and ח־ final; the more frequent use of substantives in יוֹ, יוֹת, וֵת, &c. Cf. Dav. Strauss, *Sprachl. Studien zu d. hebr. Sprachfragmenten*, Zürich, 1900, p. 19 ff.; for the Psalms Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 461 ff., and especially Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 276 ff.; in general, Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.* (i, Lexikal. Teil), Halle, 1902.

But all the peculiarities of these later writers are not Aramaisms. Several do not occur in Aramaic and must have belonged at an earlier period to the Hebrew vernacular, especially it would seem in northern Palestine. There certain parts of Judges, amongst others, may have originated, as is indicated, e.g. by שָׁ, a common form in Phoenician (as well as שֵׁן), for שָׁן (§ 36), which afterwards recurs in Jonah, Lamentations, the Song of Songs, the later Psalms, and Ecclesiastes.

Rem. 1. Of dialectical varieties in the old Hebrew language, only one <sup>w</sup> express mention occurs in the O. T. (Ju 12<sup>9</sup>), according to which the Ephraimites in certain cases pronounced the שָׁ as ד. (Cf. Marquart in *ZAW.* 1888, p. 151 ff.) Whether in Neh 13<sup>24</sup> by the speech of Ashdod a Hebrew, or a (wholly different) Philistine dialect is intended, cannot be determined. On the other hand, many peculiarities in the North Palestinian books (Judges and Hosea) are probably to be regarded as differences in dialect, and so also some anomalies in the Moabite inscription of Mēša' (see above, d). On later developments see L. Metman, *Die hebr. Sprache, ihre Geschichte u. lexikal. Entwicklung seit Abschluss des Kanons u. ihr Bau in d. Gegenwart*, Jerusalem, 1906.

2. It is evident that, in the extant remains of old Hebrew literature,<sup>2</sup> the entire store of the ancient language is not preserved. The canonical books of the Old Testament formed certainly only a fraction of the whole Hebrew national literature.

### § 3. Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language.

Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache*, §§ 19–39; Oehler's article, 'Hebr. Sprache,' in Schmid's *Encykl. des ges. Erziehungs- u. Unterrichtswesens*, vol. iii. p. 346 ff. (in the 2nd ed. revised by Nestle, p. 314 ff.). Cf. also the literature cited above in the headings of §§ 1 and 2; also Böttcher, *Lehrb. der hebr. Spr.*, i. Lpz. 1866, p. 30 ff.; L. Geiger, *Das Studium der Hebr. Spr. in Deutschl. vom Ende des XV. bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrh.*, Breslau, 1870; B. Pick, 'The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians,' in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1884, p. 450 ff., and 1885, p. 470 ff.; W. Bacher, article 'Grammar' in the *Jew. Encyclopaedia*, vol. vi, New York and London, 1904. Cf. also the note on d.

1. At the time when the old Hebrew language was gradually <sup>a</sup> becoming extinct, and the formation of the O. T. canon was

<sup>1</sup> דְּיִידִי in the Minor Prophets throughout (Ho 3<sup>5</sup>, &c.) is due merely to a caprice of the Masoretes.

<sup>2</sup> According to the calculation of the Dutch scholar Leusden, the O. T. contains 5,642 different Hebrew and Aramaic words; according to rabbinical calculations, 79,856 altogether in the Pentateuch. Cf. also E. Nestle, *ZAW.* 1906, p. 283; H. Strack, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 69 ff.; Blau, 'Neue masoret. Studien,' in *JQR.* xvi. 357 ff., treats of the number of letters and words, and the ve-division in the O. T.

approaching completion, the Jews began to explain and critically revise their sacred text, and sometimes to translate it into the vernacular languages which in various countries had become current among them. The oldest *translation* is the Greek of the *Seventy* (more correctly *Seventy-two*) Interpreters (LXX), which was begun with the Pentateuch at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, but only completed later. It was the work of various authors, some of whom had a living knowledge of the original, and was intended for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, especially in Alexandria. Somewhat later the Aramaic translations, or Targums (תרגומים i.e. *interpretations*), were formed by successive recensions made in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from alleged tradition, refer almost exclusively to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than much of the textual tradition of that period. Both kinds of tradition are preserved in the *Talmud*, the first part of which, the *Mišna*, was finally brought to its present form towards the end of the second century; of the remainder, the *Gemāra*, one recension (the *Jerusalem* or *Palestinian Gem.*) about the middle of the fourth century, the other (the *Babylonian Gem.*) about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The *Mišna* forms the beginning of the New-Hebrew literature; the language of the *Gemaras* is for the most part Aramaic.

- b 2. To the interval between the completion of the *Talmud* and the earliest grammatical writers, belong mainly the vocalization and accentuation of the hitherto unpointed text of the O. T., according to the pronunciation traditional in the Synagogues and Schools (§ 7 h, i), as well as the greater part of the collection of critical notes which bears the name of *Masōra* (מסורה *traditio*?).<sup>1</sup> From this the text which has since been transmitted with rigid uniformity by the MSS.,

<sup>1</sup> On the name *Masora* (or *Massora*, as e.g. E. König, *Einleitung in das A. T.* p. 38 ff.; *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache*, ii. 358 ff.), and the great difficulty of satisfactorily explaining it, cf. De Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, i. 91 ff. W. Bacher's derivation of the expression (in *JQR.* 1891, p. 785 ff.; so also C. Levias in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 147 ff.) from Ez 20<sup>37</sup> (מִסְרַת הַבְּרִית; מסרה, i.e. מוֹסְרָה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מִסְרָה (by the side of the equally well-attested form מִפְּרָה) does not seem to us to be invalidated by his arguments, nor by Blau's proposal to read מְסוֹרֶת (*JQR.* xii. 241). The remark of Levias (l.c.) deserves notice, that with the earlier Masoretes מסורה is equivalent to orthography, i.e. *plene*- and *defective* writing, and only later came to mean *traditio*.—G. Wildboer, in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 74, contends that as מָסַר to *hand on* is not found in the O. T., it must be a late denominative in this sense.

and is still the received text of the O.T., has obtained the name of the Masoretic Text.

E. F. K. Rosenmüller already (*Handbuch für d. Liter. der bibl. Kritik u. C. Exegese*, 1797, i. 247; *Vorrede zur Stereotyp-Ausg. des A. T.*, Lpz. 1834) maintained that our O. T. text was derived from Codices belonging to a single recension. J. G. Sommer (cf. Cornill, *ZAW.* 1892, p. 309), Olshausen (since 1853), and especially De Lagarde (*Proverbiens*, 1863, p. 1 ff.), have even made it probable that the original Masoretic text was derived from a single standard manuscript. Cf., however, E. König in *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss.*, 1887, p. 279 f., and especially his *Einleitung ins A. T.*, p. 88 ff. Moreover a great many facts, which will be noticed in their proper places, indicate that the Masora itself is by no means uniform but shows clear traces of different schools and opinions; cf. H. Strack in *Semitic Studies in memory of . . . Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, p. 563 ff. An excellent foundation for the history of the Masora and the settlement of the masoretic tradition was laid by Joh. Buxtorf in his *Tiberias seu Commentarius Masorethicus*, first published at Basel in 1620 as an appendix to the Rabbinical Bible of 1618 f. For more recent work see Geiger, *Jüdische Ztschr.*, iii. 78 ff., followed by Harris in *JQR.* i. 128 ff., 243 ff.; S. Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, Hanover, 1864; and his *Massor. Wörterb.*, part i, Hanover and Lpz. 1876; and Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massora compiled from Manuscripts, &c.*, 3 vols., Lond. 1880 ff., and *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical edition of the Hebr. Bible*, Lond. 1897 (his text, reprinted from that of Jacob b. Hayyim [Venice, 1524-5] with variants from MSS. and the earliest editions, was published in 2 vols. at London in 1894, 2nd ed. 1906; a revised edition is in progress); H. Hyvernat, 'La langue et le langage de la Massore' (as a mixture of New-Hebrew and Aramaic), in the *Revue biblique*, Oct. 1903, p. 529 ff. and B: 'Lexique massorétique,' *ibid.*, Oct. 1904, p. 521 ff., 1905, p. 481 ff., and p. 515 ff. In the use of the Massora for the critical construction of the Text, useful work has been done especially by S. Baer, in the editions of the several books (only Exod.-Deut. have still to appear), edited from 1869 conjointly with Fr. Delitzsch, and since 1891 by Baer alone. Cf. also § 7 h.

The various readings of the Q'rê (see § 17) form one of the oldest and most important parts of the Masora. The punctuation of the Text, however, is not to be confounded with the compilation of the Masora. The former was settled at an earlier period, and is the result of a much more exhaustive labour than the Masora, which was not completed till a considerably later time.

3. It was not until about the beginning of the tenth century that *d* the Jews, following the example of the Arabs, began their grammatical compilations. Of the numerous grammatical and lexicographical works of R. Sa'adya, <sup>1</sup>beyond fragments in the commentary on the Sepher Yešira (ed. Mayer-Lambert, pp. 42, 47, 75, &c.), only the explanation in Arabic of the seventy (more correctly ninety) *hapax legomena* in the O. T. has been preserved. Written likewise in Arabic, but frequently translated into Hebrew, were the still extant works of the grammarians R. Yehuda Hayyûg (also called Abu Zakarya Yahya, about the year 1000) and R. Yona (Abu 'l-Walid Merwân ibn Ġanâh, about 1030). By the aid of these earlier labours, Abraham ben Ezra (commonly called Aben Ezra, ob. 1167) and R. David Qimhî (ob. c. 1235) especially gained a classical reputation by their Hebrew grammatical writings.

<sup>1</sup> On his independent attitude towards the Masoretic punctuation, see Delitzsch, *Comm. zu den Psalmen*<sup>4</sup>, p. 39.

From these earliest grammarians are derived many principles of arrangement and technical terms, some of which are still retained, e. g. the naming of the conjugations and weak verbs according to the paradigm of *פעל*, certain *voces memoriales*, as *בִּנְיָן־כַּפֵּחַ* and the like.<sup>1</sup>

*c* 4. The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was John Reuchlin (ob. 1522),<sup>2</sup> to whom Greek literature also is so much indebted. Like the grammarians who succeeded him, till the time of John Buxtorf the elder (ob. 1629), he still adhered almost entirely to Jewish tradition. From the middle of the seventeenth century the field of investigation gradually widened, and the study of the kindred languages, chiefly through the leaders of the Dutch school, Albert Schultens (ob. 1750) and N. W. Schröder (ob. 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

*f* 5. In the nineteenth century<sup>3</sup> the advances in Hebrew philology are especially connected with the names of W. Gesenius (born at Nordhausen, Feb. 3, 1786; from the year 1810 Professor at Halle, where he died Oct. 23, 1842), who above all things aimed at the comprehensive observation and lucid presentation of the actually occurring linguistic phenomena; H. Ewald (ob. 1875, at Göttingen; *Krit. Gramm. der Hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1827; *Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.*, 8th ed., Gött. 1870), who chiefly aimed at referring linguistic forms to general laws and rationally explaining the latter; J. Olshausen (ob. 1882, at Berlin; *Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, Brunswick, 1861) who attempted a consistent explanation of the existing condition of the language, from the presupposed primitive Semitic forms, preserved according to him notably in old Arabic. F. Böttcher (*Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* ed. by F. Mühlau, 2 vols., Lpz. 1866–8) endeavoured to present an exhaustive synopsis of the linguistic phenomena, as well as to give an explanation of them from the sphere of Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> On the oldest Hebrew grammarians, see Strack and Siegfried, *Lehrb. d. neuhebr. Spr. u. Liter.*, Carlsr. 1884, p. 107 ff., and the prefaces to the Hebrew Lexicons of Gesenius and Fürst; Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talmud u. Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879; Baer and Strack, *Die Dikduke ha-ʿamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher u. andere alte grammatisch-massorethische Lehrstücke*, Lpz. 1879, and P. Kahle's criticisms in ZDMG. lv. 170, n. 2; Ewald and Dukes, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der ältesten Auslegung u. Spracherklärung des A. T.*, Stuttg. 1844, 3 vols.; Hupfeld, *De rei grammaticae apud Judaeos initiis antiquissimis scriptoribus*, Hal. 1846; W. Bacher, 'Die Anfänge der hebr. Gr.', in ZDMG. 1895, i ff. and 335 ff.; and *Die hebr. Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrh.*, Trier, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> A strong impulse was naturally given to these studies by the introduction of printing—the Psalter in 1477, the Bologna Pentateuch in 1482, the Soncino O. T. complete in 1488: see the description of the twenty-four earliest editions (down to 1528) in Ginsburg's *Introduction*, p. 779 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Of the literature on the subject down to the year 1850, see a tolerably full account in Steinschneider's *Bibliogr. Handb. f. hebr. Sprachkunde*, Lpz. 1859.

alone. B. Stade, on the other hand (*Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, pt. i. Lpz. 1879), adopted a strictly scientific method in endeavouring to reduce the systems of Ewald and Olshausen to a more fundamental unity. E. König<sup>1</sup> in his very thorough researches into the phonology and accidence starts generally from the position reached by the early Jewish grammarians (in his second part 'with comparative reference to the Semitic languages in general') and instead of adopting the usual dogmatic method, takes pains to re-open the discussion of disputed grammatical questions. The syntax König has 'endeavoured to treat in several respects in such a way as to show its affinity to the common Semitic syntax'.—Among the works of Jewish scholars, special attention may be called to the grammar by S. D. Luzzatto written in Italian (Padua, 1853-69).

The chief requirements for one who is treating the grammar of an ancient language are—(1) that he should *observe* as fully and accurately as possible the existing linguistic phenomena and *describe* them, after showing their organic connexion (the empirical and historico-critical element); (2) that he should try to *explain* these facts, partly by comparing them with one another and by the analogy of the sister languages, partly from the general laws of philology (the logical element).

Such observation has more and more led to the belief that the original text of the O. T. has suffered to a much greater extent than former scholars were inclined to admit, in spite of the number of variants in parallel passages: Is 2<sup>2ff.</sup> = Mi 4<sup>1ff.</sup>, Is 36-39 = 2 K 18<sup>13-20</sup>, Jer 52 = 2 K 24<sup>18-25</sup><sup>30</sup>, 2 S 22 =  $\psi$  18,  $\psi$  14 =  $\psi$  53,  $\psi$  40<sup>14ff.</sup> =  $\psi$  70,  $\psi$  108 =  $\psi$  57<sup>8ff.</sup> and 60<sup>7ff.</sup>. Cf. also the parallels between the Chronicles and the older historical books, and F. Vodel, *Die konsonant. Varianten in den doppelt überlief. poet. Stücken d. masoret. Textes*, Lpz. 1905. As to the extent and causes of the corruption of the Masoretic text, the newly discovered fragments of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus are very instructive; cf. Smend, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1906, p. 763.

The causes of *unintentional* corruption in the great majority of cases are:—Interchange of similar letters, which has sometimes taken place in the early 'Phoenician' writing; transposition or omission of

<sup>1</sup> *Historisch-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Sprache mit steter Beziehung auf Qimchi und die anderen Autoritäten*: I, 'Lehre von der Schrift, der Aussprache, dem Pron. u. dem Verbum,' Lpz. 1881; II. 1, 'Abschluss der speziellen Formenlehre u. generelle Formenl.,' 1895; ii. 2, 'Historisch-kompar. Syntax d. hebr. Spr.,' 1897.

single letters, words, or even whole sentences, which are then often added in the margin and thence brought back into the text in the wrong place; such omission is generally due to homoioteleuton (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 171 ff.), i.e. the scribe's eye wanders from the place to a subsequent word of the same or similar form. Other causes are dittography, i.e. erroneous repetition of letters, words, and even sentences; its opposite, haplography; and lastly wrong division of words (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 158 ff.), since at a certain period in the transmission of the text the words were not separated.<sup>1</sup>—*Intentional* changes are due to corrections for the sake of decency or of dogma, and to the insertion of glosses, some of them very early.

Advance in grammar is therefore closely dependent on progress in *textual criticism*. The systematic pursuit of the latter has only begun in recent years: cf. especially Doorninek on Ju 1–16, Leid. 1879; Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, Gött. 1871; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, Lpz. 1886; Klostermann, *Bb. Sam. u. d. Kön.*, Nördl. 1887; Driver, *Notes on the Hebr. text of the Books of Sam.*, Oxf. 1890; Klostermann, *Deuterogjesaja*, Munich, 1893; Oort, *Textus hebr. emendationes*, Lugd. 1900; Burney on *Kings*, Oxf. 1903; the commentaries of Marti and Nowack; the *Internat. Crit. Comm.*; Kautzsch, *Die heil. Schriften des A.T.*<sup>2</sup>, 1909–10. A critical edition of the O.T. with full textual notes, and indicating the different documents by colours, is being published in a handsome form by P. Haupt in *The Sacred Books of the Old Test.*, Lpz. and Baltimore, 1893 ff. (sixteen parts have appeared: Exod., Deut., Minor Prophets, and Megilloth are still to come); Kittel, *Biblia hebraica*<sup>2</sup>, 1909, Masoretic text from Jacob b. Ḥayyim (see c), with a valuable selection of variants from the versions, and emendations.

#### § 4. Division and Arrangement of the Grammar.

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar follow the three constituent parts of every language, viz. (1) articulate *sounds* represented by *letters*, and united to form *syllables*, (2) *words*, and (3) *sentences*.

The first part (the elements) comprises accordingly the treatment of *sounds* and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of the language, teaches the pronunciation

<sup>1</sup> This *scriptio continua* is also found in Phœnician inscriptions. The inscription of Mē'a' always divides the words by a point (and so the Siloam inscription; see the facsimile at the beginning of this grammar), and frequently marks the close of a sentence by a stroke.

of the written signs (orthoepy), and the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined in syllables and words, and specifies the laws and conditions under which this combination takes place.

The second part (etymology) treats of words in their character as parts of speech, and comprises: (1) the principles of the *formation of words*, or of the derivation of the different parts of speech from the roots or from one another; (2) the principles of *inflection*, i. e. of the various forms which the words assume according to their relation to other words and to the sentence.

The third part (syntax, or the arrangement of words): (1) shows how the word-formations and inflexions occurring in the language are used to express different shades of ideas, and how other ideas, for which the language has not coined any forms, are expressed by periphrasis; (2) states the laws according to which the parts of speech are combined in sentences (the principles of the sentence, or syntax in the stricter sense of the term).

# FIRST PART

## ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

### CHAPTER I

#### THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

##### § 5. *The Consonants: their Forms and Names.*

(Cf. the Table of Alphabets.)

Among the abundant literature on the subject, special attention is directed to : A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm.*, Berlin, 1879, p. 15 ff., on the names, forms, and pronunciation of the consonants in Talmud and Midrash; H. Strack, *Schreibkunst u. Schrift bei d. Hebräern*, PRE.<sup>3</sup>, Lpz. 1906, p. 766 ff.; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*<sup>2</sup>, Tübingen, 1907, p. 172 ff.; Nowack, *Lehrbuch d. hebr. Archäol.*, Freiburg, 1894, i. 279 ff.; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, i. 173 ff.; also his art. 'Hebrew Alphabet,' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i. 1901, p. 439 ff. (cf. his *Ephemeris*, i. 316 ff.); and 'Die Namen der Alphabetbuchstaben,' in *Ephemeris*, ii. 125 ff.; Kenyon, art. 'Writing,' in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. Edinb. 1902, p. 944 ff.; Nöldeke, 'Diasemit. Buchstabennamen,' in *Beitr. zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 124 ff.; F. Praetorius, *Ueber den Ursprung des kanaän. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906; H. Grimme, 'Zur Genesis des semit. Alphabets,' in *ZA.* xx. 1907, p. 49 ff.; R. Stübe, *Grundlinien zu einer Entwicklungsgesch. d. Schrift*, Munich, 1907; Jermain, *In the path of the Alphabet*, Fort Wayne, 1907.—L. Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, &c., Strassb. 1902; and his 'Ueber d. Einfluss d. althebr. Buchwesens auf d. Originale', &c., in *Festschr. zu Ehren A. Berliners*, Frkf. 1903.

The best tables of alphabets are those of J. Euting in G. Bickell's *Outlines of Heb. Gram.* transl. by S. I. Curtiss, Lpz. 1877; in Pt. vii of the *Oriental Series* of the Palaeographical Soc., London, 1882; and, the fullest of all, in Chwolson's *Corpus inscr. Hebr.*, Petersburg, 1882; also Lidzbarski's in the *Jewish Encycl.*, see above.

- a 1. The Hebrew letters now in use, in which both the manuscripts of the O. T. are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, commonly called the *square character* (כְּתָב מִרְבָּעַי), also the *Assyrian character* (כְּתָב אַשּׁוּרִי),<sup>1</sup> are not those originally employed.

*Old Hebrew* (or *Old Canaanitish*)<sup>2</sup> writing, as it was used on

<sup>1</sup> The name אַשּׁוּרִי (Assyria) is here used in the widest sense, to include the countries on the Mediterranean inhabited by Aramaeans; cf. Stade in *ZAW.* 1882, p. 292 f. On some other names for Old Hebrew writing. cf. G. Hoffmann, *ibid.* 1881, p. 334 ff.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (transl. by J. Macpherson), Edinb. 1892, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> It is tacitly assumed here that this was the mother of all Semitic alphabets. In *ZDMG.* 1909, p. 189 ff., however, Prätorius has shown good

public monuments in the beginning of the ninth and in the second half of the eighth century B.C., is to be seen in the inscription of Mēša', as well as in that of Siloam. The characters on the Macca-baeen coins of the second century B.C., and also on ancient gems, still bear much resemblance to this (cf. § 2 d). With the Old Hebrew writing the Phoenician is nearly identical (see § 1 k, § 2 f, and the Table of Alphabets). From the analogy of the history of other kinds of writing, it may be assumed that out of and along with this monumental character, a less antique and in some ways more convenient, rounded style was early developed, for use on softer materials, skins, bark, papyrus, and the like. This the Samaritans retained after their separation from the Jews, while the Jews gradually<sup>1</sup> (between the sixth and the fourth century) exchanged it for an Aramaic character. From this gradually arose (from about the fourth to the middle of the third century) what is called the *square character*, which consequently bears great resemblance to the extant forms of Aramaic writing, such as the Egyptian-Aramaic, the Nabatean and especially the Palmyrene. Of Hebrew inscriptions in the older square character, that of 'Arâq al-Emir (15½ miles north-east of the mouth of the Jordan) probably belongs to 183 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The Jewish sarcophagus-inscriptions of the time of Christ, found in Jerusalem in 1905, almost without exception exhibit a pure square character. This altered little in the course of centuries, so that the age of a Hebrew MS. cannot easily be determined from the style of the writing. The oldest known biblical fragment is the Nash papyrus (found in 1902), containing the ten commandments and the beginning of Dt 6<sup>4f.</sup>, of the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D.; cf. N. Peters, *Die älteste Abschr. der 10 Gebote*, Freibg. i. B. 1905. Of actual MSS. of the Bible the oldest is probably one of 820-850 A.D. described by Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 469 ff., at the head of his sixty principal MSS.; next in age is the codex of Moses ben Asher at Cairo (897 A.D., cf. the art. 'Scribes' in the *Jew. Encycl.* xi and Gottheil in *JQR.* 1905, p. 32). The date (916 A.D.) of the Codex prophetarum Babylon. Petropol. (see § 8 g, note) is quite certain.—In the synagogue-rolls a distinction is drawn between the Tam-character (said to be so called from Rabbi Tam, grandson of R. Yishāqī, in the twelfth century) with its straight strokes, square corners and 'tittles' (tāgin), in German and Polish MSS., and the *foreign* character with rounded letters and tittles in Spanish MSS. See further E. König, *Einkl. in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893, p. 16 ff.

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grounds for believing that the South Semitic alphabet is derived not from the Mēša' character, or from some kindred and hardly older script, but from some unknown and much earlier form of writing.

<sup>1</sup> On the effect of the transitional mixture of earlier and later forms on the constitution of the text, see R. Kittel, *Ueber d. Notwendigk. d. Herausg. einer neuen hebr. Bibel*, Lpz. 1901, p. 20 ff.—L. Blau, 'Wie lange stand die althebr. Schrift bei den Juden im Gebrauch?' in *Kaufmanngedenkbuch*, Breslau, 1900, p. 44 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Not 176, as formerly held. Driver and Lidzbarski now read ערביה, correctly, not מוריבה.

b      2. The Alphabet consists, like all Semitic alphabets, solely of consonants, twenty-two in number, some of which, however, have also a kind of vocalic power (§ 7 b). The following Table shows their form, names, pronunciation, and numerical value (see *k*):—

FORM.	NAME.	PRONUNCIATION.	NUMERICAL VALUE.
א	' <i>Ālēph</i>	' <i>spiritus lenis</i>	1
ב	<i>Bēth</i>	<i>b</i> ( <i>bh</i> , but see § 6 n)	2
ג	<i>Gimēl</i> ( <i>Giml</i> )	<i>g</i> ( <i>gh</i> , " " " )	3
ד	<i>Dālēth</i>	<i>d</i> ( <i>dh</i> , " " " )	4
ה	<i>Hē</i>	<i>h</i>	5
ו	<i>Wāw</i> ( <i>Wāu</i> )	<i>w</i> ( <i>u</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	6
ז	<i>Záyīn</i>	<i>z</i> , as in English (soft <i>s</i> )	7
ח	<i>Hēth</i>	<i>h</i> , a strong guttural	8
ט	<i>Tēth</i>	<i>t</i> , emphatic <i>t</i>	9
י	<i>Yôd</i>	<i>y</i> ( <i>i</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	10
כ, final ך	<i>Kaph</i>	<i>k</i> ( <i>kh</i> , but see § 6 n)	20
ל	<i>Lāmēd</i>	<i>l</i>	30
מ, final ם	<i>Mēm</i>	<i>m</i>	40
נ, final ן	<i>Nūn</i>	<i>n</i>	50
ס	<i>Sāmēkh</i>	<i>s</i>	60
ע	' <i>Āyīn</i>	' a peculiar guttural (see below)	70
פ, final ף	<i>Pē</i>	<i>p</i> ( <i>f</i> , see § 6 n)	80
צ, final ץ	<i>Ṣādē</i>	<i>s</i> , emphatic <i>s</i>	90
ק	<i>Qôf</i>	<i>q</i> , a strong <i>k</i> <sup>2</sup> formed at the back of the palate	100
ר	<i>Rēš</i>	<i>r</i>	200
ש	<i>Śīn</i>	<i>ś</i>	} 300
װ	<i>Śīn</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>š</i> , pronounced <i>sh</i>	
ת	<i>Tāw</i> ( <i>Tāu</i> )	<i>t</i> ( <i>th</i> , but see § 6 n)	400

<sup>1</sup> Philippi, 'Die Aussprache der semit. Consonanten י und י,' in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 639 ff., 1897, p. 56 ff., adduces reasons in detail for the opinion that 'the Semitic י and י are certainly by usage consonants, although by nature they are vowels, viz. *u* and *i*, and consequently are consonantal vowels'; cf. § 8 m.

<sup>2</sup> As a representation of this sound the Latin *q* is very suitable, since it occupies in the alphabet the place of the Semitic ק (Greek *κόππα*).

<sup>3</sup> Nestle (*Actes du onzième Congrès . . . des Orientalistes*, 1897, iv. 113 ff.) has shown that the original order was װ, װ.

3. As the Table shows, five letters have a special form at the end *C* of the word. They are called final letters, and were combined by the Jewish grammarians in the mnemonic word *מְנַפֵּץ* *Kammēphās*, or better, with A. Müller and Stade, *מְנַפֵּץ* i. e. *as the breaker in pieces*.<sup>1</sup> Of these, ך, ן, ף, ץ are distinguished from the common form by the shaft being drawn straight down, while in the usual form it is bent round towards the left.<sup>2</sup> In the case of ם the letter is completely closed.

4. Hebrew is read and written from right to left.<sup>3</sup> Words must *d* not be divided at the end of the lines; <sup>4</sup> but, in order that no empty space may be left, in MSS. and printed texts, certain letters suitable for the purpose are dilated at the end or in the middle of the line. In our printed texts these *literae dilatabiles* are the five following: ם ן ף ך ץ (mnemonic word *אֶחָלֵתֶם* 'ahaltēm). In some MSS. other letters suitable for the purpose are also employed in this way, as ך, ן, ף; cf. Strack in the *Theol. Lehrb.*, 1882, No. 22; Nestle, *ZAW.* 1906, p. 170 f.

Rem. 1. The forms of the letters originally represent the rude outlines of *e* perceptible objects, the names of which, respectively, begin with the consonant represented (akrophony). Thus *Yôd*, in the earlier alphabets the rude picture of a hand, properly denotes *hand* (Heb. יד), but as a letter simply the sound ' (y), with which this word begins; 'Ayin, originally a circle, properly an *eye* (ׁ), stands for the consonant א. In the Phoenician alphabet, especially, the resemblance of the forms to the objects denoted by the name is still for the most part recognizable (see the Table). In some letters (א, ב, ג, ד, ה) the similarity is still preserved in the square character.

It is another question whether the present names are all original. They may be merely due to a later, and not always accurate, interpretation of the forms. Moreover, it is possible that in the period from about 1500 to 1000 B. C. the original forms underwent considerable change.

The usual explanation of the present names of the letters<sup>5</sup> is: ף אֶלֶף *α*, ך *f*

<sup>1</sup> In the Talmud, disregarding the alphabetical order, מְנַפֵּץ of thy *watcher*, i. e. *prophet*. See the discussions of this mnemonic word by Nestle, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 119 ff., König, Bacher (who would read מְנַפֵּץ = proceeding from thy prophets, Is 52<sup>8</sup>), Krauss, Marmorstein, *ibid.* p. 278 ff. All the twenty-two letters, together with the five final forms, occur in Zp 3<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, col. 68, rightly observes that the more original forms of these letters are preserved in the *literae finales*. Instances of them go back to the time of Christ.

<sup>3</sup> The same was originally the practice in Greek, which only adopted the opposite direction exclusively about 400 B. C. On the *boustrophædon* writing (alternately in each direction) in early Greek, early Sabæan, and in the Saba-inscriptions of the first three centuries A. D., cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 116 f.

<sup>4</sup> This does not apply to early inscriptions or seals. Cf. Meša', II. 1-5, 7, 8, &c., Siloam 2, 3, 5, where the division of words appears to be customary.

<sup>5</sup> We possess Greek transcriptions of the Hebrew names, dating from the fifth century B. C. The LXX give them (in almost the same form as Eusebius, *Iraep. Evang.* 10. 5) in La 1-4, as do also many Codices of the Vulgate (e. g. the

בֵּית *house*, גֶּמֶל *camel* (according to Lidzbarski, see below, perhaps originally אֵרֶן *axe* or *pick-axe*), דֶּלֶת *door* (properly *folding door*; according to Lidzbarski, perhaps דָּר *the female breast*), חַלּוֹן *air-hole* (?), *lattice-window* (?), וַיִּ hook, nail, וַיִּ weapon (according to Nestle, comparing the Greek ῥαβδ, rather וַיִּ *olive-tree*), חֵט *fence, barrier* (but perhaps only differentiated from ה by the left-hand stroke), מִית *a winding* (?), according to others a *leather bottle* or a *snake* (but perhaps only differentiated from ת by a circle round it), יוֹד *hand*, בָּה *bent hand*, לָמָד *ox-goad*, מַיִם *water*, נֶזֶן *fish* (Lidzbarski, 'perhaps originally נָחַשׁ *snake*,' as in Ethiopic), סָמָךְ *prop* (perhaps a modification of לוֹ), עֵינַי *eye*, פֶּה (also פִּי) *mouth*, צָרִי *fish-hook* (?), קוֹף *eye of a needle*, according to others *back of the head* (Lidzb., 'perhaps קֶשֶׁת *bow*'), רִישׁ *head*, שֵׁן *tooth*, תּוֹ *sign, cross*.

g With regard to the origin of this alphabet, it may be taken as proved that it is not earlier (or very little earlier) than the fifteenth century B. C., since otherwise the el-Amarna tablets (§ 2 f) would not have been written exclusively in cuneiform.<sup>1</sup> It seems equally certain on various grounds, that it originated on Canaanitish soil. It is, however, still an open question whether the inventors of it borrowed

(a) From the Egyptian system—not, as was formerly supposed, by direct adoption of hieroglyphic signs (an explanation of twelve or thirteen characters was revived by J. Halévy in *Rev. Sémit.* 1901, p. 356 ff., 1902, p. 331 ff., and in the *Verhandlungen* des xiii. . . *Orient.-Kongr. zu Hamb.*, Leiden, 1904, p. 109 ff.; but cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 261 ff.), or of hieratic characters derived from them (so E. de Rouge), but by the adoption of the *acrophonic* principle (see e) by which e. g. the hand, in Egyptian *tot*, represents the letter t, the lion = *laboi*, the letter l. This view still seems the most probable. It is now accepted by Lidzbarski ('Der Ursprung d. nord- u. südsemit. Schrift' in *Ephemeris*, i (1900), 109 ff., cf. pp. 134 and 261 ff.), though in his *Nordsem. Epigr.* (1898) p. 173 ff. he was still undecided.

(b) From the Babylonian (cuneiform) system. Wuttke's and W. Deecke's derivation of the old-Semitic alphabet from new-Assyrian cuneiform is impossible for chronological reasons. More recently Peters and Hommel have sought to derive it from the old-Babylonian, and Ball from the archaic Assyrian cuneiform. A vigorous discussion has been aroused by the theory of Frdr. Delitzsch (in *Die Entstehung des ält. Schriftsystems od. der Urspr. der Keilschriftzeichen* dargel., Lpz. 1897; and with the same title 'Ein Nachwort', Lpz. 1898, preceded by a very clear outline of the theory) that the old-Semitic alphabet arose in Canaan under the influence both of the Egyptian system (whence the *acrophonic* principle) and of the old-Babylonian, whence the principle of the graphic representation of objects and ideas by means of simple, and mostly rectilinear, signs. He holds that the choice of the objects was probably (in about fifteen cases) influenced by the Babylonian system. The correspondence of names had all the more effect since, according to Zimmern (*ZDMG.* 1896, p. 667 ff.), out of twelve names which are certainly identical, eight appear in the same order in the Babylonian arrangement of signs. But it must first be shown that the present names of the

Cod. Amiatinus) in ψψ 111, 112, 119, but with many variations from the customary forms, which rest on the traditional *Jewish* pronunciation. The forms *Deleth* (and *dulth*), *Zai*, *Sen* (LXX also χσεν, cf. Hebr. שֵׁן *tooth*) are to be noticed, amongst others, for *Daleth*, *Zain*, *Shin*. Cf. the tables in Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 126 f. In his opinion (and so Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 134) the form and meaning of the names point to Phoenicia as the original home of the alphabet, since *alf*, *bēt*, *dalt*, *wāw*, *tāw*, *pei* = *pē*, *pi*, *mouth*, and the vowel of *βῶ* = *rōš*, *head*, are all Hebraeo-Phoenician.

<sup>1</sup> In the excavations at Jericho in April, 1907, E. Sellin found a jar-handle with the Canaanite characters יח, which he dates (probably too early) about 1500 B. C.

'Phoenician' letters really denote the original picture. The identity of the objects may perhaps be due simply to the choice of the commonest things (animals, implements, limbs) in both systems.

The derivation of the Semitic alphabet from the signs of the Zodiac and their names, first attempted by Seyffarth in 1834, has been revived by Winckler, who refers twelve fundamental sounds to the Babylonian Zodiac. Hommel connects the original alphabet with the moon and its phases, and certain constellations; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 269 ff., and in complete agreement with him, Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 173 ff. This theory is by no means convincing.

(c) From the hieroglyphic system of writing discovered in 1894 by A. J. Evans in inscriptions in Crete (esp. at Cnossus) and elsewhere. According to Kluge (1897) and others, this represents the 'Mycenaean script' used about 3000-1000 B.C., and according to Fries ('Die neuesten Forschungen über d. Urspr. des phöniz. Alph.' in *ZDPV*. xxii. 118 ff.) really supplies the original forms of the Phoenician alphabet as brought to Palestine by the Philistines about 1100 B.C., but 'the Phoenician-Canaanite-Hebrews gave to the Mycenaean signs names derived from the earlier cuneiform signs'. The hypothesis of Fries is thus connected with that of Delitzsch. But although the derivation of the Phoenician forms from 'Mycenaean' types appears in some cases very plausible, in others there are grave difficulties, and moreover the date, 1100 B.C., assigned for the introduction of the alphabet is clearly too late. [See Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Oxf. 1909, p. 80 ff.]

(d) From a system, derived from Asia Minor, closely related to the Cypriote syllabary (Praetorius, *Der Urspr. des kanaän. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906). On this theory the Canaanites transformed the syllabic into an apparently alphabetic writing. In reality, however, they merely retained a single sign for the various syllables, so that e.g.  $\bar{p}$  is not really *q*, but *qa*, *qe*, *qi*, &c. Of the five Cypriote vowels also they retained only the star (in Cypriote = *a*) simplified into an 'ālef' (see alphabetical table) to express the vowels at the beginning of syllables, and *i* and *u* as Yod and Waw. Praetorius claims to explain about half the twenty-two Canaanite letters in this way, but there are various objections to his ingenious hypothesis.

2. As to the order of the letters, we possess early evidence in the alphabetic<sup>1</sup> *h* poems:  $\psi$  9 ( $\aleph$ - $\beth$ , cf.  $\psi$  10<sup>1</sup>  $\beth$ , and  $\nu\nu^{12-17}$   $\bar{p}$ - $\bar{n}$ ; cf. Gray in the *Expositor*, 1906, p. 233 ff., and Rosenthal, *ZAW*. 1896, p. 40, who shows that  $\psi$  9<sup>3.15.17</sup>  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$ ,  $\daleth$  exactly fit in between  $\bar{n}$ ,  $\daleth$ ,  $\aleph$ , and that  $\psi$  10<sup>1.3.5</sup> therefore has the reverse order  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$ ,  $\aleph$ ); also  $\psi\psi$  25 and 34 (both without a separate  $\bar{h}$ -verse and with  $\aleph$  repeated at the end<sup>2</sup>); 37, 111, 112, 119 (in which every eight verses begin with the same letter, each strophe, as discovered by D. H. Müller of Vienna, containing the eight leading words of  $\psi$  19<sup>3</sup> *ā*, *tōrā*, *ēdūth*, &c.); La 1-4 (in 2-4  $\aleph$  before  $\daleth$ <sup>3</sup>, in chap. 3 every three verses with the same initial, see Löhr, *ZAW*. 1904, p. 1 ff., in chap. 5 at any rate as many verses as letters in the alphabet); Pr 24<sup>1.3.5</sup>, 31<sup>10-31</sup> (in the LXX with  $\aleph$  before  $\daleth$ <sup>3</sup>); also in Na 1<sup>2-10</sup> Pastor Frohnmeyer of Württemberg (ob. 1880) detected traces of an alphabetic arrangement, but the attempt of Gunkel, Bickell, Arnold (*ZAW*. 1901,

<sup>1</sup> On the supposed connexion of this artificial arrangement with magical formulae ('the order of the letters was believed to have a sort of magic power') cf. Löhr, *ZAW*. 1905, p. 173 ff., and *Klagelieder*<sup>2</sup>, Göttingen, 1907, p. vii ff.

<sup>2</sup> On this superfluous  $\aleph$  cf. Grimme, *Euphemistic liturgical appendices*, Lpz. 1901, p. 8 ff., and Nestle, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 340 f., who considers it an appendage to the Greek alphabet.

<sup>3</sup> [Perhaps also originally in  $\psi$  34.]  $\aleph$  before  $\daleth$  is probably due to a magic alphabet, see above, n. 1. According to Böhmer, *ZAW*. 1908, p. 53 ff., the combinations  $\aleph\aleph$ ,  $\aleph\daleth$ ,  $\aleph\aleph$ , &c., were used in magical texts;  $\aleph\daleth$  was excluded, but by a rearrangement  $\psi\psi$  get  $\aleph\aleph$  and  $\aleph\aleth$ .

p. 225 ff.), Happel (*Der Ps. Nah*, Würzb. 1900) to discover further traces. has not been successful. [Cf. Gray in *Expositor*, 1898, p. 207 ff.; Driver, in the Century Bible, *Nahum*, p. 26.]—Bickell, *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, 1882, p. 319 ff., had already deduced from the versions the alphabetical character of Eccles 51<sup>13-20</sup>, with the omission of the ו-verse and with פ' at the end. His conjectures have been brilliantly confirmed by the discovery of the Hebrew original, although the order from א to ה is partly disturbed or obscured. If ו before י is deleted, ten letters are in their right positions, and seven can be restored to their places with certainty. Cf. N. Schlögl, *ZDMG.* 53, 669 ff.; C. Taylor in the appendix to Schechter and Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Camb. 1899, p. lxxvi ff., and in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xxx (1906), p. 95 ff.; *JQR.* 1905, p. 238 ff.; Löhr, *ZAW.* 1905, p. 183 ff.; I. Lévy, *REJ.* 1907, p. 62 ff.

The sequence of the three softest labial, palatal, and dental sounds ב, ג, ד, and of the three liquids ל, מ, נ, indicates an attempt at classification. At the same time other considerations also appear to have had influence. Thus it is certainly not accidental, that two letters, representing a hand (*Yod. Kaph*), as also two (if *Qoph* = back of the head) which represent the head, and in general several forms denoting objects naturally connected (*Mêm* and *Nûn*, *'Ayin* and *Pê*), stand next to one another.

2 The order, names, and numerical values of the letters have passed over from the Phoenicians to the Greeks, in whose alphabet the letters Α to Υ are borrowed from the Old Semitic. So also the Old Italic alphabets as well as the Roman, and consequently all alphabets derived either from this or from the Greek, are directly or indirectly dependent on the Phoenician.

h 3. a. In default of special arithmetical figures, the consonants were used also as numerical signs; cf. G. Gundermann, *Die Zahlzeichen*, Giessen, 1899, p. 6 f., and Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 106 ff. The earliest traces of this usage are, however, first found on the Maccabean coins (see above, § 2 d, end). These numerical letters were afterwards commonly employed, e.g. for marking the numbers of chapters and verses in the editions of the Bible. The units are denoted by א-ט, the tens by י-צ, 100-400 by ק-ת, the numbers from 500-900 by ט ( = 400), with the addition of the remaining hundreds, e.g. תק 500. In compound numbers the greater precedes (on the right), thus יא 11, קכא 121. But 15 is expressed by טו 9+6, not יה (which is a form of the divine name, being the first two consonants of יהוה).<sup>2</sup> For a similar reason טז is also mostly written for 16, instead of יז, which in compound proper names, like יזאבל, also represents the name of God, יהוה.

The thousands are sometimes denoted by the units with two dots placed above, e.g. נ̣ 1000.

l b. The reckoning of the years in Jewish writings (generally ליצירה after the creation) follows either the full chronology (לפְּרַט גְּדוּל or לַפ' ג'), with the addition of the thousands, or the abridged chronology (לַפ' קְטוּן), in which they are omitted. In the dates of the first thousand years after Christ, the Christian era is obtained by the addition of 240, in the second thousand years by the addition of 1240 (i. e. if the date falls between Jan. 1 and the Jewish new year; otherwise add 1239), the thousands of the Creation era being omitted.

m 4. Abbreviations of words are not found in the text of the O. T., but they occur on coins, and their use is extremely frequent amongst the later Jews.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note 3 on p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> On the rise of this custom (יה having been originally used and afterwards יה), cf. Nestle in *ZAW.* 1884, p. 250, where a trace of this method of writing occurring as early as Origen is noted.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jo. Buxtorf, *De abbreviaturis Hebr.*, Basel, 1613, &c.; Pietro Perreau.



of sounds on Hebrew itself (§ 19), and partly from the tradition of the Jews.<sup>1</sup>

The pronunciation of Hebrew by the modern German Jews, which partly resembles the Syriac and is generally called 'Polish', differs considerably from that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, which approaches nearer to the Arabic. The pronunciation of Hebrew by Christians follows the latter (after the example of Reuchlin), in almost all cases.

**b** The oldest tradition is presented in the transcription of Hebrew names in Assyrian cuneiform; a later, but yet in its way very important system is seen in the manner in which the LXX transcribe Hebrew names with Greek letters.<sup>2</sup> As, however, corresponding signs for several sounds (א, ע, צ, פ, ש) are wanting in the Greek alphabet, only an approximate representation was possible in these cases. The same applies to the Latin transcription of Hebrew words by Jerome, according to the Jewish pronunciation of his time.<sup>3</sup>

On the pronunciation of the modern Jews in North Africa, see Bargès in the *Journ. Asiat.*, Nov. 1848; on that of the South Arabian Jews, J. Dérenbourg, *Manuel du lecteur*, &c. (from a Yemen MS. of the year 1390), Paris, 1871 (extrait 6 du *Journ. Asiat.* 1870).

**c** 2. With regard to the pronunciation of the several gutturals and sibilants, and of א and פ, it may be remarked:—

1. Among the gutturals, the glottal stop א is the lightest, corresponding to the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks. It may stand either at the beginning or end of a syllable, e. g. אָמַר 'āmār, שָׂאֵם yā'sām. Even before a vowel א is almost lost to our ear, like the *h* in *hour* and in the French *habit, homme*. After a vowel א generally (and at the end of a word, always) coalesces with it, e. g. קָרָא qārā for an original qārā', Arab. qārā'ā; see further, § 23 a, 27 g.

**d** ה before a vowel corresponds exactly to our *h* (*spiritus asper*); after a vowel it is either a guttural (so always at the end of a syllable which is not final, e. g. נָהֲפַח nāhpakh; at the end of a word the consonantal ה has a point—Mappiq—in it, see § 14), or it stands inaudible at the end of a word, generally as a mere orthographic indication of a preceding vowel, e. g. גָּלָה gālā; cf. §§ 7 b and 75 a.

**e** ע is related to א, but is a much stronger guttural. Its strongest sound is a rattled, guttural *g*, cf. e. g. עָצָא, LXX Γάζα, עֲמָרָה Γόμορρα; elsewhere, a weaker sound of the same kind, which the LXX reproduce by a *spiritus (lenis or asper)*, e. g. עָלִי 'חלִי, עֲמָלֶךְ 'Αμαλέκ.<sup>4</sup> In the mouth of the Arabs one hears in the former case a sort of guttural *r*, in the latter a sound peculiar to themselves formed in the back of the throat.—It is as incorrect to omit the *γ*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Meinhof, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr.', in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.*, 1885, Bd. 132, p. 146 ff.; M. Schreiner, 'Zur Gesch. der Ausspr. des Hebr.', in *ZAW.* 1886, p. 213 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuag.*, Lpz. 1841, p. 90 ff.; C. Könneke, 'Gymn.-Progr.', Stargard, 1885. On the transcription of eleven Psalms in a palimpsest fragment of the Hexapla at Milan, see Mercati, *Atti della R. Accad.*, xxxi, Turin, 1896. [Cf. Burkitt, *Fragments of . . . Aquila*, Cambr. 1897, p. 13.]

<sup>3</sup> Numerous examples occur in *Hieronymi quaestiones hebraicae in libro geneseos*, edited by P. de Lagarde, Lpz. 1868; cf. the exhaustive and systematic discussion by Siegfried, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr. bei Hieronymus,' in *ZAW.* 1884, pp. 34-83.

<sup>4</sup> It is, however, doubtful if the LXX always consciously aimed at reproducing the actual differences of sound.

entirely, in reading and transcribing words (עֵלִי *Eli*, עֲמֶלֶק *Amalek*), as to pronounce it exactly like *g* or like a nasal *ng*. The stronger sound might be approximately transcribed by *gh* or '*g*'; but since in Hebrew the softer sound was the more common, it is sufficient to represent it by the sign ' as אֲרָבָע 'arba', אֶרֶץ 'ad.

ך is the strongest guttural sound, a deep guttural *ch*, as heard generally *f* in Swiss German, somewhat as in the German *Achat*, *Macht*, *Sache*, *Docht*, *Zucht* (not as in *Licht*, *Knecht*), and similar to the Spanish *j*. Like ך it was, however, pronounced in many words feebly, in others strongly.

As regards ך, its pronunciation as a palatal (with a vibrating uvula) seems *g* to have been the prevailing one. Hence in some respects it is also classed with the gutturals (§ 22 q, r). On the *lingual* ך, cf. o.

2. The Hebrew language is unusually rich in sibilants. These have, at any *h* rate in some cases, arisen from dentals which are retained as such in Aramaic and Arabic (see in the *Lexicon* the letters ט, צ and ש).

ש and ש were originally represented (as is still the case in the unpointed *i* texts) by only one form ש; but that the use of this one form to express two different sounds (at least in Hebrew) was due only to the poverty of the alphabet, is clear from the fact that they are differentiated in Arabic and Ethiopic (cf. Nöldeke in *Ztschr. f. wissenschaft. Theol.*, 1873, p. 121; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 133). In the Masoretic punctuation they were distinguished by means of the diacritical point as ש (sh) and ש (s).<sup>1</sup>

The original difference between the sounds ש and ש sometimes marks *k* a distinction in meaning, e.g. סָכַר to close, שָׁכַר to hire, סָכַל to be foolish, שָׁכַל to be prudent, to be wise. Syriac always represents both sounds by ס, and in Hebrew also they are sometimes interchanged; as סָכַר for שָׁכַר to hire, Ezr 4<sup>5</sup>; שָׁכְלוּ for סָכְלוּ *folly*, Ec 1<sup>17</sup>.

ז (transcribed ζ by the LXX) is a soft whizzings, the French and English *z*, *l* altogether different from the German *z* (*ts*).

3. ט, ק, and probably צ are pronounced with a strong articulation and *m* with a compression of the larynx. The first two are thus essentially different from ת and כ, which correspond to our *t* and *k* and also are often aspirated (see below, n). צ is distinguished from every other *s* by its peculiar articulation, and in no way corresponds to the German *z* or *ts*; we transcribe it by *z*; cf. G. Hüsing, 'Zum Lautwerte des צ,' in *OLZ*. x. 467 ff.

3. Six consonants, the weak and middle hard Palatals, Dentals, *n* and Labials

ב נ ד כ פ ת (בְּנִדְכַּפְתִּי)

have a twofold pronunciation, (י) a harder sound, as mutes, like

<sup>1</sup> The modern Samaritans, however, in reading their Hebrew Pentateuch pronounce ש invariably as ש.

<sup>2</sup> The original value of ט, and its relation to the original value of ש and ש, is still undetermined, despite the valuable investigations of P. Haupt, *ZDMG*. 1880, p. 762 f.; D. H. Müller, 'Zur Geschichte der semit. Zischlaute,' in the *Verhandlungen des Wiener Orient. Congresses*, Vienna, 1888, Semitic section, p. 229 ff.; De Lagarde, 'Samech,' in the *NGGW*. 1891, no. 5, esp. p. 173; Aug. Müller, *ZAW*. 1891, p. 267 ff.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. 1893, p. 100 f.; E. Glaser, *Zwei Wiener Publicationen über Habaschitisch-punische Dialekte in Südarabien*, Munich, 1902, pp. 19 ff.—On the phonetic value of צ see G. Hüsing, *OLZ*. 1907, p. 467 ff.

*k*, *p*, *t*, or initial *b*, *g* (hard), *d*; and (2) a softer sound as *spirantes*.<sup>1</sup> The harder sound is the original. It is retained at the beginning of syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding to influence the pronunciation, and is denoted by a point, *Dageš lene* (§ 13), placed in the consonants, viz. ב *b*, ג *g*, ד *d*, כ *k*, פ *p*, ת *t*. The weaker pronunciation appears as soon as a vowel sound immediately precedes. It is occasionally denoted, esp. in MSS., by *Rāphê* (§ 14 e), but in printed texts usually by the mere absence of the *Dageš*. In the case of ב, כ, פ, ת, the two sounds are clearly distinguishable even to our ear as *b* and *v*, *k* and German (weak) *ch*, *p* and *ph*, *t* and *th* (in *thin*). The Greeks too express this twofold pronunciation by special characters: כ *κ*, כ *χ*; פ *π*, פ *φ*; ת *τ*, ת *θ*. In the same way ג should be pronounced like the North German *g* in *Tage*, *Wagen*, and ד like *th* in *the*, as distinguished from ג and ד.

For more precise information on the cases in which the one or the other pronunciation takes place, see § 21. The modern Jews pronounce the aspirated ב as *v*, the aspirated ת as *s*, e.g. רַב *rav* (or even *raf*), בַּיִת *bais*. The customary transcription (used also in this Grammar) of the spirants ב, כ, ת by *bh*, *kh*, *th* is only an unsatisfactory makeshift, since it may lead (esp. in the case of *bh* and *kh*) to an erroneous conception of the sounds as real aspirates, *b-h*, *k-h*.

o 4. According to their special character the consonants are divided into—

(a) Gutturals	א ה ע ת ;
(b) Palatals	ג כ ;
(c) Dentals	ד ט ת ;
(d) Labials	ב פ ;
(e) Sibilants	ז ש ס צ ;
(f) Sonants	נ מ , ר , ל , וי .

In the case of ד its hardest pronunciation as a *palatal* (see above, *g*, end) is to be distinguished from its more unusual sound as a lingual, pronounced in the front of the mouth.

On the twofold pronunciation of *r* in Tiberias, cf. Delitzsch, *Physiol. und Musik*, Lpz. 1863, p. 10 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, Lpz. 1879, p. 5, note a, and § 7 of the Hebrew text, as well as p. 82.

p In accordance with E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 14, the following scheme of the Hebrew phonetic system is substituted for the table formerly given in this grammar:—

i. Throat sounds (Gutturals): א ה ע ת .

<sup>1</sup> So at any rate at the time when the present punctuation arose.

ii. Mouth-sounds :

1. Mutes and  
Spirants :

	w.	m.	e.	w.	m.
Palatal	א	כ	ק	ג	כ
Dental	ד	ת	ט	ר	ת
Labial	ב	פ	—	ב	פ
2. Sibilants :	...	ז ש שם	צ		
3. Sonants :	...	ו ר ל	נ מ		

Rem. 1. The meaning of the letters at the top is, w. = weak, m. = middle hard, e. = emphatic. Consonants which are produced by the same organ of speech are called *homorganic* (e.g. א and כ as palatals), consonants whose sound is of the same nature *homogeneous* (e.g. א and י as semi-vowels). On their homorganic character and homogeneity depends the possibility of interchange, whether within Hebrew itself or with the kindred dialects. In such cases the soft sound generally interchanges with the soft, the hard with the hard, &c. (e.g. א = י, ח = ש, ט = צ). Further transitions are not, however, excluded, as e.g. the interchange of ח and ק (ח = כ = ק). Here it is of importance to observe whether the change takes place in an initial, medial, or final letter; since e.g. the change in a letter when medial does not always prove the possibility of the change when initial. That in certain cases the character of the consonantal sound also influences the preceding or following vowel will be noticed in the accidence as the instances occur.

Rem. 2. Very probably in course of time certain nicer distinctions of *r* pronunciation became more and more neglected and finally were lost. Thus e.g. the stronger *r*, which was known to the LXX (see above, e), became in many cases altogether lost to the later Jews; by the Samaritans and Galileans א and ח were pronounced merely as א, and so in Ethiopic, א like א, ח like ח, ש like ש.

Rem. 3. The consonants which it is usual to describe especially as *weak*, *s* are those which readily coalesce with a preceding vowel to form a long vowel, viz. א, י, ו (as to ח, cf. § 23 k), or those which are most frequently affected by the changes described in § 19 b-l, as again א, י, ו, and א, and in certain cases ח and ש; finally the gutturals and ר for the reason given in § 22 b and q.

§ 7. *The Vowels in General, Vowel Letters and Vowel Signs.*

1. The original vowels in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic tongues, *a* are *a*, *i*, *u*. *E* and *o* always arise from an obscuring or contraction of these three pure sounds, viz. *e* by modification from *i* or *a*; short *o* from *u*; *e* by contraction from *ai* (properly *ay*); and *o* sometimes by modification (obscuring) from *a*, sometimes by contraction from *au* (properly *aw*).<sup>1</sup>

In Arabic writing there are vowel signs only for *a*, *i*, *u*; the combined sounds *ay* and *aw* are therefore retained uncontracted and pronounced as diphthongs (*ai* and *au*), e.g. שׂוּף Arab. *sawf*, and עֵינַיִן Arab. *ainain*. It was

<sup>1</sup> In proper names the LXX often use the diphthongs *ai* and *au* where the Hebrew form has *e* or *o*. It is, however, very doubtful whether the *ai* and *au* of the LXX really represent the true pronunciation of Hebrew of that time; see the instructive statistics given by Kittel in Haupt's *SBOT.*, on 1 Ch 12-20.

only in later Arabic that they became in pronunciation *é* and *ô*, at least after weaker or softer consonants; cf. בַּיִן Arab. *bain*, *bén*, דִּי Arab. *yauim*, *yôm*. The same contraction appears also in other languages, e.g. in Greek and Latin (θαῦμα, Ionic θῶμα; *plaustrum* = *plostrum*), in the French pronunciation of *ai* and *au*, and likewise in the German popular dialects (*Oge* for *Auge*, &c.). Similarly, the obscuring of the vowels plays a part in various languages (cf. e.g. the *a* in modern Persian, Swedish, English, &c.).<sup>1</sup>

**b** 2. The partial expression of the vowels by certain consonants (ה, ו, י; א), which sufficed during the lifetime of the language, and for a still longer period afterwards (cf. § 1 k), must in the main have passed through the following stages<sup>2</sup> :—

(a) The need of a written indication of the vowel first made itself felt in cases where, after the rejection of a consonant, or of an entire syllable, a long vowel formed the final sound of the word. The first step in such a case was to retain the original final consonant, at least as a vowel letter, i. e. merely as an indication of a final vowel. In point of fact we find even in the Old Testament, as already in the Mēša' inscription, a ה employed in this way (see below) as an indication of a final *o*. From this it was only a step to the employment of the same consonant to indicate also other vowels when final (thus, e.g. in the inflection of the verbs ה'ל', the vowels *ā*,<sup>3</sup> *ē*, *è*). After the employment of ו as a vowel letter for *ô* and *u*, and of י for *ê* and *î*, had been established (see below, e) these consonants were also employed—although not consistently—for the same vowels at the end of a word.

**C** According to § 91 b and d, the suffix of the 3rd sing. masc. in the noun (as in the verb) was originally pronounced הו. But in the places where this הו with a preceding *a* is contracted into *ô* (after the rejection of the ה), we find the ה still frequently retained as a vowel letter, e.g. סוּתָה, עִירָה Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, cf. § 91 e; so throughout the Mēša' inscription אֶרְצָה, בִּיתָה (also בָּתָה), בָּנָה, בָּה, לָה, הֶלְתָּחַמָה; on the other hand already in the Siloam inscription ראשֵׁיו ימָה Mēša', l. 8 = יָמָיו *his days* is unusual, as also ראשֵׁה l. 20 if it is for ראשֵׁיו *his chiefs*. The verbal forms with ה suffixed are to be read יִתְלַפֶּה (l. 6), וְאֶסְחָבָה (l. 12 f.) and וַיִּנְרֶשֶׁה (l. 19).

**d** As an example of the original consonant being retained, we might also include the ו of the constr. state plur. masc. if its *ê* (according to § 89 d) is

<sup>1</sup> In Sanskrit, in the Old Persian cuneiform, and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not represented, but the consonant by itself is pronounced with short *a*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, p. 34 ff.

<sup>3</sup> According to Stade, the employment of ה for *ā* probably took place first in the case of the locative accusatives which originally ended in הָ, as קִרְיָה, אֶרְצָה.

<sup>4</sup> The form וַיִּנְרֶשֶׁה contradicts the view of Oort, *Theol. Tijds.*, 1902, p. 374, that the above instances from the Mēša'-inscription are to be read *benhu*, *bahu*, *lahu*, which were afterwards vocalized as *beno*, *bo*, *lo*.

contracted from an original *ay*. Against this, however, it may be urged that the Phœnician inscriptions do not usually express this *ê*, nor any other final vowel.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The employment of ו to denote *ô*, *û*, and of י to denote *ê*, *î*, may *e* have resulted from those cases in which a ו with a preceding *a* was contracted into *au* and further to *ô*, or with a preceding *u* coalesced into *û*, and where י with *a* has been contracted into *ai* and further to *ê*, or with a preceding *i* into *î* (cf. § 24). In this case the previously existing consonants were retained as vowel letters and were further applied at the end of the word to denote the respective long vowels. Finally א also will in the first instance have established itself as a vowel letter only where a consonantal א with a preceding *a* had coalesced into *â* or *ā*.

The orthography of the Siloam inscription corresponds almost exactly with the above assumptions. Here (as in the Mēša' inscr.) we find all the long vowels, which have not arisen from original diphthongs, *without* vowel letters, thus אשחבם, חצבם, מימן (or מימן); אפח, קל, שלש, צר. On the other hand מוצא (from *mausa'*), עוד (from *'auā*); מימן also, if it is to be read מימן, is an instance of the retention of a י which has coalesced with *i* into *î*. Instances of the retention of an originally consonantal א as a vowel letter are מאתים, מוצא, and קרא, as also ראש. Otherwise final *ā* is always represented by ה: נקבה, ורה, היה, אמה: ה. To this ד' alone would form an exception (cf. however the note on יום, § 96), instead of יום (Arab. *yaum*) *day*, which one would expect. If the reading be correct, this is to be regarded as an argument that a consciousness of the origin of many long vowels was lost at an early period, so that (at least in the middle of the word) the vowel letters were omitted in places where they should stand, according to what has been stated above, and added where there was no case of contraction. This view is in a great measure confirmed by the orthography of the Mēša' inscription. There we find, as might be expected, ריבן (= *Daibōn*, as the Δαιβών of the LXX proves), חורן (ô from *au*), and ביתה (ê from *ai*), but also even השעני<sup>2</sup> instead of הושעני (from *haus-*), ואשב, four times, בית, four times, for בית and ביתה (from *bait*); לילה, לילה, or אין, לילה, לילה.

<sup>1</sup> Thus there occurs, e.g. in Melit. i, l. 3 שבני = שני בני the two sons; elsewhere כ for כ (but כ in the Mēša' and Siloam inscr.), ו for ו (the latter in the Siloam inscr.), בנת = בנתי (so Mēša'), &c. Cf. on the other hand in Mēša', אנכי = אנכי (unless it was actually pronounced *'anōkh* by the Moabites!). As final *ā* is represented by ה and א and final *î* by י, so final *û* is almost everywhere expressed by ו in Mēša', and always in the Siloam inscription. It is indeed not impossible that Hebrew orthography also once passed through a period in which the final vowels were left always or sometimes undenoted, and that not a few strange forms in the present text of the Bible are to be explained from the fact that subsequently the vowel letters (especially ו and י) were not added in all cases. So Chwolson, 'Die Quiescentia הו in der althebr. Orthogr.', in *Travaux du Congrès... des Orientalistes*, Petersb. 1876; cf. numerous instances in Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 146 ff.

<sup>2</sup> השעני is the more strange since the name of king הושע is represented as A-u s' in cuneiform as late as 728 B.C.

g (c) In the present state of Old Testament vocalization as it appears in the Masoretic text, the striving after a certain uniformity cannot be mistaken, in spite of the inconsistencies which have crept in. Thus the final long vowel is, with very few exceptions (cf. § 9 d, and the very doubtful cases in § 8 k), indicated by a vowel letter—and almost always by the same letter in certain nominal and verbal endings. In many cases the use of ם to mark an *ô* or *û*, arising from contraction, and of ם for *ê* or *î*, is by far the more common, while we seldom find an originally consonantal ם rejected, and the simple phonetic principle taking the place of the historical orthography. On the other hand the number of exceptions is very great. In many cases (as e.g. in the plural endings ם׳— and ם׳) the vowel letters are habitually employed to express long vowels which do not arise through contraction, and we even find short vowels indicated. The conclusion is, that if there ever was a period of Hebrew writing when the application of fixed laws to all cases was intended, either these laws were not consistently carried out in the further transmission of the text, or errors and confusion afterwards crept into it. Moreover much remained uncertain even in texts which were plentifully provided with vowel letters. For, although in most cases the context was a guide to the correct reading, yet there were also cases where, of the many possible ways of pronouncing a word, more than one appeared admissible.<sup>1</sup>

h 3. When the language had died out, the ambiguity of such a writing must have been found continually more troublesome; and as there was thus a danger that the correct pronunciation might be finally lost, the vowel signs or vowel points were invented in order to fix it. By means of these points everything hitherto left uncertain was most accurately settled. It is true that there is no historical account of the date of this vocalization of the O. T. text, yet we may at least infer, from a comparison of other historical facts, that it was gradually developed by Jewish grammarians in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. under the influence of different Schools, traces of which have been preserved to the present time in various differences of tradition.<sup>2</sup> They mainly followed, though with independent regard to

<sup>1</sup> Thus e.g. לִפְּתָל can be read *qāṭal*, *qāṭāl*, *qāṭōl*, *qēṭōl*, *qōṭel*, *qittēl*, *qattēl*, *quṭṭal*, *qēṭel*, and several of these forms have also different senses.

<sup>2</sup> The most important of these differences are, (a) those between the Orientals, i. e. the scholars of the Babylonian Schools, and the Occidentals, i. e. the scholars of Palestine (Tiberias, &c.); cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 197 ff.; (b) amongst the Occidentals, between Ben-Naphtali and Ben-Asher, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century at Tiberias; cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 241 ff. Both sets of variants are given by Baer in the appendices

the peculiar nature of the Hebrew, the example and pattern of the older Syrian punctuation.<sup>1</sup>

See Gesenius, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.*, p. 182 ff.; Hupfeld, in *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1830, pt. iii, who shows that neither Jerome nor the Talmud mentions vowel signs; Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talm. u. Midrasch*, p. 26 ff.; and B. Pick, in *Hebraica*, i. 3, p. 153 ff.; Abr. Geiger, 'Zur Nakdanim-[Punctuators]-Literatur,' in *Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben*, x. Breslau, 1872, p. 10 ff.; H. Strack, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.*, Lips. 1873; 'Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibeltexes,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, p. 736 ff., as also in the *Ztschr. f. die ges. luth. Theol. u. K.*, 1875, p. 619 ff.; 'Massorah,' in the *Protest. Real.-Enc.*<sup>2</sup>, xii. 393 ff. (a good outline); A. Merx, in the *Verhandlungen des Orientalistenkongresses zu Berlin*, i. Berlin, 1881, p. 164 ff. and p. 188 ff.; H. Graetz, 'Die Anfänge der Vokalzeichen im Hebr.,' in *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, 1881, pp. 348 ff. and 395 ff.; Hersmann, *Zur Gesch. des Streites über die Entstehung der hebr. Punctuation*, Ruhrort, 1885; Harris, 'The Rise... of the Massorah,' *JQR.* i. 1889, p. 128 ff. and p. 223 ff.; Mayer-Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 1893, p. 274 ff.; J. Bachrach, *Das Alter d. bibl. Vocalisation u. Accentuation*, 2 pts. Warsaw, 1897, and esp. Ginsburg, *Introd.* (see § 3 c), p. 287 ff.; Budde, 'Zur Gesch. d. Tiberiens. Vocalisation,' in *Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, i. 1906, 651 ff.; Bacher, 'Diakrit. Zeichen in vormasoret. Zeit,' in *ZAW.* 1907, p. 285; C. Levias, art. 'Vocalization,' in the *Jewish Encycl.*—On the hypothesis of the origin of punctuation in the Jewish schools for children, cf. J. Dérenbourg in the *Rev. Crit.*, xiii. 1879, no. 25.

4. To complete the historical vocalization of the consonantal text *i* a phonetic system was devised, so exact as to show all vowel-changes occasioned by lengthening of words, by the tone, by gutturals, &c., which in other languages are seldom indicated in writing. The pronunciation followed is in the main that of the Palestinian Jews of about the sixth century A.D., as observed in the solemn reading of the sacred writings in synagogue and school, but based on a much older tradition. That the real pronunciation of early Hebrew is consistently preserved by this tradition, has recently been seriously questioned on good grounds, especially in view of the transcription of proper names in the LXX. Nevertheless in many cases, internal reasons, as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, testify in a high degree to the faithfulness of the tradition. At the same recension of the text, or soon after, the various other signs for reading (§§ 11–14, 16) were added, and the accents (§ 15).

### § 8. The Vowel Signs in particular.

P. Haupt, 'The names of the Hebrew vowels,' *JAOS.* xxii, and in the *Johns Hopkins Semitic Papers*, Newhaven, 1901, p. 7 ff.; C. Levias in the *Hebr. Union Coll. Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 138 ff.

to his critical editions. Our printed editions present uniformly the text of Ben-Asher, with the exception of a few isolated readings of Ben-Naphtali, and of numerous later corruptions.

<sup>1</sup> See Geiger, 'Massorah bei d. Syrern,' in *ZDMG.* 1873, p. 148 ff.; J. P. Martin, *Hist. de la ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens*, Par. 1875; E. Nestle, in *ZDMG.* 1876, p. 525 ff.; Weingarten, *Die syr. Massora nach Bar Hebraeus*, Halle, 1887.

## Preliminary Remark.

The next two sections (§§ 8 and 9) have been severely criticized (Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1897, no. 2) for assigning a definite quantity to each of the several vowels, whereas in reality  $\overline{\text{—}}$ ,  $\text{—}$ ,  $\text{—}$  are merely signs for  $\bar{a}$ ,  $e$ ,  $o$ : 'whether these are long or short is not shown by the signs themselves but must be inferred from the rules for the pause which marks the breaks in continuous narrative, or from other circumstances.' But in the twenty-fourth and subsequent German editions of this Grammar, in the last note on § 8 a [English ed. p. 38, note 4], it was stated: 'it must be mentioned that the Masoretes are not concerned with any distinction between long and short vowels, or in general with any question of quantity. Their efforts are directed to fixing the received pronunciation as faithfully as possible, by means of writing. For a long time only מלכים שבעה *seven kings* were reckoned (*vox memor.* in Elias Levita מלך שבעה, *Šureq and Qibbuš* being counted as one vowel. The division of the vowels in respect of quantity is a later attempt at a scientific conception of the phonetic system, which was not invented but only represented by the Masoretes (Qimchi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb. 136 a, distinguishes the five long as *mothers* from their five daughters).'

I have therefore long shared the opinion that 'the vowel-system represented by the ordinary punctuation (of Tiberias) was primarily intended to mark only differences of quality' (Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 17). There is, however, of course a further question how far these 'later' grammarians were mistaken in assigning a particular quantity to the vowels represented by particular signs. In Philippi's opinion they were mistaken (excluding of course  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  when written *plene*) in a very great number of cases, since not only does  $\text{—}$  stand, according to circumstances, for  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{ä}$ , and  $\text{—}$  for  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{ä}$ , but also  $\text{—}$  for  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{e}$ , and  $\text{—}$  for  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{o}$ , e. g. פֶּבֶר and קָטָן, out of pause *kābēd*, *qāṭān* (form קָטָל), but in pause *kābēd*, *qāṭān*.

I readily admit, with regard to *Qameš* and *S'gol*, that the account formerly given in § 8 f. was open to misconstruction. With regard to *Šere* and *Holem*, however, I can only follow Philippi so long as his view does not conflict with the (to me inviolable) law of a long vowel in an open syllable before the tone and (except *Pathah*) in a final syllable with the tone. To me פֶּבֶר = *kābēd*, &c., is as impossible as e. g. עֵנָב = *ēnab* or בֶּרַךְ = *bōrahk*, in spite of the analogy cited by Sievers (p. 18, note 1) that 'in old German e. g. original  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  often pass into  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  dialectically, while remaining in a closed syllable.

- a 1. The full vowels (in contrast to the half-vowels or vowel trills, § 10 a-f), classified according to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7 a), are as follows:—

## First Class. A-sound.

- A { 1.  $\overline{\text{—}}$  <sup>1</sup> *Qāmēš* denotes either  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{ä}$ , more strictly  $\bar{ä}$  (the obscure Swedish  $\bar{ä}$ ) and  $\hat{a}$ ,<sup>2</sup> as יָ *yāḏ* (hand), ראשׁ *rā'sēm* (heads), or  $\check{a}$  (in future transcribed as  $\bar{o}$ ), called *Qāmēš ḥatūph*, i. e. hurried *Qameš*. The latter occurs almost exclusively as a modification of  $\bar{u}$ ; cf. c and § 9 u.
2.  $\text{—}$  *Pāthāḥ*,  $\bar{a}$ , בַּת *bāth* (daughter).

<sup>1</sup> In early MSS. the sign for *Qameš* is a stroke with a point underneath, i. e. according to Nestle's discovery (*ZDMG.* 1892, p. 411 f.), *Pathah* with *Holem*, the latter suggesting the obscure pronunciation of *Qameš* as  $\bar{a}$ . Cf. also Ginsburg, *Intro.*, p. 609.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the no doubt more accurate transcription  $\bar{ä}$ ,  $\hat{a}$  we have

Also 3. — *Sêgôl*, an open *e*, *è* (*ā* or *ǎ*), as a modification of *ǎ*,<sup>1</sup> either in an untuned closed syllable, as in the first syllable of יָדְכֶם *yădkhêm* (your hand) from *yădkhêm*—or in a tone-syllable as in פֶּסַח *pēsah*; cf. πᾶσχα, and on the really monosyllabic character of such formations, see § 28 *e*. But *Sêgôl* in an open tone-syllable with a following *ı*, as in גִּלְנָה *gelênā* (cf. § 75 *f*), יָדֶכָּה *yādēkhā* (cf. § 91 *i*), is due to contraction from *ay*.

Second Class. *I- and E-sounds.*

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| I | { | 1. — <i>Hîrêq</i> with <i>yod</i> , almost always <i>î</i> , as צַדִּיק <i>saddîq</i> (righteous). <i>b</i>  |
|   |   | 2. — either <i>î</i> (see below, <i>i</i> ), as צַדִּיקִים <i>saddîqîm</i> , only orthographically different from צַדִּיקִים (צַדִּיקִים),—or <i>î</i> , as צַדִּיקוֹ <i>sîdqô</i> (his righteousness).  |
| E | { | 3. — <i>Serî</i> or <i>Sêrê</i> with <i>yod</i> = <i>ê</i> , e.g. בֵּיתוֹ <i>bêthô</i> (his house).<br>— either <i>ê</i> , but rarely (see below, <i>i</i> ), or <i>ē</i> as שֵׁם <i>šēm</i> (name).<br><i>Sere</i> can only be <i>ē</i> , in my opinion, in few cases, such as those mentioned in § 29 <i>f</i> . |
|   |   | 4. — <i>Sêgôl</i> , <i>ǎ</i> , a modification of <i>ı</i> , e.g. חֲפֹצִי <i>hăfṣî</i> (ground-form <i>hăfṣ</i> ); שָׁן <i>šān</i> (ground-form <i>šēn</i> ).   |

Third Class. *U- and O-sounds.*

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| U | { | 1. <i>Šûrêq</i> , usually <i>û</i> , מוֹת <i>mûth</i> (to die), rarely <i>ü</i> . <span style="float: right;"><i>c</i></span>  |
|   |   | 2. — <i>Qibbûs</i> , either <i>û</i> , e.g. סֻלָּם <i>süllām</i> (ladder), or <i>ü</i> , e.g. קָמוּ <i>qûmû</i> (rise up), instead of the usual קָמוּ.   |
| O | { | 3. <i>î</i> and — <i>Hôlêm</i> , <i>ô</i> and <i>ō</i> , קוֹל <i>qôl</i> (voice), רֹב <i>rôbh</i> (multitude).<br>Often also a defective — for <i>ô</i> ; rarely <i>î</i> for <i>ō</i> .<br>On the question whether — under some circumstances represents <i>ô</i> , see § 93 <i>r</i> . |
|   |   | 4. — On <i>Qāmêṣ ḥatûph</i> = <i>ô</i> , generally modified from <i>ü</i> , as קֶדֶשׁ <i>hōq</i> (statute), see above, <i>a</i> .  |

retained *ā*, *á* in this grammar, as being typographically simpler and not liable to any misunderstanding. For *Qāmêṣ ḥatûph*, in the previous German edition expressed by *ǎ*, we have, after careful consideration, returned to *ô*. The use of the same sign — for *ā* (*â*) and *ǎ*, shows that the Massoretes did not intend to draw a sharp distinction between them. We must not, however, regard the Jewish grammarians as making a merely idle distinction between *Qāmêṣ rāḥab*, or broad *Qames*, and *Qāmêṣ ḥatûph*, or light *Qames*. It is quite impossible that in the living language an *ā* lengthened from *ǎ*, as in *dābār*, should have been indistinguishable from e.g. the last vowel in וַיֵּשֶׁב or the first in קָרָשִׁים.—The notation *ā*, *ê*, *ô* expresses here the vowels essentially long, either naturally or by contraction; the notation *ā*, *ē*, *ō* those lengthened only by the tone, and therefore changeable; *ǎ*, *ǣ*, *ǝ* the short vowels. As regards the others, the distinction into *ı* and *î*, *û* and *ü* is sufficient; see § 9.—The mark ˆ stands in the following pages over the tone-syllable, whenever this is not the last, as is usual, but the penultimate syllable of the word, e.g. מִשְׁכָּן.

<sup>1</sup> These *Sêgôls*, modified from *ǎ*, are very frequent in the language. The

*d* The names of the vowels are mostly taken from the form and action of the mouth in producing the various sounds, as פִּתַּח *opening*; צִיר *a wide parting* (of the mouth), also שִׁבְר (= *ī*) *breaking, parting* (cf. the Arab. *kasr*; הִירָק (also חִרָק) *narrow opening*; חִלּוּם *closing*, according to others *fullness*, i. e. of the mouth (also מִלּוֹא פִּים<sup>1</sup> *fullness of the mouth*). קָמֶץ<sup>2</sup> also denotes a slighter, as שִׁנְרָק and קִבּוּץ (also קִבּוּץ פִּים) a firmer, compression or contraction of the mouth. סֵגוֹל (סִגּוּל *bunch of grapes*) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֹשׁ נִקְדוֹת (*three points*) is another name for Qibbûs.

*e* Moreover the names were mostly so formed (but only later), that the sound of each vowel is heard in the first syllable (קָמֶץ for קָמֶץ, פִּתַּח for פִּתַּח, צִיר for צִיר); in order to carry this out consistently some even write Sägöl, Qomes-ḥatûf, Qibbûs.

*f* 2. As the above examples show, the vowel sign stands regularly under the consonant, after which it is to be pronounced, רָ *rā*, רֶ *rā*, רֵ *rē*, רֹ *rū*, &c. The Puthah called *furtivum* (§ 22 *f*) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced before the consonant, רוּחַ *rūah* (wind, spirit). The Hölēm (without wāw) stands on the left above the consonant; רֹ *rō* (but לֹ = *lō*). If א, as a vowel letter, follows a consonant which is to be pronounced with *ō*, the point is placed over its right arm, thus באַ, ראַ; but e.g. באָ, since א here begins a syllable.

*g* No dot is used for the Holem when *ō* (of course without wāw) is pronounced after *sin* or before *šin*. Hence שִׁנָּא *šōnē* (hating), שָׁמַע *nʿśō* (to hear), מִשָּׁה *mōšē* (not מִשָּׁה); but שִׁמֶר *šōmēr* (a watchman). When *ō* precedes the *šin*, the dot is placed over its right arm, e.g. יִרְפֹּשׁ *yirpōš* (he treads with the feet), הַנֹּשְׂאִים *hannōšʿīm* (those who carry).

In the sign ו, the ו may also be a consonant. The ו is then either to be read *ōw* (necessarily so when a consonant otherwise without a vowel precedes, e.g. לוֹוֶה *lōwè*, lending) or *wō*, when a vowel already precedes the ו, e.g. עוֹוֹן *ʿāwōn* (iniquity) for עוֹוֹן. In more exact printing, a distinction is at least made between ו (wō) and ו (i. e. either *ō* or, when another vowel follows the wāw, *ōw*<sup>3</sup>).

Babylonian punctuation (see § 8 *g*, note 1) has only one sign for it and tone-bearing Pathah; see also Gaster, 'Die Unterschiedslosigkeit zwischen Pathach u. Segol,' in *ZAW*. 1894, p. 60 ff.

<sup>1</sup> On the erroneous use of the term *melo pum*, only in Germany, for *Süreq* (hence also pronounced *melu pum* to indicate *it*), see E. Nestle, *ZDMG*. 1904, p. 597 ff.; Bacher, *ibid.*, p. 799 ff., *Melopum*; Simonsen, *ibid.*, p. 807 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The usual spelling קָמֶץ and פִּתַּח takes the words certainly rightly as Hebrew substantives; according to De Lagarde (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1886, p. 873, and so previously Luzzatto), קָמֶץ and פִּתַּח are rather Aram. participles, like *Dageš*, &c., and consequently to be transliterated *Qimēš* and *Pāthah*.

<sup>3</sup> Since 1846 we have become acquainted with a system of vocalization different in many respects from the common method. The vowel signs, all except ו, are there placed above the consonants, and differ almost throughout in form,

3. The vowels of the first class are, with the exception of  $\text{ִֿ}$  in *h* the middle and  $\text{ִֿ}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  at the end of the word (§ 9 *a-d, f*), represented *only* by vowel signs, but the long vowels of the I- and U-class largely by vowel letters. The vowel sound to which the letter

and some even as regards the sound which they denote:  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  = tone-bearing  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  or  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{u}$ . In an unsharpened syllable  $\text{ִֿ}$  = toneless  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$ , and also Hāteph Pathah;  $\text{ִֿ}$  = toneless  $\bar{e}$  and Hāteph Sēghōl;  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{y}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{o}$ , and Hāteph Qames. Lastly in toneless syllables before Dageš,  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\bar{a}$ . Šewā is  $\text{ִֿ}$ .

The accents differ less and stand in some cases under the line of the consonants. Besides this complicated system of the Codex Babylonicus (see below) and other MSS., there is a simpler one, used in Targums. It is still uncertain whether the latter is the foundation of the former (as Merx, *Chrest. Targ.* xi, and Bacher, *ZDMG.* 1895, p. 15 ff.), or is a later development of it among the Jews of South Arabia (as Praetorius, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 181 ff.). For the older literature on this *Babylonian punctuation* ( $\text{פְּקֻיָּה בְּבִלְיָא}$ ), as it is called, see A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack, *Katalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg*, St. Petersburg, and Lpz., 1875, parts i and ii, p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by H. Strack's facsimile edition of the *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (St. Petersburg, 1876, 1a. fol.) of the year 916, which Firkowitsch discovered in 1839, in the synagogue at Tschufutkale in the Crimea. The MS. has been shown by Ginsburg (*Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire . . . de Chwolson*, Berlin, 1899, p. 149, and *Introd.*, pp. 216 ff., 475 f.) to contain a recension of the Biblical text partly Babylonian and partly Palestinian; cf. also Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis*, London, 1896, p. 6 f. Strack edited a fragment of it in *Hosea et Joel prophetæ ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.*, St. Petersburg, 1875. Cf. also the publication by A. Merx, quoted above, § 7 h, and his *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Berlin, 1888; G. Margoliouth, in the *PSBA.* xv. 4, and M. Gaster, *ibid.*; P. Kahle, *Der masoret. Text des A. T. nach d. Übertief. der babyl. Juden*, Lpz. 1902, with the valuable review by Rahlfs in *GLA.* 1903, no. 5; Nestle, *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 719 (Babylonian  $\text{ִֿ}$  =  $\text{ִֿ}$ ). According to the opinion formerly prevailing, this Babylonian punctuation exhibits the system which was developed in the Eastern schools, corresponding to and contemporaneous with the Western or Tiberian system, although a higher degree of originality, or approximation to the original of both systems of punctuation, was generally conceded to the latter. Recently, however, Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, Oxford, 1887, p. 142 ff., has endeavoured to show, from the accents, that the 'Babylonian' punctuation may certainly be an Oriental, but is by no means the Oriental system. It is rather to be regarded, according to him, as a later and not altogether successful attempt to modify, and thus to simplify, the system common to all the Schools in the East and West. Strack, *Wiss. Jahresh. der ZDMG.* 1879, p. 124, established the probability that the vowels of the superlinear punctuation arose under Arab influence from the vowel letters  $\text{אֵי}$  (so previously Pinsker and Graetz), while the Tiberian system shows Syrian influence.

A third, widely different system (Palestinian), probably the basis of the other two, is described by A. Neubauer, *JQR.* vii. 1895, p. 361 ff., and Friedländer, *ibid.*, p. 564 ff., and *PSBA.* 1896, p. 86 ff.; C. Leviaš, *Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, xv. p. 157 ff.; and esp. P. Kahle, *Beitr. zu der Gesch. der hebr. Punctuation*, in *ZAW.* 1901, p. 273 ff. and in *Der masoret. Text des A. T.* (see above), chiefly dealing with the Berlin MS. Or. qu. 680, which contains a number of variants on the biblical text, and frequently agrees with the transcriptions of the LXX and Jerome.

points is determined more precisely by the vowel sign standing before, above, or within it. Thus—

י may be combined with *Hîrêq*, *Šêrê*, *Sêgôl* (יְ, יֶ, יִ).

י with *Šûrêq* and *Hôlêm* (יָ and יֹ).<sup>1</sup>

In Arabic the long *a* also is regularly expressed by a vowel letter, viz. 'Alph (ا), so that in that language three vowel letters correspond to the three vowel classes. In Hebrew א is rarely used as a vowel letter; see § 9 b and § 23 g.

i 4. The omission of the vowel letters when writing *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is called *scriptio defectiva* in contrast to *scriptio plena*. קול, קים are written *plene*, קלל, קמ defective.

Cf. Bardowitz, *Studien zur Gesch. der Orthogr. im Althebr.*, 1894; Lidzbarski, *Ephem.*, i. 182, 275; Marmorstein, 'Midrasch der vollen u. defekt. Schreibung,' in *ZAW.* 1907, p. 33 ff.

k So far as the choice of the full or defective mode of writing is concerned, there are certainly some cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus the full form is necessary at the end of the word, for *u*, *o*, *ê*, *î*, *ê*, *ē*, as well as for *e* in חוה &c. (§ 9 f), also generally with *a*, *ā* (cf. however § 9 d), e.g. קטלי, קטלתי, ירי, מלכי. (But the Masora requires in Jer 26<sup>e</sup>, 44<sup>e</sup>; Ezr 6<sup>21</sup>; 2 Ch 32<sup>13</sup> גוי instead of גוי; Zp 2<sup>9</sup> גוי [perhaps an error due to the following י] for גוי; Is 40<sup>31</sup> וקוי [followed by י] for וקוי; Jer 38<sup>11</sup> בלוי for בלוי.) On the other hand the defective writing is common when the letter, which would have to be employed as a vowel letter, immediately precedes as a strong consonant, e.g. גוים (*nations*) for גויים, מצות (*commandments*) for מצוות.

l That much is here arbitrary (see § 7 g), follows from the fact that sometimes the same word is written very differently, e.g. הקימותי Ez 16<sup>60</sup>: הקמתי and also הקמותי Jer 23<sup>4</sup>; cf. § 25 b. Only it may be observed,

(a) That the *scriptio plena* in two successive syllables was generally avoided; cf. e.g. נביא but נבאים; צדיק, but צדקים; קול, כלות; יהושע, מציאה.

(b) That in the later Books of the O. T. (and regularly in post-biblical Hebrew) the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual.

m 5. In the cognate dialects, when a vowel precedes a vowel-letter which is not kindred (heterogeneous), e.g. יו, יו, יו, יו, יו, a diphthong (*au*, *ai*)<sup>2</sup> is formed if the heterogeneous vowel be *a*. This is also to be regarded as the Old Hebrew pronunciation, since it

<sup>1</sup> After the example of the Jewish grammarians the expression, 'the vowel letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel-sign,' has become customary. On the other hand, the vowel letters are also called by the grammarians, *matres lectionis* or *supports* (*fulcra*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. T. C. Foote, *The diphthong ai in Hebrew* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars, June, 1903, p. 70 ff.).

agrees with the vocalic character of ו and י (§ 5 b, note 2). Thus such words as וי, ין, יא, ישי, יא, ית, ית are not to be pronounced according to the usual Jewish custom<sup>1</sup> as *vāv*, *hay*, *gôy*, *'āsûy*, *gêv*, *bayith* (or even as *vaf*, &c.; cf. modern Greek *av af*, *ev ef* for *av, ev*), but with the Italian Jews more like *wāu*, *hai*, &c. The sound of יֿ is the same as וֿ, i.e. almost like *āu*, so that וֿ is often written defectively for יֿ.

### § 9. Character of the several Vowels.

Numerous as are the vowel signs in Hebrew writing, they are yet *a* not fully adequate to express all the various modifications of the vowel sounds, especially with respect to length and shortness. To understand this better a short explanation of the character and value of the several vowels is required, especially in regard to their length and shortness as well as to their changeableness (§§ 25, 27).

#### I. First Class. *A-sound*.

1. *Qameṣ* (ֿ), when it represents a long *a*, is, by nature and origin, of two kinds:—

(1) The essentially long *ā* (in Arabic regularly written *ā*), which is not readily shortened and never wholly dropped (§ 25 c), e.g. קֹתֶב *keṯābh* (writing); very seldom with a following *ā*, as שֹׁנֶה 2 S 12<sup>1,4</sup> (see the examples in § 72 p).<sup>2</sup>

The writing of דֹּנֶה Ho 10<sup>14</sup> for דֶּה would only be justifiable, if the *ā* *b* of this form were to be explained as a contraction of *āā*; cf. however § 72 a; דֹּנֶה Neh 13<sup>16</sup> for דֶּה (*dāg*) is certainly incorrect.—The rarity of the *ā* in Hebrew arises from the fact that it has for the most part become an obtuse *ō*; see below, *q*.

(2) *-ā*, lengthened only by position (i.e. tone-long or at all events *c* lengthened under the influence of the tone, according to the laws for the formation of syllables, § 27 e-h), either in the tone-syllable itself (or in the secondary tone-syllable indicated by *Methēg*, see below), or just before or after it. This sound is invariably lengthened from an original *ā*,<sup>3</sup> and is found in open syllables, i.e. syllables ending in a vowel (§ 26 b), e.g. קֵי, לֵטֵל, קִי, אִסִּי (Arab. *lākā*, *qātālā*, *yāqūmū*, *'āsrū*), as well as in closed syllables, i.e. those ending in

<sup>1</sup> In MSS. ו and י, in such combinations as וי, ין, are even marked with Mappiq (§ 14 a).

<sup>2</sup> Of a different kind are the cases in which *ā* has lost its consonantal sound by coalescing with a preceding *a*, § 23 a-d.

<sup>3</sup> In Arabic this *ā* is always retained in an open syllable.

a consonant, as יָד, בּוֹכֵב (vulgar Arab. *yād, kaukāb*). In a closed syllable, however, it can only stand when this has the tone, עוֹלָם, דְּבָר; whereas in an open syllable it is especially frequent *before* the tone, e.g. דְּבָר, יָדָה, לִבָּה. Where the tone is moved forward or weakened (as happens most commonly in what is called the construct state of nouns, cf. § 89 a) the original short *ā* (*Pathah*) is retained in a closed syllable, while in an open syllable it becomes *Šewā* (§ 27 i): דְּבָר, constr. state דְּבָר (h<sup>ak</sup>hām); דְּבָר, דְּבָר (*debhār*); קָטַל, קָטַל. For examples of the retention, in the secondary tone-syllable, of *ā* lengthened from *ā*, see § 93 *xx*.

d In some terminations of the verb (תָּ in the 2nd sing. masc. perf., יָ in the 2nd pl. fem. of the imperat., as well as in the 3rd and 2nd pl. fem. of the imperf.), in תָּשׁ *thou* (masc.) and in the suffixes תָּ and תָּ; the final *ā* can stand even without a vowel letter. A ה is, however, in these cases (except with תָּ) frequently added as a vowel letter.

On תָּ for *ō* see below, *f*.

e 2. *Pathah*, or short *ā*, stands in Hebrew almost exclusively in a closed syllable with or without the tone (קָטַל, קָטַל). In places where it now appears to stand in an open syllable the syllable was originally closed, and a helping vowel (*ā, i*) has been inserted after the second radical merely to make the pronunciation easier, e.g. נָחַל (ground-form *nahl*), בַּיִת (Arab. *bait*), see § 28 d, and with regard to two cases of a different kind, § 26 g, h. Otherwise *ā* in an open syllable has almost without exception passed into *ā* (תָּ), see above, c.

On the very frequent attenuation of *ā* to *i*, cf. below, h. On the rare, and only apparent union of *Pathah* with נָ (נָתָּ), see § 23 d, end. On *ā* as a helping-vowel, § 22 f (*Pathah furtivum*), and § 28 e.

f 3. *Segôl* (עָ, עָ [*ā*]) by origin belongs sometimes to the second, but most frequently to the first vowel class (§ 27 o, p, u). It belongs to the first class when it is a modification of *a* (as the Germ. *Bad*, pl. *Büder*; Eng. *man*, pl. *men*), either in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָדָה (for *yadkhēm*), or with the tone, e.g. יָרָשׁ from 'arš, קָרַן Arab. *qārṇ*, קָמַח Arab. *qāmḥ*. This *Segôl* is often retained even in the strongest tone-syllable, at the end of a sentence or of an important clause (in *pause*), as מַלְאֲכָה, שָׂדֶדֶק (*mālākh, sādāq*). As a rule, however, in such cases the *Pathah* which underlies the *Segôl* is lengthened into *Qameṣ*, e.g. קָמַח, קָרַן. A *Segôl* apparently lengthened from *Šewā*, but in reality traceable to an original *ā*, stands in pausal forms, as פָּרָה (ground-form *pāry*), יָחַי (*yāhy*), &c. On the cases where a ' (originally consonantal) follows this *Segôl*, see § 75 f, and § 91 k.

## II. Second Class. I- and E-sounds.

4. The long *i* is frequently even in the consonantal writing indicated *g* by ' (a *fully* written *Hireq* '—); but a naturally long *i* can be also written *defectively* (§ 8 *i*), e. g. צְדִיק (righteous), plur. צַדִּיקִים *šaddiqîm*; יָרָא (he fears), plur. יָרְאוּ. Whether a *defectively* written *Hireq* is long may be best known from the origin of the form; often also from the nature of the syllable (§ 26), or as in יָרְאוּ from the *Metheg* attached to it (§ 16 *f*).

5. The short *Hireq* (always<sup>1</sup> written *defectively*) is especially frequent *h* in sharpened syllables (קָמֵץ, קָמֵץ) and in toneless closed syllables (קָמֵץ *psalm*); cf. however וַיִּשָּׁבֵץ in a closed tone-syllable, and even וַיִּשָּׁבֵץ, with a helping *Segôl*, for *wayyîšbāḥn*. It has arisen very frequently by attenuation from *ā*, as in דָּבָרִי from original *dābārê*, צָרָקִי (ground-form *šādq*),<sup>2</sup> or else it is the original *ĭ*, which in the tone-syllable had become *ē*, as in אֹיֶבֶךָ (thy enemy) from אֵיֶב (ground-form *'ayîb*).<sup>3</sup> It is sometimes a simple helping vowel, as in בֵּית, § 28 *e*.

The earlier grammarians call every *Hireq* written *fully*, *Hireq magnum*; every one written *defectively*, *Hireq parvum*,—a misleading distinction, so far as quantity is concerned.

6. The longest *ê* '— (more rarely defective —, e. g. עֵנִי for עֵנִי *i* Is 3<sup>8</sup>; at the end of a word also הַ—) is as a rule contracted from '— *ay* (*ai*), § 7 *a*, e. g. הַיֵּכָל (palace), Arab. and Syriac *haikal*.

7. The *Šere* without *Yôdh* mostly represents the tone-long *ē*, which, *k* like the tone-long *ā* (see *c*), is very rarely retained except *in* and *before* the tone-syllable, and is always lengthened from an original *ĭ*. It stands in an open syllable with or before the tone, e. g. סֵפֶר (ground-form *sîphr*) book, שָׁנָה (Arab. *šīnāt*) sleep, or with *Metheg* (see § 16 *d, f*) in the secondary tone-syllable, e. g. שְׂאֵלָתִי my request, נֵלְכָה let us go. On the other hand in a closed syllable it is almost always with the tone, as בֶּן son, דֹּמֵם dumb.

Exceptions: (*a*) *ē* is sometimes retained in a toneless closed syllable, in monosyllabic words before *Maqqeph*, e. g. נֹעַר Nu 35<sup>18</sup>, as well as in the examples of *nāsôg 'āhôr* mentioned in § 29 *f* (on the quantity cf. § 8 *b* 3 end); (*b*) in a toneless open final syllable, *Šere* likewise occurs in examples of the *nāsôg 'āhôr*, as נָאֵץ Ex 16<sup>29</sup>; cf. Ju 9<sup>39</sup>.

8. The *Segôl* of the I(E)-class is most frequently an *ē* modified from *m* original *ĭ*, either replacing a tone-long *ē* which has lost the tone, e. g.

<sup>1</sup> At least according to the Masoretic orthography; cf. Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, p. 18, Rem.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.* 1884, p. 77) in these cases often gives *ā* for *ĭ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the remarks of I. Guidi, 'La pronuncia del šērē,' in the *Verhandl. d.-s. Hamburger Orient.-Kongr.* of 1902, Leiden, 1904, p. 208 ff., on Italian *e* for Latin *ĭ*, as in *fede = fidem, pece = picem*.

הָיָה from הָיוּ (*give*), יָצַר (*thy creator*) from יָצָר, or in the case discussed in § 93 *o*, חֵלֶק, עֶזְרִי from the ground-forms *hīlq*, *ʿizr*; cf. also § 64 *f*. *Segôl* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as סִפְרָה for *sīphr*, יִגְלָה for *yigl* (§ 28 *e*).

### III. Third Class. U- and O-sounds.

*n* 9. For the U-sound there is—

(1) the long *û*, either (a) written fully, י שׁוּרֵק, e.g. גְּבוּל (*boundary*), or (b) defectively written — Qibbûs גְּבוּלוֹ, יִמְתְּנוּ, יִמְתְּנוּ;

(2) the short *ũ*, mostly represented by Qibbûs, in a toneless closed syllable and especially common in a sharpened syllable, in e.g. שִׁלְחָה (*table*), סִבְכָה (*booth*).

*O* Sometimes also *ũ* in a sharpened syllable is written י, e.g. הִכְבֵּה ψ 102<sup>5</sup>, יוֹלָה Jb 5<sup>7</sup>, בּוֹלֵם Jer. 31<sup>34</sup>, מְשׁוֹכֶתוֹ Is 5<sup>5</sup>, עֲרוֹמִים Gn 2<sup>25</sup> for הִכְבֵּה, &c.

For this *u* the LXX write ο, e.g. עֲרֵלִים Ὀδολλάμ, from which, however, it only follows, that this *ũ* was pronounced somewhat indistinctly. The LXX also express the sharp *Hireq* by ε, e.g. אֶמֶר Ἐμμήρ. The pronunciation of the Qibbûs like the German *û*, which was formerly common, is incorrect, although the occasional pronunciation of the U-sounds as *ũ* in the time of the punctators is attested, at least as regards Palestine<sup>1</sup>; cf. the Turkish *bûlbûl* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the pronunciation of the Arabic *dunyā* in Syria as *dūnyā*.

*p* 10. The O-sound bears the same relation to U as the E does to I in the second class. It has four varieties:—

(1) The *ô* which is contracted from *aw* (= *au*), § 7 *a*, and accordingly is mostly written fully; י (Holem plenum), e.g. שׁוֹם (*a whip*), Arab. *saut*, עוֹלָה (*iniquity*) from עוֹלָה. More rarely defectively, as שְׁרִי (*thine ox*) from שׁוֹר Arab. *šaur*.

*q* (2) The long *ô* which arose in Hebrew at an early period, by a general process of obscuring, out of an original *â*,<sup>2</sup> while the latter has been retained in Arabic and Aramaic. It is usually written *fully* in the tone-syllable, *defectively* in the toneless, e.g. קָטֵל Arab. *qâtîl*. Aram. *qâtêl*, אֶלֹהִי Arab. *ʿilâh*, Aram. *ʿlâh*, plur. אֱלֹהִים; שׁוֹק (*leg*), Arab. *sâq*; גְּבוּר (*hero*), Arab. *gabbâr*; חוֹתֵם (*seal*), Arab. *hâtâm*; רִמּוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rūmmân*; שְׁלֹטָן (*dominion*), Aram. *šlṭn* and שְׁלֹטָן Arab. *sūltân*; שְׁלֹם (*peace*), Aram. *šlām*, Arab. *salām*. Sometimes the form in *â* also occurs side by side with that in *ô* as שְׁרִין and שְׁרִין (*coat of mail*; see however § 29 *u*). Cf. also § 68 *b*.

*r* (3) The tone-long *ō* which is lengthened from an original *ũ*, or from an *ö* arising from *ũ*, by the tone, or in general according to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Physiologie u. Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 15 *f*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, *b*, end. On Jerome's transliteration of *o* for *â*, see ZAW. 1884, p. 75.

laws for the formation of syllables. It occurs not only in the tone-syllable, but also in an open syllable before the tone, e.g. קִדְּשׁ (ground-form *qūdš*) *sanctuary*; בִּרְךָ for *burrahk*, יִלְכֹּטָן, ψ 104<sup>23</sup>, as well as (with *Metheg*) in the secondary tone-syllable; אֶלְלִי, אֶלְלִי. But the original *ō* (*ū*) is retained in a toneless closed syllable, whereas in a toneless open syllable it is weakened to *šewā*. Cf. אֵל *all*, but אֵל (kōl), אֵלָם (*küllām*); אֶלְלִי, אֶלְלִי and אֶלְלִי, where original *ū* is weakened to *šewā*: *yiqīlū*, Arab. *yaqtūlū*. This tone-long *ō* is only as an exception written fully.

(4) — *Qameš-ḥaṭuph* represents *ō* (properly *ǎ*, cf. § 8 a, note 2) modified *s* from *ū* and is therefore classed here. It stands in the same relation to *Holem* as the *Segōl* of the second class to *Sere*, אֵלָם *kōl*, אֶלְלִי *wayyāqēm*. On the distinction between this and *Qameš*, see below, *u*.

11. The following table gives a summary of the gradation of the *t* three vowel-classes according to the quantity of the vowels:—

First Class : A.	Second Class : I and E.	Third Class : U and O.
— original <i>ā</i> (Arabic אֵ). — original <i>ā</i> (Arabic אֵ).	— <i>ē</i> , from original <i>ay</i> (ai). — or — long <i>i</i> .	— <i>ō</i> , from original <i>aw</i> (au). — or — <i>ō</i> obscured from <i>ā</i> . — or — <i>ū</i> .
— tone-long <i>ā</i> (from original <i>ā</i> ) chiefly in the tone-syllable but also just before it.	— tone-long <i>ē</i> (from <i>i</i> ) generally in the tone-syllable but also just before it.	— tone-long <i>ō</i> (from original <i>ū</i> ) in the tone-syllable, otherwise in an open syllable.
— (as a modification of <i>ā</i> ) sometimes a tone-long <i>ē</i> , sometimes <i>ē</i> . — short <i>ā</i> . [— <i>ē</i> attenuated from <i>ā</i> ; see h.] Utmost weakening to — <i>ā</i> , — <i>ē</i> , — <i>ē</i> .	— <i>ē</i> . — short <i>i</i> . Utmost weakening to — <i>ā</i> , — <i>ē</i> , or — <i>ē</i> .	— <i>ō</i> , modified from <i>ū</i> . — short <i>ū</i> , especially in a sharpened syllable. Utmost weakening to — <i>ā</i> , — <i>ē</i> , — <i>ē</i> , or — <i>ē</i> .

Rem. On the distinction between *Qameš* and *Qameš-ḥaṭuph*.<sup>1</sup>

According to § 8 a, long *ā* or *ā* (*Qameš*) and short *ō* or *ǎ* (*Qameš-ḥaṭuph*) are in manuscripts and printed texts generally expressed by the same sign (·), e.g. אֶלְלִי *qām*, אֵלָם *kōl*. The beginner who does not yet know the grammatical

<sup>1</sup> These statements, in order to be fully understood, must be studied in connexion with the theory of syllables (§ 26) and *Metheg* (§ 16 c-i).

origin of the words in question (which is of course the surest guide), may depend meanwhile on the following principal rules:—

1. The sign  $\text{ֿ}$ <sup>1</sup> is  $\delta$  in a toneless closed syllable, since such a syllable can have only a short vowel (§ 26 o). The above case occurs—

(a) When *Šewā* follows as a syllable-divider, as in חֲכָמָה *hōkh-mā* (wisdom), אֹכֶלֶת *’ōkh-lā* (food). With *Metheg*  $\text{ֿ}$  is  $\bar{a}$  ( $\bar{ā}$ ) and according to the usual view stands in an open syllable with a following *Šewā* mobile, e.g. אָכְלָה *’ā-kh-lā* (she ate); but cf. § 16 i.

(b) When a closed syllable is formed by *Dageš forte*, e.g. חַנּוּנִי *hōnnēnī* (have mercy upon me); but בְּחַיִּים (with *Metheg*, § 16 f ζ) *bāttīm*.

(c) When the syllable in question loses the tone on account of a following *Maqqēph* (§ 16 a), e.g. כָּל־הָאָדָם *kōl-hā-’ādām* (all men).

In ψ 35<sup>10</sup> and Pr 19<sup>7</sup> *Maqqēph* with  $\text{ֿ}$  is replaced by a conjunctive accent (*Merēkha*); so by *Darga*, Ju 19<sup>5</sup> with סָעַר, and Ez 37<sup>8</sup> with וַיִּקְרָם (so Baer after Qimhi; ed. Mant., Ginsburg, Kittel וַיִּקְרָם).

(d) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e.g. וַיָּקֹם *wayyāqōm* (and he stood up).—In the cases where  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{ā}$  in the final syllable has become toneless through *Maqqēph* (§ 16 a) and yet remains, e.g. בְּרֵב־הַדָּת Est 4<sup>8</sup>, שְׁתִּלִּי Gn 4<sup>25</sup>, it has a *Metheg* in correct manuscripts and printed texts.

In cases like הָלַמָּה, לָמָה *lāmmā*, the tone shows that  $\text{ֿ}$  is to be read as  $\bar{a}$ .

υ 2. The cases in which  $\text{ֿ}$  appears to stand in an open syllable and yet is to be read as  $\delta$  require special consideration. This is the case, (a) when *Hateph-Qameš* follows, e.g. פָּעֹל *his work*, or simple vocal *Šewā*, e.g. הָרָבֵן *ox goad*; בָּעֵבְרוֹ Jo 4<sup>7</sup>; שְׁמֶרָה (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.) *preserve* ψ 86<sup>2</sup>, cf. 16<sup>1</sup> and the cases mentioned in § 48 i, n., and § 61 f, n.; other examples are Ob 11, Ju 14<sup>18</sup>); *Hateph-Pathah* follows in לְמִשְׁחָה (so Ginsburg; Baer לְמִשְׁחָה) 1 S 15<sup>1</sup>, לְהַרְגָה 24<sup>11</sup>, and יִפְנֶשֶׁךָ (so Baer, Gn 32<sup>18</sup>, others יִפְנֶשֶׁךָ); (b) before another *Qameš-haṭuph*, e.g. פָּעֹלְךָ *thy work*; on אֶרְהֶלִי and קֶהֱלִי Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, see § 67 o; (c) in the two plural forms קְדָשִׁים *sanctuaries* and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (also written קְרָ and שְׂרָ). In all these cases the Jewish grammarians regard the *Metheg* accompanying the  $\text{ֿ}$  as indicating a *Qāmeš rahabh* (broad *Qameš*) and therefore read the  $\text{ֿ}$  as  $\bar{a}$ ; thus *pā-’lō, dā-’bān, pā-’l’khā, qā-dāšim*. But neither the origin of these forms, nor the analogous formations in Hebrew and in the cognate languages, nor the transcription of proper names in the

<sup>1</sup> In the Babylonian punctuation (§ 8 g, note)  $\bar{a}$  and  $\delta$  are carefully distinguished. So also in many MSS. with the ordinary punctuation and in Baer's editions of the text since 1880, in which  $\text{ֿ}$  is used for  $\delta$  as well as for  $\bar{a}$ . Cf. Baer-Delitzsch, *Liber Jobi*, p. 43. But the identity of the two signs is certainly original, and the use of  $\text{ֿ}$  for  $\delta$  is misleading.

LXX, allows us to regard this view as correct. It is just possible that Qames is here used loosely for  $\tilde{a}$ , as the equivalent of  $\bar{o}$ , on the analogy of  $\text{פָּעַל}$  &c., § 93 q. As a matter of fact, however, we ought no doubt to divide and read  $p\bar{o}^o\text{-l}\bar{o}$  (for  $p\bar{o}^o\text{-l}\bar{o}$ ),  $p\bar{o}^o\text{-l}^e k\bar{h}\bar{a}$ ,  $q\bar{o}d\bar{a}\text{-šim}$ .—Quite as inconceivable is it for *Metheg* to be a sign of the lengthening into  $\tilde{a}$  in  $\text{בְּחַיִּי־יִשְׂרָאֵל}$  (Ex 11<sup>8</sup>), although it is so in  $\text{בְּאֵנִי}$   $b\bar{a}^{\text{'}}ni$  (in the navy), since here the  $\tilde{a}$  of the article appears under the  $\text{ב}$ .

### § 10. The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider (*Šewâ*).

1. Besides the full vowels, Hebrew has also a series of vowel *a* sounds which may be called *half vowels* (Sievers, *Murmelvokale*). The punctuation makes use of these to represent extremely slight sounds which are to be regarded as remains of fuller and more distinct vowels from an earlier period of the language. They generally take the place of vowels *originally short* standing in *open syllables*. Such short vowels, though preserved in the kindred languages, are not tolerated by the present system of pointing in Hebrew, but either undergo a lengthening or are weakened to *Šewâ*. Under some circumstances, however, the original short vowel may reappear.

To these belongs first of all the sign  $\text{—}$ , which indicates an extremely short, slight, and (as regards pronunciation) indeterminate vowel sound, something like an obscure half  $\bar{e}$  ( $\text{—}$ ). It is called *Šewâ*,<sup>1</sup> which may be either *simple Šewâ* (*Šewâ simplex*) as distinguished from the compound (see *f*), or *vocal Šewâ* (*Šewâ mobile*) as distinguished from *Šewâ quiescens*, which is silent and stands as a mere syllable divider (see *i*) under the consonant which closes the syllable.

The vocal *Šewâ* stands under a consonant which is closely united, as *c* a kind of grace-note, with the following syllable, either (*a*) at the beginning of the word, as  $\text{קָטַל}$   $q\bar{e}t\bar{o}l$  (to kill),  $\text{מָלַא}$   $m\bar{e}mall\bar{e}$  (filling), or (*b*) in the middle of the word, as  $\text{קָטַלָּה}$   $q\bar{o}t\bar{e}l\bar{a}$ ,  $\text{יָקַטְלוּ}$   $yiq\bar{e}l\bar{u}$ .

In former editions of this Grammar *Šewâ* was distinguished as *medium d* when it followed a short vowel and therefore stood in a supposed 'loosely closed' or 'wavering' syllable, as in  $\text{מָלַא}$   $\text{בְּנִפְל}$ . According to Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 22, this distinction must now be abandoned. These syllables are really closed, and the original vowel is not merely shortened, but entirely elided. The fact that a following B'gadh'phath letter (§ 6 n) remains spirant instead of taking *Dageš lene*, is explained by Sievers on the 'supposition that the change from hard to spirant is older than the elision

<sup>1</sup> On  $\text{שְׁוָא}$ , the older and certainly the only correct form (as in Ben Asher), see Bacher, *ZDMG*. 1895, p. 18, note 3, who compares *Šewayya*, the name of the Syriac accentual sign of similar form  $\text{—}$  (= Hebr. *Zaqeph*). The form  $\text{שְׁוָא}$ , customary in Spain since the time of Menahem b. Sarūq, is due to a supposed connexion with Aram.  $\text{שָׁכַח}$  *rest*, and hence would originally have denoted only *Šewâ quiescens*, like the Arabic *sukūn* (rest). The derivation from  $\text{שָׁכַח}$   $\text{שְׁוָא}$  (stem  $\text{שָׁכַח}$ , *Levias, American Journ. of Philol.*, xvi. 28 ff.) seems impossible.

of the vowel, and that the prehistoric *malakai* became *malakhai* before being shortened to *malkeh*'. In cases like מַלְכָּאֵי (from מַלְכָּא), יְקָרָי (from יְקָרָה) the dropping of the *Dageš forte* shows that the original vowel is completely lost.

e The sound *ē* has been adopted as the normal transcription of simple *Šēwā* mobile, although it is certain that it often became assimilated in sound to other vowels. The LXX express it by *ε*, or even by *η*, פְּרוֹנִיָּם *Χερουβίμ*, הַלְלוּ־אֱלֹהִים *ἀλληλούια*, more frequently by *α*, שְׁמוֹנָה *Σαμωνήλ*, but very frequently by assimilating its indeterminate sound to the following principal vowel, e.g. קָדָם *Σόδομα*, שְׁלֹמֹה *Σολομών* (as well as *Σαλωμών*), נִבְּאָה *Σαβαώθ*, נַחֲנְיָאֵל *Naḥanaḥl*.<sup>1</sup> A similar account of the pronunciation of *Šēwā* is given by Jewish grammarians of the middle ages.<sup>2</sup>

How the *Šēwā* sound has arisen through the vanishing of a full vowel is seen, e.g. in בָּרַךְ in *bārākā*, as the word is still pronounced in Arabic. In that language the full short vowel regularly corresponds to the Hebrew *Šēwā mobile*.

f 2. Connected with the simple *Šēwā mobile* is the compound *Šēwā* or *Hāṭēph* (*correctum*), i.e. a *Šēwā* the pronunciation of which is more accurately fixed by the addition of a short vowel. There are three *Šēwā*-sounds determined in this way, corresponding to the three vowel classes (§ 7 a):—

(—) *Hāṭēph-Pāthāh*, e.g. מוֹרֶה *hāmôr*, ass.

(—) *Hāṭēph-Šēgôl*, e.g. מוֹרֶה *'emôr*, to say.

(—) *Hāṭēph-Qāmēṣ*, e.g. מוֹרֶה *h'ôl*, sickness.

These *Hāṭēphs*, or at least the first two, stand especially under the four guttural letters (§ 22 l), instead of a simple *Šēwā mobile*, since these letters by their nature require a more definite vowel than the indeterminate simple *Šēwā mobile*. Accordingly a guttural at the beginning of a syllable, where the *Šēwā* is necessarily vocal, can never have a mere *Šēwā simplex*.

On — the shorter *Hāṭef* as compared with — cf. § 27 v.

g Rem. A. Only — and — occur under letters which are not gutturals. *Hāṭēph-Pāthāh* is found instead of simple *Šēwā* (especially *Šēwā mobile*), chiefly (a) under strengthened consonants, since this strengthening (commonly called doubling) causes a more distinct pronunciation of the *Šēwā mobile*, שְׁבִלִים *branches*, Zc 4<sup>12</sup>. According to the rule given by Ben-Asher (which, however, appears to be unknown to good early MSS. and is therefore rejected by Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 466; cf. Foote, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars*, June 1903,

<sup>1</sup> The same occurs frequently also in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phœnician words, e.g. מַלְכָּא *Malaga*, גּוּבּוּלִים *gubulim* (Schröder, *Die phöniz. Spr.*, p. 139 ff.). Cf. the Latin augment in *momordi*, *pupugi*, with the Greek in *τέτυφα*, *τετυμμένος*, and the old form *memordi*.

<sup>2</sup> See especially *Yehuda Hayyūḡ*, pp. 4 f. and 130 f. in Nutt's edition (Lond. 1870), corresponding to p. 200 of the edition by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844); Ibn Ezra's *Saḥoth*, p. 3; Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, p. 68. The *Manuel du lecteur*, mentioned above, § 6 b, also contains express rules for the various ways of pronouncing *Šēwā mobile*: so too the *Dikduke ha-ṭ'amim*, ed. by Baer and Strack, Lpz. 1879, p. 12 ff. Cf. also Schreiner, *ZAW.* vi. 236 ff.

p. 71 f.), the *Ḥateph* is necessary<sup>1</sup> when, in a strengthened medial consonant with Šwá (consequently not in cases like וְיָהִי, &c.), preceded by a Pathah, the sign of the strengthening (*Dageš forte*) has fallen away, e. g. הָלְלוּ (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. הִלְלוּ) *praise ye!* וְתִמְצְחוּ Ju 16<sup>16</sup>; no less universally, where after a consonant with Šwá the same consonant follows (to separate them more sharply, and hence with a *Metheg* always preceding), e. g. סוּרְרִים ψ 68<sup>7</sup>; קָלְלֶתָּךְ (ed. Mant. and Ginsb. קָלְלִי) Gn 27<sup>13</sup> (but not without exceptions, e. g. חֲקַקְרִי Ju 5<sup>15</sup>, Is 10<sup>1</sup>; צִלְלִי Jer 6<sup>4</sup>, and so always הִנְנִי *behold me*, הִנְנוּ *behold us*; on כּ before the suffix הֵ, see § 20 b); also in certain forms under *Kaph* and *Rēš* after a long vowel and before the tone, e. g. הֶאֱכַלְתָּה Gn 31<sup>7</sup>; בְּרַכְּנִי ψ 103<sup>1</sup>; וְהִשְׁרַחְנוּ 1 K 14<sup>4</sup> (but וְיִתְבַּרְכוּ ψ 72<sup>17</sup>, cf. Jer 4<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>20</sup>, because the tone is thrown back on to the ā. After ē Šwá remains even before the tone, as בְּרַכּוּ, &c.; but before Maqqef אֶלְכֶּה־נָּא Baer Ex 4<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>7</sup>, Jer 40<sup>15</sup>, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. אֶל־) <sup>2</sup>; (b) under initial sibilants after ו copulative, e. g. וְהָבָה Gn 21<sup>2</sup>; cf. Jer 48<sup>20</sup>; וְיִשְׁחַר Is 45<sup>14</sup>; וְיִשְׁדֶּה Lv 25<sup>34</sup>; וְיִשְׁקָה Gn 27<sup>26</sup>; וְיִשְׁמַע Nu 23<sup>18</sup>, Is 37<sup>17</sup>, Dn 9<sup>18</sup>, cf. Ju 5<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>21</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>17</sup>, Jb 14<sup>1</sup>, Ec 9<sup>7</sup>—to emphasize the vocal character of the Šwá. For the same reason under the emphatic ט in הוֹמַלְוֹ Jer 22<sup>28</sup>; cf. Jb 33<sup>25</sup>; after Qōph in וְקִרְדֵּיתִי (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. וְקִי) Ez 23<sup>41</sup>; וְקִרְב־נִי ψ 55<sup>22</sup>; cf. Jer. 32<sup>9</sup>; under Rēš in אֶרְרָה (ed. Mant. אֶרֶ) Gn 18<sup>21</sup>; וְרַעַם ψ 28<sup>9</sup>; even under ת Ezr 26<sup>11</sup>; under כ Est 2<sup>8</sup>; וְכִבְּרָה so Jabl., Ginsb., but ed. Mant. וְכִבֵּר Dt 24<sup>13</sup>; (c) under sonants, sibilants or Qōph after i, e. g. יִצְחָק Gn 21<sup>6</sup>, cf. 30<sup>38</sup> and Ez 21<sup>28</sup> (under ק); יִמְרוּת ψ 12<sup>7</sup>; הִתְמַלְוֶה Jer 22<sup>15</sup>; כְּנֹרֹת Jos 11<sup>2</sup>; כְּכִסְכֶּ־נִי ψ 74<sup>5</sup>—for the same reason as the cases under b<sup>3</sup>; according to Baer also in יִפְנֶשֶׁךְ Gn 32<sup>18</sup> after ö (cf. § 9 v), as well as after a in הִקְשִׁיבָה Dn 9<sup>19</sup>; הִבְרַכָּה Gn 27<sup>38</sup>; הִמְצַרְעִים 2 K 7<sup>8</sup>.

B. The *Ḥateph-Qameš* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, *h* and stands more frequently for a simple Šwá mobile when an original O-sound requires to be partly preserved, e. g. at the beginning, in רְאִי (ground-form rü'y) *vision* (cf. § 93 z); בְּנִינִיּוֹ 2 Ch 31<sup>12</sup>, &c., Q'rē (*Keth.* כּוֹנִי); עַמּוֹנִיּוֹת *Ammonitish women*, 1 K 11<sup>1</sup> (sing. עַמּוֹנִית *יִרְדֶּפֶךָ* for the usual יִרְדָּפֶךָ Ez 35<sup>6</sup>, from יִרְדֶּף and תִּקְבְּנֶנּוּ Nu 23<sup>25</sup>, Jer 31<sup>38</sup>, and elsewhere before suffixes, cf. § 60 a); קִרְדֵּיתִי *his pate* (from קִרְדֵּי ψ 7<sup>17</sup>, &c.; אֶשְׁקָטָה Is 18<sup>4</sup> Q'rē. Further, like —, it stands under consonants, which ought to have *Dageš forte*, as in לִקְחָה (for לָקַחָה) Gn 23<sup>8</sup>. In this example, as in וְסַעֲרָה 1 K 13<sup>7</sup>; וְסִאָה 2 K 7<sup>18</sup>; and וְצַעֲקִי Jer 22<sup>20</sup>, the *Ḥateph-Qameš* is no doubt due to the influence of the

<sup>1</sup> See Delitzsch, 'Bemerkungen über masoretisch treue Darstellung des alttestam. Textes,' in the *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, vol. xxiv. 1863, p. 409 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On the uncertainty of the MSS. in some cases which come under a, see *Minhat shay* (the Masoretic comm. in ed. Mant.) on Gn 12<sup>8</sup> and Ju 7<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Ben-Asher requires — for — (even for Šwá quiescens) generally before a guttural or ר; hence Baer reads in 2 S 15<sup>5</sup> בְּקִרְב־נִי, ψ 18<sup>7</sup> אֶקְרָא וְנָאֵל; 49<sup>15</sup> לְשִׁאוֹל; 65<sup>5</sup> תִּבְחָר; 68<sup>24</sup> תִּמְחִיץ; Pr 30<sup>17</sup> תִּלְעַג; Jb 29<sup>25</sup> אֶבְחָר; cf. Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 12<sup>7</sup>, note.

following guttural as well as of the preceding U-sound. (Elsewhere indeed after *ḡ* in similar cases *Hateph-Patah* is preferred, see above, *b*; but with *לקחה* cf. also *סבלו* Is 9<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>27</sup>, 14<sup>25</sup>, where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the *Šewā* immediately following.) In *וְטָהַר* (*ú-ṭhōr*) Jb 17<sup>9</sup> it is also influenced by the following O-sound. In *קָמִי* 1 S 28<sup>8</sup> *Qéré*, the original form is *קָם*, where again the *ō* represents an *ō*. It is only through the influence of a following guttural that we can explain the forms *נִקְרָאָה* Est 2<sup>14</sup>; *נִבְהַל* Pr 28<sup>32</sup>; *נִסְרָחָה* Jer 49<sup>7</sup>; *אִפְשָׁעָה* Is 27<sup>4</sup>; *וְאִשְׁמָעָה* Dn 8<sup>13</sup>; *שְׁמָעָה* ψ 39<sup>13</sup>; *בִּסְעָרָה* 2 K 2<sup>1</sup> (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11); *הִקְהַתִּים* 2 Ch 34<sup>12</sup> (ed. Mant., Opatius, &c. 'הִקְ'). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound (*p*, *ṭ*, cf. also *אִלְקָטָה* Ru 2<sup>2-7</sup>), or of a sibilant is also to be taken into account.

i 3. The sign of the *simple Šewā* — serves also as a mere syllable divider. In this case it is disregarded in pronunciation and is called *Šewā quiescens*. In the middle of a word it stands under every consonant which closes a syllable; at the end of words on the other hand it is omitted except in *final ḡ* (to distinguish it better from final *ḡ*), e.g. *מֶלֶךְ* *king*, and in the less frequent case, where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant as in *נָרְדַּךְ* *nard*, *אַתָּה* *thou* fem. (for *ant*), *קָטַלְתָּ* *thou* fem. *hast killed*, *וַיִּשְׁקֵךְ* *and he watered*, *וַיִּשָּׁבֶה* *and he took captive*, *אַל-תִּשְׁתֵּה* *drink thou not*; but *וַיִּרְאֵה*, *חָטָא*.<sup>1</sup>

k However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final *Šewā* comes somewhat nearer to a vocal *Šewā*, especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz. *אַתָּה* 'attē from *אַתִּי* 'atti ('anti'), *קָטַלְתָּ* from *קָטַלְתִּי* (cf. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even *בָּאתִי*, after a vowel, Gn 16<sup>8</sup>, Mi 4<sup>10</sup>, &c., according to the readings of Baer), *וַיִּשָּׁבֶה* from *וַיִּשְׁבֶּה*, &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In *נָרְדַּךְ* borrowed from the Indian, as also in *קָשֶׁם* (*qōṣṭ*) Pr 22<sup>21</sup>; and in *אַל-תוֹסֵף* *ne addas* (for which we should expect *תוֹסֵף*) Pr 30<sup>6</sup> the final mute of itself attracts a slight vowel sound.

l Rem. The proper distinction between *simple Šewā mobile* and *quiescens* depends on a correct understanding of the formation of syllables (§ 26). The beginner may observe for the present, that (1) *Šewā* is always *mobile* (*a*) at the beginning of a word (except in *שְׁתִּי*, *שְׁתִּי* § 97 *b*, note); (*b*) under a consonant with *Dageš forte*, e.g. *גִּיד־אֶפְרוֹ* *gid-ephū*; (*c*) after another *Šewā*, e.g. *וַיִּקְרָא* *yiqrā* (except at the end of the word, see above, *i*). (2) *Šewā* is *quiescens* (*a*) at the end of a word, also in the *ḡ*; (*b*) before another *Šewā*.

## § 11. Other Signs which affect the Reading.

Very closely connected with the vowel points are the *reading-signs*, which were probably introduced at the same time. Besides the diacritical point over *ש* and *שׁ*, a point is placed *within* a consonant

<sup>1</sup> On *יָתֵךְ* as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs *לָחַץ*, see § 75 *m*.

to show that it has a stronger sound. On the other hand a horizontal stroke (*Rāphē*) over a consonant is a sign that it has *not* the stronger sound. According to the different purposes for which it is used the point is either (1) *Dageš forte*, a sign of strengthening (§ 12); or (2) *Dageš lene*, a sign of the harder pronunciation of certain consonants (§ 13); or (3) *Mappiq*, a sign to bring out the full consonantal value of letters which otherwise serve as vowel letters (§ 7 b), especially in the case of ך at the end of the word (§ 14 a). The *Rāphē*, which excludes the insertion of any of these points, has almost entirely gone out of use in our printed texts (§ 14 e).

### § 12. *Dageš in general*,<sup>1</sup> and *Dageš forte in particular*.

Cf. Graetz, 'Die mannigfache Anwendung u. Bedeut. des Dagesch,' in *Monatsschr. für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judent.*, 1887, pp. 425 ff. and 473 ff.

1. *Dageš*, a point standing in the middle of a consonant,<sup>2</sup> denotes, *a* according to § 11, (a) the *strengthening*<sup>3</sup> of a consonant (*Dageš forte*), e.g. גִּטֵּל *gittēl* (§ 20); or (b) the *harder* pronunciation of the letters פִּנְדָּפֶת (*Dageš lene*). For a variety of the latter, now rarely used in our printed texts, see § 13 c.

The root דָּנָשׁ in Syriac means to pierce through, to bore through (with sharp *b* iron); hence the name *Dageš* is commonly explained, solely with reference to its form, by *puncture, point*. But the names of all similar signs are derived rather from their grammatical significance. Accordingly דָּנָשׁ may in the Masora have the sense: *acuere (literam)*, i. e. to sharpen a letter, as well as to harden it, i. e. to pronounce it as hard and without aspiration. דָּנָשׁ *acuens (literam)* would then be a sign of sharpening and hardening (like *Mappiq* מַפְּיֵק *proferens, as signum prolationis*), for which purposes a prick of the pen, or *puncture*, was selected. The opposite of *Dageš* is רַפָּה *soft*, § 14 e, and § 22 n.

2. In grammar *Dageš forte*, the *sign of strengthening*, is the more *c* important. It may be compared to the *sicilicus* of the Latins (*Lucūlus* for *Lucullus*) or to the stroke over *m̄* and *n̄*. In the unpointed text it is omitted, like the vowels and other reading signs.

For the different kinds of *Dageš forte*, see § 20.

<sup>1</sup> Oort, *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1902, p. 376, maintains that 'the Masoretes recognized no distinction between *Dageš lene* and *forte*. They used a *Dageš* where they considered that a letter had the sharp, not the soft or aspirated sound.' This may be true; but the old-established distinction between the two kinds of *Dageš* is essential for the right understanding of the grammatical forms.

<sup>2</sup> *Wāw* with *Dageš* (וּ) cannot in our printed texts be distinguished from a *wāw* pointed as *Šūrēq* (וֹ); in the latter case the point should stand higher up. The וּ is, however, easily to be recognized since it cannot take a vowel before or under it.

<sup>3</sup> Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, Lpz. 1879, pp. 44, 103, rightly insists on the expression *strengthened pronunciation* instead of the older term *doubling*, since the consonant in question is only written once. The common expression arises from the fact that in transcription a *strengthened* consonant can only be indicated by writing it as double.

§ 13. *Dageš lene*.Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 114 ff. : Dagesh and Raphe.

- a* 1. *Dageš lene*, the sign of *hardening*, is in ordinary printed texts placed only within the  $\text{בְּנִדְבָּת}$  letters (§ 6 *n*) as a sign that they should be pronounced with their original hard sound (without aspiration), e.g.  $\text{מֵלֶכְךָ}$  *mèlèkh*, but  $\text{מַלְכוֹ}$  *ma'-kó*;  $\text{תָּפַר}$  *tāphār*, but  $\text{יִתְּפַר}$  *yith-pōr*;  $\text{אַתָּה}$  *āthā*, but  $\text{יִשְׁתָּה}$  *yīš-tē*.
- b* 2. The cases in which a *Dageš lene* is to be inserted are stated in § 21. It occurs almost exclusively at the beginning of words and syllables. In the middle of the word it can easily be distinguished from *Dageš forte*, since the latter always has a vowel before it, whereas *Dageš lene* never has; accordingly the *Dageš* in  $\text{אַפִּי}$  'appi,  $\text{רַבִּים}$  rabbim must be *forte*, but in  $\text{יִגְדַל}$  *yigdal* it is *lene*.
- c* A variety of the *Dageš lene* is used in many manuscripts, as well as in Baer's editions, though others (including Ginsburg in the first two cases, *Introd.*, pp. 121, 130, 603, 662) reject it together with the Hatafs discussed in § 10 *g*. It is inserted in consonants other than the *Bēgadkēphath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable: (*a*) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e.g.  $\text{פְּשִׁי}$  *ψ 9<sup>2</sup>*, where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (*b*) in cases like  $\text{מַחֲסִי}$  *ψ 62<sup>a</sup>* = *maḥ-si* (not *māḥ<sup>a</sup>-si*); (*c*) according to some (including Baer; not in ed. *Mant.*) in  $\text{לֵל}$  in the combination  $\text{לֵל לֹ}$  Dt 32<sup>5</sup>, or  $\text{לֵל לֵב}$  Hb 1<sup>6</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup> &c. (so always also in Ginsburg's text, except in Gn 38<sup>9</sup>); see also § 20 *e* and *g*.—Delitzsch appropriately gives the name of *Dageš orthophonicum* to this variety of *Dageš* (*Bibl. Kommentar*, 1874, on *ψ 94<sup>12</sup>*); cf. moreover Delitzsch, *Luth. Ztschr.*, 1863, p. 413; also his *Complutensische Varianten zu dem Alttest. Texte*, Lpz. 1878, p. 12.
- d* 3. When *Dageš forte* is placed in a *Bēgadkēphath*, the strengthening necessarily excludes its aspiration, e.g.  $\text{אַפִּי}$ , from  $\text{אַפִּי}$ .

§ 14. *Mappiq and Rāphē*.

- a* 1. *Mappiq*, like *Dageš*, also a point *within* the consonant, serves in the letters  $\text{ו וי נ נא}$  as a sign that they are to be regarded as full consonants and not as vowel letters. In most editions of the text it is only used in the consonantal *ו* at the end of words (since *ו* can never be a vowel letter in the middle of a word), e.g.  $\text{גַּבְהָהּ}$  (to be high),  $\text{אַרְצָהּ}$  'arṣāh (her land) which has a consonantal ending (shortened from *-hā*), different from  $\text{אַרְצָהּ}$  'arṣā (to the earth) which has a vowel ending.
- b* Rem. 1. Without doubt such a *Hē* was distinctly aspirated like the Arabic *Hā* at the end of a syllable. There are, however, cases in which this *ו* has lost its consonantal character (the *Mappiq* of course disappearing too), so that it remains only as a vowel letter; cf. § 91 *e* on the 3rd fem. sing.
- c* The name  $\text{מַפִּיק}$  means *proferens*, i. e. a sign which brings out the sound of the letter distinctly, as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this

and for *Dageš*, since both are intended to indicate a hard, i. e. a strong, sound. Hence *Rāphè* (see e) is the opposite of both.

2. In MSS. *Mappiq* is also found with נ, י, י', to mark them expressly as *d* consonants, e. g. גִּי (gōy), קִי (qāw, qāu), for which י' is also used, as שִׁי, &c. For the various statements of the Masora (where these points are treated as *Dageš*), see Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, letter נ, § 5 (also *Introd.*, pp. 557, 609, 637, 770), and 'The Dageshed Alephs in the Karlsruhe MS.' (where these points are extremely frequent), in the *Verhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Berlin, i. 1881, p. 136 ff. The great differences in the statements found in the Masora point to different schools, one of which appears to have intended that every audible נ should be pointed. In the printed editions the point occurs only four times with נ (נ or נ'), Gn 43<sup>26</sup>, Lv 23<sup>17</sup>, Ezr 8<sup>18</sup> and Jb 33<sup>21</sup> (נִי; where the point can be taken only as an orthophonic sign, not with König as *Dageš forte*). Cf. Delitzsch, *Hiob*, 2nd ed., p. 439 ff.

2. *Rāphè* (רָפֶה i. e. weak, soft), a horizontal stroke over the letter, *e* is the opposite of both kinds of *Dageš* and *Mappiq*, but especially of *Dageš lene*. In exact manuscripts every בּוֹרֶכֶת letter has either *Dageš lene* or *Rāphè*, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *mèlèkh*, שֶׁנָּה, תֶּפֶר. In modern editions (except Ginsburg's 1st ed.) *Rāphè* is used only when the absence of a *Dageš* or *Mappiq* requires to be expressly pointed out.

## § 15. The Accents.

On the ordinary accents (see below, e), cf. W. Heidenheim, מִשְׁפָּטֵי הַמְעֻמִּים *a* [*The Laws of the Accents*], Rödelsheim, 1808 (a compilation from older Jewish writers on the accents, with a commentary); W. Wickes (see also below), טַעְמֵי כ"א סְפָרִים [*The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*], Oxford, 1887, an exhaustive investigation in English; J. M. Japhet, *Die Accente der hl. Schrift* (exclusive of the books אֲמֹת), ed. by Heinemann, Frankf. a. M. 1896; Prätorius, *Die Herkunft der hebr. Accente*, Berlin, 1901, and (in answer to Gregory's criticism in the *TLZ.* 1901, no. 22) *Die Uebernahme der früh-mittelgriech. Neumen durch die Juden*, Berlin, 1902; P. Kahle, 'Zur Gesch. der hebr. Accente,' *ZDMG.* 55 (1901), 167 ff. (1, on the earliest Jewish lists of accents; 2, on the mutual relation of the various systems of accentuation; on p. 179 ff. he deals with the accents of the 3rd system, see above, § 8 g, note); Margolis, art. 'Accents,' in the *Jewish Encycl.* i (1901), 149 ff.; J. Adams, *Sermons in Accents*, London, 1906.—On the accents of the Books תִּנְאָם (see below, h), S. Baer, תּוֹרַת אֲמֹת [*Accental Laws of the Books תִּנְאָם*], Rödelsheim, 1852, and his appendix to Delitzsch's *Psalmencommentar*, vol. ii, Lpz. 1860, and in the 5th ed., 1894 (an epitome is given in Baer-Delitzsch's *Liber Psalmorum hebr.*, Lpz. 1861, 1874, 1880); cf. also Delitzsch's most instructive 'Accentuologischer Commentar' on Psalms 1-3, in his *Psalmencommentar* of 1874, as well as the numerous contributions to the accentual criticism of the text, &c., in the editions of Baer and Delitzsch, and in the commentaries of the latter; W. Wickes, טַעְמֵי אֲמֹת [*Accents of the Poet. Books*], Oxford, 1881; Mitchell, in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1891, p. 144 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, p. 17 ff.

1. As Prätorius (see above) has convincingly shown, the majority of *b* the Hebrew accents, especially, according to Kahle (see above), the 'Conjunctivi', were adopted by the Jews from the neums and punctuation-marks found in Greek gospel-books, and, like these, their primary purpose was to regulate minutely the public reading of the sacred

text. The complete transformation and amplification of the system (in three different forms, see § 8 g, note), which soon caused the Jews to forget its real origin, is clearly connected with the gradual change from the speaking voice in public reading to chanting or singing. The accents then served as a kind of musical notes.<sup>1</sup> Their value as such has, however, with the exception of a few traces, become lost in transmission. On the other hand, according to their original design they have also a twofold use which is still of the greatest importance for grammar (and syntax), viz. their value (a) as *marking the tone*, (b) as *marks of punctuation* to indicate the logical (syntactical) relation of single words to their immediate surroundings, and thus to the whole sentence.<sup>2</sup>

c 2. As a mark of the tone the accent stands almost invariably (but see below, e) with the syllable which has the principal tone in the word. This is usually the ultima, less frequently the penultima. Amongst the Jewish grammarians a word which has the tone on the ultima is called *Milra'* (Aram. מִלְרָע i.e. accented below<sup>3</sup>), e.g. קָטַל *qāṭāl*; a word which has the tone on the penultima is *Mil'el* (Aram. מִלְעֵל, accented above), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mēlēkh*. Besides this, in many cases a *secondary tone* is indicated in the word by *Mèthēg* (cf. § 16). Examples such as יִחַד נֶעְמְרָה Is 50<sup>8</sup> (cf. 40<sup>18</sup>, Ex 15<sup>8</sup>, Jb 12<sup>15</sup>, La 2<sup>16</sup>) are regarded by the Jewish grammarians as even *proparoxytone*.<sup>4</sup>

d 3. As marks of interpunctuation the accents are subdivided into those which *separate* (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*) and those which *connect* (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*). Further a twofold system of accentuation is to be noted: (a) the common system found in twenty-one of the Books (the כ"א i.e. twenty-one), and (b) that used in the first three Books of the *Hagiographa*, viz. Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, for which the *vox memor.* is אֲמַת, from the initial consonants of the names, תְּהִלִּים Psalms, מִשְׁלֵי Proverbs, אִיּוֹב Job, or more correctly, according to their original sequence, תִּאֲמַת (תִּאֲמַת *twin*), so that מִטְעֵי תִאֲמַת means the accents (sing. מִטֶּעַם) of these three Books. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the ordinary accentuation.

<sup>1</sup> On the attempts of Christian scholars of the sixteenth century to express the Hebrew accents by musical notes, cf. Ortenberg, *ZDMG.* 1889, p. 534.

<sup>2</sup> At the same time it must not be forgotten that the value of the accent as a mark of punctuation is always relative; thus, e.g. *ʾAṭhnāh* as regards the logical structure of the sentence may at one time indicate a very important break (as in Gn 1<sup>4</sup>); at another, one which is almost imperceptible (as in Gn 1<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> 'Above' in this sense means what comes before, 'below' is what comes after; cf. Bacher, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 285 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Delitzsch on Is 40<sup>18</sup>.

## I. The Common Accents.

Preliminary remark. The accents which are marked as *prepositive* stand to the right over or under the initial consonant of the word; those marked as *postpositive*, to the left over or under the last consonant. Consequently in both cases the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent (but cf. below, *l*).

A. DISJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*).<sup>1</sup>

f

1. (—) סִלְלֹק Sillûq (*end*) always with the tone-syllable of the last word before Sôph pāsûq (:), the verse-divider, e.g. : מִן הַיָּם.
2. (—) אֲתָנָח 'Athnâh or אֲתָנַחְתָּ 'Athnahtâ (*rest*), the principal divider within the verse.
- 3 a. (—) סֶגֶלְתָּ Səgôltâ, *postpositive*, marks the fourth or fifth subordinate division, counting backwards from 'Athnâh (e.g. Gn 1<sup>7.28</sup>).
- 3 b. (|—) שַׁלְשֵׁלֶת Šalšëleth (i.e. *chain*), as disjunctive, or Great Šalšëleth, distinguished by the following stroke<sup>2</sup> from the conjunctive in the poetic accentuation, is used for

<sup>1</sup> All the disjunctives occur in Is 39<sup>2</sup>.—The earlier Jewish accentuologists already distinguish between מְלָכִים *Reges* and מְשֻׁרְתִּים *Servi*. The division of the disjunctive accents into Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Comites, which became common amongst Christian grammarians, originated in the *Scrutinium S. S. ex accentibus* of Sam. Bohlius, Rostock, 1636, and, as the source of manifold confusion, had better be given up. The order of the accents in respect to their disjunctive power is shown in general by the above classification, following Wickes. In respect to the height of tone (in chanting) 1, 2, 5, 4, 8, which were *low* and long sustained notes, are to be distinguished from the *high* notes (7, 3<sup>a</sup>, 6, 13, 9), and the highest (3<sup>b</sup>, 11, 12, 10); cf. Wickes, *N" ט" p. 12 ff.*—The name טַעֲמִים (later = *accents* in general) was originally restricted to the disjunctives, see Kahle, l. c., p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> This stroke is commonly confused with *Paseq*, which has the same form. But Pāsēq (= *restraining, dividing*, also incorrectly called P<sup>s</sup>iq) is neither an independent accent, nor a constituent part of other accents, but is used as a mark for various purposes; see the Masoretic lists at the end of Baer's editions, and Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 120 ff., where Pāsēq is divided into *distinctivum, emphaticum, homonymicum, and euphonicum*. The conjuncture of Olshausen (*Lehrb.*, p. 86 f.), that Pāsēq served also to point out marginal glosses subsequently interpolated into the text, has been further developed by E. von Ortenberg, 'Die Bedeutung des Paseq für Quellenscheidung in den BB. d. A. T.', in *Progr. des Domgymn. zu Verden*, 1887, and in the article, 'Paseq u. Legarmeh,' in *ZAW.* 1887, p. 301 ff. (but see Wickes, *ibid.* 1888, p. 149 ff.; also E. König, in the *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1889, parts 5 and 6; Maas, in *Hebraica*, v. 121 ff., viii. 89 ff.). Pratorius, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 683 ff., pointed out that *Paseq* (which is pre-masoretic and quite distinct from *L'garmeh*) besides being a divider (used especially for the sake of greater clearness) also served as a sign of abbreviation. For further treatment of *Paseq* see H. Grimme, 'Pasekstuden,' in the *Bibl. Ztschr.*, i. 337 ff., ii. 28 ff., and *Psalmenprobleme*, &c., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902, p. 173, where it is argued that *Paseq* indicates variants in a difficult sentence; J. Kennedy, *The Note-line in the Heb. Scriptures*, Edinb. 1903, with an index of all the occurrences of *Paseq*, p. 117 ff. According to Kennedy the 'note-line', of which he distinguishes sixteen different kinds, is intended to draw attention to some peculiarity in the text; it existed long before the Masoretes, and was no longer understood by them. See, however, the reviews of E. König, *Theol.*

Segôltā (seven times altogether) when this would stand at the head of the sentence; cf. Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, &c.

4 a. (—) זָקֶף גָּדוֹל Zâqêph gādôl, and

4 b. (—) זָקֶף קָטוֹן Zâqêph qâtôn. The names refer to their musical character. As a disjunctive, Little Zâqêph is by nature stronger than Great Zâqêph; but if they stand together, the one which comes first is always the stronger.

5. (—) טִפְחָא Tiphhâ or טַרְחָא Tarhâ, a subordinate disjunctive before Sillûq and 'Athnâh, but very often the principal disjunctive of the whole verse instead of 'Athnâh; always so when the verse consists of only two or three words (e. g. Is 2<sup>18</sup>), but also in longer verses (Gn 3<sup>21</sup>).

6. (—) רִבְחִיא Rêbhîa'.

7. (—) זַרְקָא Zarqâ, *postpositive*.

8 a. (—) פַּשְׁטָא Paštâ, *postpositive*,<sup>1</sup> and

8 b. (—) יֶתִיב Yethibh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Mehup-pâkh. Yethibh is used in place of Paštâ when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.

9. (—) תִּבְחִיר Têbhîr.

10 a. (—) גֶּרֶשׁ Gêreš or טָרֶס Têres, and

10 b. (—) גֶּרָשָׁיִם Gerăšâyim<sup>2</sup> or Double Gêreš, used for Gêreš, when the tone rests on the ultima, and 'Azlâ does not precede.

11 a. (—) פָּזֶר Pâzêr, and

11 b. (—) פָּזֶר גָּדוֹל Pâzêr gādôl (Great Pâzêr) or קַרְנֵי פָּרָה Qarnê phârâ (cow-horns), only used 16 times, for special emphasis.

12. (—) תְּלִישָׁא גְדוֹלָה Telišâ gedôlâ or Great Telišâ, *prepositive*.

13. (—) לְגַרְמָה Legarmêh, i. e. Mûnah (see below) with a following stroke.

*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1904, p. 448 ff., G. Beer, *TLZ.* 1905, no. 3, and esp. A. Klostermann, *Theol. Lit.-blatt*, 1904, no. 13, with whom Ginsburg agrees (*Verhandlungen des Hamb. Or.-kongresses von 1902*, Leiden, 1904, p. 210 ff.) in showing that the tradition with regard to the 479 or 480 uses of *Paseq* is by no means uniform. The purpose of *Paseq* is clearly recognizable in the five old rules: as a divider between identical letters at the end and beginning of two words; between identical or very similar words; between words which are absolutely contradictory (as *God* and *evil-doer*); between words which are liable to be wrongly connected; and lastly, between heterogeneous terms, as 'Eleazar the High Priest, and Joshua'. But the assumption of a far-reaching critical importance in *Paseq* is at least doubtful.—Cf. also the important article by H. Fuchs, 'Pesiq ein Glossenzeichen,' in the *Vierteljahrsschrift f. Bibelkunde*, Aug. 1908, p. 1 ff. and p. 97 ff.

<sup>1</sup> If the word in question has the tone on the penultima, Paštâ is placed over it also, e. g. תָּהֵן Gn 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. below, L.

<sup>2</sup> Wickes requires Gerăšâyim (גֶּרָשָׁיִם).

B. CONJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*).

g

14. (—) מוֹנֶה Mûnah.  
 15. (—) מְהֻפֶּךְ Mehuppākh or מְהַפֶּךְ Mahpākh.  
 16 a. (—) מֵרֶכָה or מְאֻרְכָּה Mêrēkhā, and  
 16 b. (—) מֵרֶכָה כְּפֻלָּה Mêrēkhā khēphûlā or Double Mêrēkhā.  
 17. (—) דַּרְגָּא Dargā.  
 18. (—) אֶזְלָא 'Azlā, when associated with Gêreš (see above) also called Qadmā.  
 19. (—) תְּלִישָׁא קֶטַנָּה Telīšā qeṭannā or Little Telīšā, *postpositive*.  
 20. (—) גַּלְגַּל Galgal or יֶרַח Yerah.  
 [21. (—) מְאֻיְלָא Me'ayyelā or מֵאֻיְלָא Mâyēlā, a variety of Tiphḥa, serves to mark the secondary tone in words which have Sillûq or 'Athnâh, or which are united by Maqqēph with a word so accentuated, e.g. וַיֵּצֵא־נֹחַ Gn 8<sup>13</sup>.]

## II. The Accents of the Books חֲמֵשׁ סְפָרִים.

## A. DISTINCTIVE.

h

1. (—) Sillûq (see above, I, 1).  
 2. (—) עוֹלָה וְיֹרֵד 'Ôlê weyôrêd,<sup>1</sup> a stronger divider than  
 3. (—) 'Athnâh (see above, I, 2). In shorter verses 'Athnâh suffices as principal distinctive; in longer verses 'Ôlê weyôrêd serves as such, and is then mostly followed by 'Athnâh as the principal disjunctive of the second half of the verse.  
 4. (—) Rebhîa' gādôl (Great Rebhîa').  
 5. (—) Rebhîa' mugrāš, i.e. Rebhîa' with Gêreš on the same word.  
 6. (—) Great Šalšēleth (see above, I, 3 b).  
 7. (—) שִׁנּוֹר Šinnôr (Zarqā), as *postpositive*, is easily distinguished from שִׁנּוֹרִית Šinnôrith similarly placed, which is not an independent accent, but stands only over an open syllable before a consonant which has Mêrēkhā or Mahpākh.  
 8. (—) Rebhîa' qāṭôn (Little Rebhîa') immediately before 'Ôlê weyôrêd.  
 9. (—) דְּהִי Dehî or Tiphḥā, *prepositive*, to the right underneath the initial consonant, e.g. דְּהִי (consequently it does not mark the tone-syllable).

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly called also Mêrēkhā mēhuppākh (*Mêrēkha mahpakhatum*), although the accent underneath is in no way connected with Mêrēkhā; cf. Wickes, l. c., p. 14.

10. (  $\frac{v}{-}$  ) Pázēr (see above, I, 11 a).  
 11 a. (  $| \frac{-}{-}$  ) Mēhuppākh lōgarmēh, i.e. Mahpākh with a following stroke.  
 11 b. (  $| \frac{-}{-}$  ) 'Azlā lōgarmēh, i.e. 'Azlā with a following stroke.

i

## B. CONJUNCTIVI.

12. (  $\frac{-}{-}$  ) Mērekhā (see above, I, 16 a).  
 13. (  $\frac{-}{-}$  ) Mūnah (see above, I, 14).  
 14. (  $\frac{-}{-}$  ) עֲלִי 'Illūy or Mūnah superior.  
 15. (  $\frac{-}{-}$  ) טַרְחָא Tarhā (under the tone-syllable, and thus easily distinguished from No. 9).  
 16. (  $\frac{-}{-}$  ) Galgal or Yērah (see above, I, 20).  
 17. (  $\frac{-}{-}$  ) Mēhuppākh or Mahpākh (see above, I, 15).  
 18. (  $\frac{-}{-}$  ) 'Azlā (see above, I, 18).  
 19. (  $\frac{-}{-}$  ) Šalšēleth qeṭannā (Little Šalšēleth).

The last three are distinguished from the disjunctives of the same name by the absence of the stroke.

- [20. (  $\frac{-}{-}$  ) Šinnōrith, see above under No. 7.]

## REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. *As Signs of the Tone.*

- k 1. As in Greek and English (cf. εἰμί and εἴμι, *compact* and *compact*) so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants are occasionally distinguished by the position of the tone, e.g. בָּנוּ *banū* (they built), בָּנוּ *binu* (in us); קָמָה *qāma* (she stood up), קָמָה *qamā* (standing up, *fem.*).  
 l 2. As a rule the accent stands on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. In the case of prepositives and postpositives alone (see above, e) the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent. In many MSS. as well as in Baer's editions of the text, the postpositive sign in foretoned words stands also over the tone-syllable after the analogy of Paṣṭā (see above, I, 8 a, note); e.g. יִשְׁכְּבוּ *šēqōbū* Gn 19<sup>4</sup>; so the prepositive sign in cases like יִהְיֶה *ihyeh* Gn 8<sup>18</sup>.

II. *As Signs of Punctuation.*

- m 3. In respect to this use of the accents, every verse is regarded as a period which closes with Sillūq, or in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a province (*ditio*) which is governed by the great distinctive at the end. According as the verse is long or short, i.e. the province great or small, there are several subordinate *Domini* of different grades, as governors of greater and smaller divisions. When possible, the subdivisions themselves are also split up into parts according to the law of dichotomy (see Wickes, *The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 29 ff).—When two or more equivalent accents (Zāqēph, R'bhia') occur consecutively, the accent which precedes marks a greater division than the one which follows; cf. e.g. the Zāqēph, Gn 1<sup>20 a</sup>.  
 n 4. In general a conjunctive (*Servus*) unites only such words as are closely connected in sense, e.g. a noun with a following genitive or a noun with an

adjective. For the closest connexion between two or more words *Maqqēph* is added (§ 16 a).

5. The consecution of the several accents (especially the correspondence of *O* disjunctives with their proper conjunctives) conforms in the most minute details to strict rules, for a further investigation of which we must refer to the above-mentioned works. Here, to avoid misunderstanding, we shall only notice further the rule that in the accentuation of the books מ"ח, the *R<sup>b</sup>hi<sup>a</sup>* *mugraš* before *Silluq*, and the *D<sup>e</sup>hi* before *'Athnāh*, must be changed into conjunctives, unless at least two toneless syllables precede the principal disjunctive. For this purpose Š<sup>w</sup>ā *mobile* after *Qames*, *Sere*, or *Holem* (with *Metheg*) is to be regarded as forming a syllable. After 'Ōlā *w'yōrēd* the *'Athnāh* does not necessarily act as pausal (cf. Delitzsch on ψ 45<sup>6</sup>). The condition of our ordinary texts is corrupt, and the system of accents can only be studied in correct editions [see Wickes' two treatises].

6. A double accentuation occurs in Gn 35<sup>22</sup>, from וישב onward (where *p* the later accentuation, intended for public reading, aims at uniting vv. 22 and 23 into one, so as to pass rapidly over the unpleasant statement in v. 22); and in the Decalogue, Ex 20<sup>2 ff.</sup>; Dt 5<sup>6 ff.</sup>. Here also the later (mainly superlinear) accentuation which closes the first verse with עברים (instead of פני) is adopted simply for the purposes of public reading, in order to reduce the original twelve verses (with sublinear accentuation) to ten, the number of the Commandments. Thus עברים at the end of v. 2 has *Silluq* (to close the verse) in the lower accentuation, but in the upper, which unites vv. 2-6 (the actual words of God) into a single period, only *R<sup>b</sup>hi<sup>a</sup>*. Again פני, regarded as closing v. 3, is pointed פִּנִּי (pausal *Qames* with *Silluq*), but in the upper accentuation it is פִּנִּי with *Pathah* because not in pause. (Originally there may have been a third accentuation requiring עברים and פִּנִּי, and thus representing vv. 2 and 3 as the first commandment.) Further the upper accentuation unites vv. 8-11 into one period, while in vv. 12-15 the lower accentuation combines commandments 5-8 into one verse. Cf. Geiger, *Urschrift u. Übersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 373; Japhet, *op. cit.*, p. 158, and esp. K. J. Grimm, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ.* xix (May, 1900), no. 145.

## § 16. Of *Maqqēph* and *Mèthēg*.

These are both closely connected with the accents.

*a*

1. *Maqqēph* (מקף i.e. *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between the upper part of two words which so connects them that in respect of tone and pointing they are regarded as one, and therefore have only one accent. Two, three, or even four words may be connected in this way, e.g. כָּל־אָדָם *every man*, אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb*, Gn 1<sup>29</sup>, אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לִי *all that he had*, Gn 25<sup>6</sup>.

Certain monosyllabic prepositions and conjunctions, such as אֶל־ *to*, עַד־ *until*, עַל־ *upon*, עִם־ *with*, אֶל־ *ne*, אִם־ *if, whether*, מִן־ *from*, כִּי־ *lest*, are almost always found with a following *Maqqēph*, provided they have not become independent forms by being combined with prefixes, e.g. מֵעַל, מֵעִם, in which case *Maqqēph* as a rule does not follow. Occasionally *Maqqēph* is replaced by a conjunctive accent (see above, § 9 u, 1 c), as, according to the *Masora*, in Dt 27<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>23</sup>, Jer 25<sup>30</sup>, 29<sup>25</sup>, Ec 9<sup>4</sup> in the case of אֶל־כָּל; ψ 47<sup>6</sup>, 60<sup>2</sup>, Pr 3<sup>12</sup> in the case of אֶת־, the objective particle. Longer words are, however, con-

nected by Maqqēph with a following monosyllable, e.g. הַתְּהִלָּה־גִּן Gn 6<sup>9</sup>, וַיְהִי־בֹן Gn 17; or two words of more than one syllable, e.g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר *seventeen*, Gn 7<sup>11</sup>. Cf. the Greek proclitics *ἐν, ἐκ, ἐς, ἐί, ὡς, οὐ*, which are *atonic*, and lean on the following word.

- C 2. Mètheg** (מֶתֶג i.e. *a bridle*), a small perpendicular stroke under the consonant to the left of the vowel, indicates most frequently the secondary stress or counter-tone, as opposed to the principal tone marked by the accents. It serves, however, in other cases to point out that the vowel should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation, but should be allowed its full sound. Hence other names of *Mètheg* are *Mu'arikkh*, i.e. *lengthener*, and *Ga'yā*, i.e. *raising of the voice*, which is *Great Ga'yā* with long vowels, otherwise *Little Ga'yā*.<sup>1</sup>

**d** It is divided into: 1. The *light Mètheg*. This is subdivided again into (a) the ordinary Mètheg of the counter-tone, as a rule in the second (open) syllable before the tone, e.g. הָאָדָם (cf. also such cases as מֶלֶךְ־צָר); but also in the third when the second is closed, e.g. הָאֲרָבָעִים (also in such cases as עֶבְרֵה־הַמֶּלֶךְ), and when the third is not suitable for it, even in the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This Mètheg may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone, when it already stands in the second, e.g. שִׁבְעָתֵיכֶם. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open ultima, which is joined by Maqqēph to a word beginning with a toneless syllable and so without Mètheg (e.g. בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, on the other hand רִשְׁפֵי־קִשֶׁת, or to a word beginning with *Šwā* before the tone-syllable, e.g. מִי־לֶךְ, &c.; the object being to prevent the *Šwā* from becoming *quiescent*).

**e** The ordinary *light Mètheg* is omitted with a movable *copulative*, consequently we do not find וּבָנִים, &c. (nor even וּבְנֵי, &c., contrary to *b, a*; but וּבָהּ, &c., according to *b, δ*, cf. § 10 g. *b*).

**f** (b) The *firm or indispensable Mètheg*. (a) With all long vowels (except in certain cases, *a copulative*, see above), which are followed by a *Šwā mobile* preceding the tone-syllable, e.g. יִרְאֵה, יִשְׁנֶה, &c. (β) To emphasize a long vowel in a closed syllable immediately before Maqqēph, e.g. שְׁתִּלִּי Gn 4<sup>25</sup> (not *šōth-li*); hence also with בָּלָה ψ 138<sup>2</sup>, and אָתָּה Jb 41<sup>26</sup> (for בָּלָה and אָתָּה; cf. also מָאָת Jo 15<sup>18</sup>, &c.). (γ) With Sere, which has become toneless through retraction of the tone, in order to prevent its being pronounced as *Sēghōl*, e.g. אָהָב דַּעַת Pr 12<sup>1</sup> (not *'ōhēbh*). (δ) With all vowels before composite *Šwā*, e.g. נֶעְמָד, &c. (except when the following consonant is strengthened, e.g. יִקְבְּנִי Is 62<sup>2</sup>, because the strengthening by *Dageš* excludes the retarding of the vowel by *Mètheg*); so in the cases discussed in § 28 c, where a short vowel has taken the place of a *Ḥateph*, as נֶעְמָד, &c. (ε) In the preformative syllable of all forms of הָיָה to *be*, and חָיָה to *live*, when *Šwā quiescens* stands under the ה or ח, e.g. הָיָה, חָיָה (*yih-yè, tih-yè*), &c., cf.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. as the source of this account of *Mètheg*, the exhaustive treatment by S. Baer, 'Mètheg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen,' in A. Merx's *Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test.*, Heft i, Halle, 1867, p. 56 ff., and Heft ii. 1868, p. 194 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-t'amim*, p. 30 ff.

§ 63 q. (5) With the Qameṣ of the plural forms of בָּיִת *house* (thus בָּתִּים *báttim*, cf. § 96 under בָּיִת), and with הִנֵּה<sup>1</sup> *prithē!* to guard against the pronunciation *böttim*, *önnä*.—Every kind of light Mèthëg may in certain circumstances be changed into a conjunctive accent, e. g. בָּתִּים 2 Ch 34<sup>11</sup>, &c.

2. The *grave Mèthëg* (*Ga'yā* in the more limited sense) is especially employed <sup>g</sup> in the following cases in order more distinctly to emphasize a short vowel or an initial Šwā: (a) with the Pathah of the article or of the prefixes ב, כ, ל, when followed by Šwā under a consonant without Dageš, e. g. הַמִּסְלָה, לְמִסְלָה, &c., but not before י (before which י also remains without Mèthëg, with the exception of יְיָ and יְיָהּ, when they are followed by *Maqqēph*, or accented with *Pašā*), nor before the tone-syllable of a word, and neither *before* nor *after* the common Mèthëg; likewise not in words which are connected by a conjunctive accent with the following word; (b) with the interrogative הַ with *Pathah* (except when it precedes י, *Dageš forte* or the tone-syllable of the word), e. g. הֲיִיאֵל. When a Šwā follows the הַ and after the Šwā there is an untuned syllable, Baer places the Mèthëg to the right of the *Pathah*, e. g. הַבְּרָכָה Gn 27<sup>33</sup> (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. הַבְּרָכָה); (c) with the *Pathah* or *Sogol* of the article before a guttural (which cannot take Dageš), e. g. הַחַיִּים, הַהָרִים.—The Šwā-*Ga'yā* ( ) is especially important in the accentuation of the מִן, for purposes of musical recitation; it stands chiefly in words whose principal tone is marked by a disjunctive without a preceding conjunctive, e. g. וְהָיָה ψ 13.

3. The *euphonic Ga'yā*, to ensure the distinct pronunciation of those consonants which in consequence of the loss of the tone, or because they close a syllable, might easily be neglected, e. g. וְיִשְׁכְּבוּ לוֹ Gn 24<sup>9</sup>; פָּדְיָהָ אָרָם (here to avoid a hiatus) 28<sup>2</sup>, or in such cases as אֶל רֵיחַ אֱלֹהִים Jb 33<sup>4</sup>, &c.; תִּירְשָׁא Gn 11<sup>11</sup>.

Mèthëg (especially in the cases mentioned in 1, b, a) is a guide to correct <sup>i</sup> pronunciation, since it distinguishes ā from ö (except in the case noted in § 9 v, b) and î from ï; e. g. אָכְלָה 'ā-khēlā (she has eaten), but אֶכְלָה 'ökhilā (food), since the — stands here in a toneless closed syllable, and must therefore be a short vowel; thus also יִרְאוּ yir'ā (they fear), but יִרְאוּ yir'ā (they see), יִשְׁנוּ (they sleep), but יִשְׁנוּ (they repeat). The Jewish grammarians, however, do not consider the syllables lengthened by Mèthëg as open. They regard the Šwā as *quiescent* in cases like אֶכְלָה, and belonging to the preceding vowel; cf. Baer, *Thorat 'Emeth*, p. 9, and in Merx's *Archiv*, i. p. 60, Rem. 1, and especially *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, p. 13.

## § 17. Of the Q<sup>eré</sup> and K<sup>ethibh</sup>. *Masora marginalis* and *finalis*.

On Q<sup>eré</sup> and K<sup>ethibh</sup> see Ginsburg, *Intr.*, p. 183 ff.]

1. The margin of Biblical MSS. and editions exhibits variants <sup>a</sup> of an early date (§ 3 c), called קָרִי<sup>2</sup> *to be read*, since, according to

<sup>1</sup> The common form is אָנָּה, with an accent on both syllables, in which case, according to Qimhi, the tone is always to be placed on the former. For the above mode of writing and position of the tone cf. Is 38<sup>3</sup>, Jon 1<sup>14</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, ψ 116<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> On the necessity of the punctuation קָרִי as passive participle (= *legendum*)

the opinion of the Jewish critics, they are to be preferred to the *פְּתִיב*, i.e. what is *written* in the text, and are actually to be read instead of it.

On this account the vowels of the marginal reading (the *Qerê*) are placed under the consonants of the text, and in order to understand both readings properly, the vowels in the text must be applied to the marginal reading, while for the reading of the text (the *Kethibh*) its own vowels are to be used. Thus in Jer 42<sup>6</sup> אָנֹכִי occurs in the text, in the margin אָנֹכִי. Read אָנֹכִי *we* (or according to Jewish tradition אָנֹכִי) in the text, in the margin אָנֹכִי. A small circle or asterisk in the text always refers to the marginal reading.

*b* 2. Words or consonants which are to be passed over in reading, and are therefore left unpointed, are called *פְּתִיב וְלֹא קָרִי* (*scriptum et non legendum*), e.g. אֵת Jer 38<sup>16</sup>, אִם 39<sup>12</sup>, יִדְרָךְ 51<sup>3</sup>. Conversely, words not contained in the text, but required by the Masora (as indicated by the insertion of their vowels), are called *קָרִי וְלֹא קְתִיב*, e.g. 2 S 8<sup>3</sup>, Jer 31<sup>38</sup>. See further Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 85; *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, §§ 62, 64; Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 49 ff.

*c* 3. In the case of some very common words, which are *always* to be read otherwise than according to the *Kethibh*, it has not been considered necessary to place the *Qerê* in the margin, but its vowels are simply attached to the word in the text. This *Qerê perpetuum* occurs in the Pentateuch in הוּא (*Qerê* הִיא) wherever הוא stands for the feminine (§ 32 *l*), and in נֶעֱרַךְ (*Kethibh* נָעַר, *Qerê* נֶעֱרָה) always, except in Dt 22<sup>19</sup> (but the Sam. text always has היא, נַעֲרָה). The ordinary explanation of this supposed archaism, on the analogy of Greek *ὁ παῖς* and *ἡ παῖς*, our *child*, is inadequate, since there is no trace elsewhere of this epicene use; נָעַר for נַעֲרָה is rather a survival of a system of orthography in which a final vowel was written defectively, as in קָטַלְתָּ; cf. § 2 *n*.—Other instances are: יִשְׁשַׁכָּר (*Q.* יִשְׁכָּר) Gn 30<sup>18</sup> &c., see the *Lexicon*. and Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 84, and below, note to § 47 *b*; יְרוּשָׁלַם (*Q.* יְרוּשָׁלַם), properly יְרוּשָׁלַם (*Q.* יְהוָה; יְהוָה *Q.* אֲדֹנָי the Lord), or (after אֲדֹנָי) יְהוָה (*Q.* אֲלֹהִים) properly יְהוָה *Yahwè* (cf. § 102 *m*, and § 135 *q*, note); on שָׁתִי, שָׁתִי for שָׁתִי, see § 97 *d*, end.

*d* 4. The masoretic apparatus accompanying the biblical text is divided into (a) *Masora marginalis*, consisting of (a) *Masora (marginalis) magna* on the upper and lower margins of MSS.; (β) *Masora (marginalis) parva* between and on the right and left of the columns;

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instead of קָרִי *Qerî*, which was formerly common but is properly a past tense (= *lectum est*), see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 81, note.

(b) *Masora finalis* at the end of the several books, counting Samuel, Kings, Minor Prophets, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, each as one book. On all three varieties see especially Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 423 ff., and the appendices containing (p. 983 ff.) the masoretic treatise from the St. Petersburg MS. of A.D. 1009, and (p. 1000 ff.) specimens of the *Masora parva* and *magna* on two chapters.

In nearly all printed editions only the *Masora finalis* is found, indicating <sup>c</sup> the number of verses, the middle point of the book, &c., and a scanty selection from the *Masora parva*. The following alphabetical list of technical expressions (some of them Aramaic) and abbreviations, may suffice with the help of the lexicon to elucidate the subject. Further details will be found in the appendix to Teile's edition of the Hebrew O. T., p. 1222 ff.

אות letter. אֵלֶּא nisi, except. אֶמְצַע middle. אֶס"ף = פָּסוּק in the formula אֶס"ף בְּלֹא אֶתְנַח סוֹף פָּסוּק without 'Athnah or Soph-pasug i.e. although no 'Athnah or Soph-pasug is written.

בְּ with, before names of vowels or accents, as קָמֶץ בְּזָקֶף Qameṣ with Zaqeph used instead of Pathah (§ 29 i).—ב' as a numeral = two, as in טַעֲמִים ב' two accents. בִּמְקַצֵּת, see מְקַצֵּת. בִּנְיֹסָהּ אַחֲרֵינָא = בִּנְיֹסָהּ אַחֲרֵינָא (Aramaic) in another copy; pl. בִּנְיֹסָהּ אַחֲרֵינָא.—בִּסְפָּרִים אַחֲרֵינָא in other books. בְּתַר (Aram.) after. דָּגוּשָׁה fem. דָּגוּשָׁה marked with Dageṣ (or Mappiq). דָּף leaf, page.

זָעִיר fem. זָעִירָא (Aram.) small.

חול profane, not sacred, e.g. אֶדְנִי Gn 19<sup>9</sup> because not referring to God. חוץ except. חָקַר written defectively, also wanting as ח' א' aleph is omitted.

טַעַם accent (see ב); טַעַם in Hiphil to chant an accent.

יָתִיר superfluous.

כָּאן here. כָּלֵל (Aram.) total, as adv. in general.

לֹא לִיתָ (Aram., from לֹא אִיתָ non est) = the form is not found elsewhere.

מְדֻקָּא accurately corrected. מְלֵא full i.e. written plene. מְלַבֵּשׁ below = מְלַבֵּשׁ (§ 15 c). מְלַבֵּשׁ מְלַבֵּשׁ (§ 15 c). מְנוּזָרוֹת separated, the name of the strangely formed Nūns before ψ 107<sup>23</sup> ff. (§ 5 n). מְקַרָּא that which is read, the name for all the O. T. scriptures. מְקַצֵּת part.

נָח fem. נָחָה quiescent, i.e. not sounded. נֶעְלָם concealed, i.e. only retained orthographically. נִקְוֶה a point. נִקְוֶה pointed.

ס"א see ב. סִימָן σημεῖον, sign, esp. a mnemonic word or, frequently, sentence.

סָבוּם total. סוֹף פָּסוּק = ס"ף (§ 15 f).

עַמּוּד column of a page.

פָּסוּק a masoretic verse. פָּסְקָא a space, esp. in the phrase בְּאֶמְצַע פָּסוּק a space within a verse, e.g. Gn 35<sup>22</sup>; cf. H. Grätz, *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums*, 1878, p. 481 ff., and H. Strack, *ibid.* 1879, p. 26 ff.

קָרִי, see above, c. קֹרֶם properly קֹרֶם before. קָמֶץ fem. קָמֶץָה poin'ted with Qameṣ. קוֹרָא reader of the sacred text.

רַבָּתָה, רַבָּתָה, רַבָּתָה (Aram., all fem. sing.) large.

רַבָּתָה word (consisting of more than one letter). רַבָּתָה suspensa (§ 5 n,

3). רַבָּתָה (Aram.) two.

## CHAPTER II

### PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLE AND THE TONE

#### § 18.

THE changes which take place in the forms of the various parts of speech, depend partly on the peculiar nature of certain classes of letters and the manner in which they affect the formation of syllables, partly on certain laws of the language in regard to syllables and the tone.

#### § 19. *Changes of Consonants.*

*a* The changes which take place among consonants, owing to the formation of words, inflexion, euphony, or to influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation, assimilation, rejection, addition, transposition, softening.*

1. *Commutation*<sup>1</sup> may take place between consonants which are either *homorganic* or *homogeneous* (cf. § 6 q), e.g. עָלָה, עָלָה, עָלָה to *exult*, לָאָה, לָאָה, אָרָה, Aram. לָאָה to *be weary*, חָצָה and חָצָה to *press*, סָגָה and סָגָה to *close*, מָלָה and מָלָה to *escape*. In process of time, and partly under the influence of Aramaic, the harder and rougher sounds especially were changed into the softer, e.g. קָחָה into קָחָה to *laugh*, נָאָה into נָאָה to *reject*, and the sibilants into the corresponding mutes: ז into ד, ש into ת, צ into ט. In many cases these mutes may be regarded as a return to an earlier stage of the pronunciation.

The interchange of consonants, however, belongs rather to the lexicographical treatment of stems<sup>2</sup> than to grammatical inflexion. To the latter belong the interchange (*a*) of ת and ט in *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 b); (*b*) of ו and ו in verbs *primae Yôd* (§ 69), וָלָה, וָלָה, &c.

*b* 2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when one consonant which closes a syllable passes over into another beginning the next syllable, and forms with it a strengthened letter, as *illustris* for *inlustris*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαβάνω for συναλαμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Forschungen*, Lpz. 1893, p. 15 ff. ('Lautverschiebungen').

<sup>2</sup> See in the *Lexicon*, the preliminary remarks on the several consonants.

(a) most frequently with מ, e.g. מִשָּׁם (for *min-šām*) *from there*, מִזֶּה *c* (for *min-zè*) *from this*, יָתֵן (for *yintēn*) *he gives*. מ is not assimilated after the prefix לְ, e.g. לְיָתֵן, nor as a rule before gutturals (except sometimes before ה), nor when it is the third consonant of the stem, e.g. שָׁכַחַת (cf. however נָחַת for *nāthāntā*) except when another Nun follows, cf. § 44 o; nor in some isolated cases, as Dt 33<sup>9</sup>, Is 29<sup>1</sup>, 58<sup>3</sup>, all in the principal pause; on הִנְדִּירָה and הִתְדִּירָה ψ 68<sup>3</sup>, see § 51 k, and § 66 f.

(b) Less frequently and only in special cases with ל, ה, ר, e.g. יִלְקַח *d* (for *yilqah*) *he takes*; מִדְּבַר for *mithdabbēr*; יִטַּמַּם for *yitḥammā*; תִּתְּכֹנֵן for *tithkōnēn*; תִּתְּנֶשֶׂא for *tithnēšā*; אַחַת for *aḥadt*; but in י S 4<sup>19</sup> for לֵלֶת read probably לִלְתֵּן.

(c) In isolated cases with ה, ו, י, e.g. אֶפְרַיִם *prithēe*! if from אָפָה נָ; e and י mostly before sibilants in the verbal forms enumerated in § 71.

In all these cases, instead of the assimilated letter, a *Dageš forte* *f* appears in the following consonant. *Dageš*, however, is omitted when the strengthened consonant would stand at the end of a word, since the strengthening would then be less audible (§ 20 l), e.g. אָף *nose* (from *'anp*), תִּתֵּן *to give* (from *tint*).

The cases are less frequent where a weak letter is lost in pronunciation,<sup>1</sup> and in place of it the preceding stronger sound is sharpened, i. e. takes *Dageš*, e.g. קָטַלְתָּהוּ from קָטַלְתֵּהוּ (§ 59 g). אֶפְסַק for אָפְסַק (§ 66 e) is an Aramaism.

3. Complete *rejection* takes place only in the case of weaker consonants, especially the sonants מ and ל, the gutturals א and ה, and the two half vowels ו and י. Such rejection takes place,

(a) at the beginning of a word (*aphaeresis*), when these weak consonants (א, י, ל, מ) are not supported by a full vowel, but have only Šewâ, e.g. וָחַנּוּ *we*, also אֶנְחֵנוּ; וָדַע for וִדַּע; קַח for לָקַח; נִשֵּׁשׁ for נִשֵּׂשׁ, הִי for נָהִי Ez 2<sup>10</sup>.

Aphaeresis of a weak consonant with a full vowel is supposed to occur in יָרַר *i* Ju 19<sup>11</sup> for יָרָר; in נִתְּחַתָּה 2 S 22<sup>41</sup> for נִתְּחַתָּה; in יָשׁוּב for יָשׁוּב Je 42<sup>10</sup>; on קַח Ez 17<sup>5</sup> for לָקַח, and on קָחַם Ho 11<sup>3</sup> for לָקַחַם, see § 66 g, end. In reality, however, all these forms are to be regarded merely as old textual errors.

(b) In the middle of a word (*syncope*), when Šewâ precedes the *h* weak consonant<sup>2</sup>; thus in the case of א (see further § 23 b-f, and

<sup>1</sup> Such a suppression of a letter is sometimes inaccurately called 'backward assimilation'.

<sup>2</sup> Syncope of a strong consonant (ע) occurs in פִּי *prithēe*! if this stands for פִּי (see *Lexicon*), also in וְנִשְׁקָה Am 8<sup>3</sup>, *Kethibh* for וְנִשְׁקָה (cf. וְנִשְׁקָה), and

§ 68 b-k), e.g. in כּוּם for כּוּמ. As a rule in such cases, however, the א is orthographically retained, e.g. לְקַרְאֵת for לְקַרְאֵת. Syncope occurs frequently in the case of ה, e.g. לְפָלֶה for לְהַפְלִיחַ (§ 23 k and § 35 n), יִקְטִיל for יִהְיֶה (§ 53 a).

Syncope of א with Šewā occurs in such cases as בְּאֶרְצִי for בְּאֶרְצִי (cf. § 102 m); וְאֶעֱשֶׂה Ze 11<sup>5</sup>.<sup>1</sup> On the cases in which א is wholly omitted after the article, see § 35 d.

Finally, the elision of ו and י in verbs ל'ה (§ 75 h) is an instance of syncope.—On the syncope of ה between two vowels, see § 23 k.

- l (c) At the end of a word (*apocope*), e.g. גִּלְדָּה pr. name of a city (cf. גִּלְוִי Gilonite); וִירָא, where א though really rejected is orthographically retained, &c. On the apocope of ו and י in verbs ל'ה, see § 24 g, and § 75 a.

Bolder changes (especially by violent apocope), took place in earlier periods of the language, notably the weakening of the feminine ending ת—āth to ת־ā, see § 44 a, and § 80 f.

- m 4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation a helping sound, Aleph prosthetic<sup>2</sup> with its vowel, is prefixed to some words, e.g. אֶרְוֶע and אֶרְוֶע arm (cf. χῆς, ἐχῆς; spiritus, French esprit).—A prosthetic ע occurs probably in עֶקֶב scorpion; cf. Arab. 'usfār bird (stem safara).
- n 5. *Transposition*<sup>3</sup> occurs only seldom in the grammar, e.g. הִשְׁתַּמֵּר for הִשְׁמַר (§ 54 b) for the sake of euphony; it is more frequent in the lexicon (בָּשָׂב and בָּשָׂב lamb, שִׁמְלָה and שִׁמְלָה garment), but is mostly confined to sibilants and sonants.
- o 6. *Softening* occurs e.g. in כּוֹכַב star, from kaukabh=kawkabh for kabhkabh (cf. Syriac raurab=rabrah); תַּפְתֻּפֹּת phylacteries for taph-tāphōth; according to the common opinion, also in אִישׁ man from 'inš, cf. however § 96.

## § 20. The Strengthening (Sharpening) of Consonants.

- a 1. The strengthening of a consonant, indicated by *Dageš forte*, is necessary and essential (*Dageš necessarium*)
- (a) when the same consonant would be written twice in succession

in בָּלָה Jos 19<sup>3</sup> for בָּעָלָה (as in 15<sup>29</sup>). Probably, however, בָּלָה and וּנְשָׂה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly כָּאֵר Am 8<sup>8</sup> for כִּיֵּאֵר (9<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, p. 97 f., gives a list of forty-eight words with quiescent א.

<sup>2</sup> This awkward term is at any rate as suitable as the name *Alef prostheticum* proposed by Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, Tübingen, 1893, p. 67 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, Lpz. 1893, p. 1 ff.; Königsberger, in *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1894, p. 451 ff.

without an intermediate vowel or *Šewā mobile*; thus we have נָתַנּוּ for נָתַנְנִי *nāthān-nū* and שָׁתַּתִּי for שָׁתַּתִּי.

(b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19 b-f), e.g. יִתֵּן for *yintēn*.

In both these cases the *Dageš* is called *compensativum*.

(c) When it is characteristic of a grammatical form, e.g. לָמַד *he has learned*, לָמַד *he has taught* (*Dageš characteristicum*). In a wider sense this includes the cases in which a consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, to preserve a preceding short vowel (which in an open syllable would have to be lengthened by § 26 e), e.g. גְּמָלִים *camels* for *gēmālīm*; cf. § 93 ee and kk, § 93 pp.

This coalescing of two consonants as indicated above does not take place <sup>b</sup> when the first has a vowel or *Šewā mobile*. In the latter case, according to the correct Masora, a compound *Šewā* should be used, preceded by *Methēg*, e.g. הַלְלִים, קַלְלָה, &c. (cf. §§ 10 g, 16 f). This pointing is not used before the suffix הֶ, e.g. תְּכַרְכֵּךְ Gn 27<sup>4</sup>, but the first כ has a vocal *Šewā*, otherwise the second כ would have *Dageš lene*. Also when the former of the two consonants has been already strengthened by *Dageš forte*, it can only have a vocal *Šewā*, and any further contraction is therefore impossible. This applies also to cases where *Dageš forte* has been omitted (see below, m), e.g. הִלְלוּ properly הִלְלוּ = *hal-lēlū*. The form חֲנֻכִּי ψ 9<sup>14</sup> (not חֲנֻכִּי) might be explained as imperat. Pī'el = חֲנֻכִּי; if it were imperat. Qal the non-contraction of the monosyllabic root would be as strange as it is in שָׂרַדְךָ Jer 49<sup>28</sup>, and in the imperf. יִשְׁרָדְךָ Jer 5<sup>6</sup>.

2. A consonant is sometimes strengthened merely for the sake of *C euphony* (*Dageš euphonicum*), and the strengthening is then not so essential. This occurs <sup>1</sup>—

(a) when two words are closely united in pronunciation by *Dageš forte conjunctivum*: (1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word having the tone (or occasionally the counter-tone) on the first syllable,<sup>2</sup> when closely connected with the preceding word, if that word ends in a tone-bearing *Qameṣ* (הֶ) with *Šewā mobile* preceding, or a tone-bearing הֶ, —called דְּחִיק (i. e. *compressed*) by the Jewish grammarians.

The term monosyllable here and in f (by § 28 e) includes Segholates like פָּסָח, שָׁחַר, &c., as well as forms like פָּרִי, נֶשֶׁל, נֶשֶׁמו, and even בָּנֶעַן.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Baer, 'De primarum vocabulorum literarum dagessatione,' in his *Liber Proverbiorum*, Lpz. 1880. pp. vii-xv; F. Prätorius, 'Über den Ursprung des Dag. f. conjunctivum,' in *ZAW.* 1883, p. 17 ff. (ascribed to an original assimilation of ה or י).

<sup>2</sup> לֵאמֹר alone, although having the tone on the ultima, invariably takes the *Dageš forte conj.* when מִשָּׁה with a conjunctive accent precedes, Ex 6<sup>10, 29</sup>, 15<sup>24</sup>, &c.

Some limit the use of the *Dēhiq* to the closest connexion of a monosyllable with a following *Bēgadkēphath*. However, it also applies to cases like לְכֹהֵנָה Nu 22<sup>6</sup>; לְקֹהֵלָא Gn 23<sup>3</sup>; יִצְיָה־לֵךְ ψ 91<sup>11</sup>; and even with *Rēš*, מַעֲנֶה־רֶךְ Pr 15<sup>1</sup>; וְשֹׁנֶה־סֶף Gn 43<sup>15</sup>. In all these examples the tone, were it not for the *Maqqēph*, would be on the ultima of the first word.

- d* Rem. 1. When הַ this has *Maqqēph* after it, a *Dageš forte conj.* always follows, even if the next word is neither a monosyllable nor has the tone on the initial syllable; thus not only in שְׁמוֹ־וְהָ Jer 23<sup>6</sup>, but also in וְהַפְרִיָה Nu 13<sup>27</sup>, 1 Ch 22<sup>1</sup>. In הַנֶּה Gn 19<sup>2</sup> (where *Maqqēph* is represented by a conjunctive accent, § 9 u, 1 c, and § 16 b), the *Sēghōl* coincides with the secondary tone-syllable. On the origin of *Dag. f. conj.* after מַה (for מָה) *what?*, see § 37 b, c.
- e* 2. Such cases as נֶאֱמַר Ex 15<sup>1,21</sup>, the 2nd בָּמָכָה in ver. 11, וְנֶאֱמַר ver. 13, בָּאֵן ver. 16, do not belong here. In these the *Dageš* can only be intended for *Dag. lene*, see § 21 d.

*f* (2) In the first letter of a monosyllable, or of a word with the tone on the first syllable after a closely connected *mil'el* ending in ה־ or ה־פֿ. Such a *mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians אֲחִי מִרְחִיק (Aram. = Heb. אֲחִי מִרְחִיק) *veniens e longinquo* (in respect of the tone). The attraction of the following tone-syllable by *Dageš forte conj.* is here also due to the exigencies of rhythm, e.g. שְׁבִיתִי שְׁבִי ψ 68<sup>19</sup>; הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא ψ 118<sup>25</sup> (so ed. Mant., but Ginsburg and Kittel נָא הוֹשִׁיעָה); אֶרְצָה בְּנֶעַן Gn 11<sup>31</sup>. The *Mil'el* may, however, also be due to a subsequent retraction of the tone (*nāsōg 'ahôr*, § 29 e), as in עֲשֵׂה פְרִי Gn 1<sup>11</sup>.—The prefixes בְּ, בִּ, לְ, and יִ alone do not take a *Dageš* in this case, except in לֶךְ, always, and לְלִילָה ψ 19<sup>3</sup>. Such forms as הַשְׁבֵּעָה לִי Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, מְלֵאָה שְׁחָר ψ 26<sup>10</sup>, רִחַקָה מִנִּי Jb 21<sup>16</sup>, and even נַעֲמְרָה יַחַד Is 50<sup>8</sup> (i.e. the cases where the tone is thrown back from the ultima on to the syllable which otherwise would have *Metheg*), are likewise regarded as *mil'el*. On the other hand, e.g. לֶךְ Gn 4<sup>6</sup>, not לֶךְ since the first *ā* of לֶךְ could not have *Metheg*. When words are closely united by *Maqqēph* the same rules apply as above, except that in the first word *Metheg*, in the secondary tone, takes the place of the accent, cf. עֲשֵׂה־פְרִי Gn 1<sup>12</sup>; הַנִּירָה־נָא Gn 32<sup>30</sup>, &c. Finally, the *Dageš* is used when the attracted word does not begin with the principal tone, but with a syllable having *Metheg*, הַפֹּה יִירָשׁוּ ψ 37<sup>9</sup>; אֵלָה יַעֲקֹב Is 44<sup>21</sup>; עֲשֵׂיתִי קַעֲרֹתָיו Ex 25<sup>29</sup>, provided that the second word does not begin with a *Bēgadkēphath* letter (hence e.g. אֵלָה תוֹלְדוֹת Gn 2<sup>4</sup>).

- g* Rem. Such cases as קִנְיָךְ Dt 32<sup>6</sup>, and בְּשִׁיתִי 32<sup>15</sup>, and נְעוֹת (so Baer, but not ed. Mant., &c.) 1 S 1<sup>13</sup> are therefore anomalous; also, because beginning with

a B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath, בָּאֵלִים Ex 15<sup>11</sup> (cf. however above, *e*); בְּיָרֹעַ Jos 8<sup>28</sup>; בְּיָרֹעַ ψ 77<sup>16</sup>; בְּיָרֹעַ Jb 5<sup>27</sup>.—It is doubtful whether we should include here those cases in which *Dageš forte* occurs after a word ending in a toneless *û*, such as צָאוּ Gn 19<sup>14</sup>, Ex 12<sup>31</sup>; Ex 12<sup>15</sup> (צָאוּ), Dt 2<sup>24</sup>; also לָא Gn 19<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 8<sup>19</sup>; לוֹ Ju 18<sup>19</sup>, Est 6<sup>13</sup> (where P. Haupt regards the *Dageš* as due to the enclitic character of the לוֹ); מָעַט Ho 8<sup>10</sup>; נָדָו Jer 49<sup>30</sup>; נָדָו 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>. When we explained the *Dageš* in these examples not as conjunctive, but orthophonic (see above, § 13 c, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed. on ψ 94<sup>12 a</sup>), we especially had in view those cases in which the consonant with *Dageš* has a *Šwā*. The extension of the use of *Dageš* to consonants with a strong vowel, seems, however, to indicate that these are cases of the מְרַחֵק אֲתֵי, which was required by some Masoretes but not consistently inserted. On the other hand, the *Dageš forte* in י after a preceding *i* (ψ 118<sup>5,18</sup>), and even after *û* (ψ 94<sup>12</sup>), is due to an attempt to preserve its consonantal power; see König, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 54 b.

(b) When a consonant with *Šwā* is strengthened by *Dageš forte h dirimens* to make the *Šwā* more audible. In almost all cases the strengthening or sharpening can be easily explained from the character of the particular consonant, which is almost always a sonant, sibilant, or the emphatic *Qôph*; cf. עֲנִי Lv 25<sup>5</sup>, Dt 32<sup>32</sup> (for עֲנִי); פְּנִיָּה Is 33<sup>1</sup> (where, however, פְּבִלְיָה is to be read); cf. נָא 3<sup>17</sup>, Jb 9<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>2</sup>, Jo 1<sup>17</sup> (with *m*); Is 57<sup>6</sup> (with *l*); Ju 20<sup>43,1</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>6</sup> (with *r*); Gn 49<sup>10,17</sup> (and so always in עֲנִי Ju 5<sup>22</sup>, Ct 1<sup>8</sup> and עֲקִבוֹת ψ 77<sup>20</sup>, 89<sup>52</sup>); Ex 15<sup>17</sup>, Dt 23<sup>11</sup>, Ju 20<sup>32</sup>, 1 S 28<sup>10</sup> (*p*)<sup>2</sup>; Ex 2<sup>3</sup>, Is 58<sup>3</sup>, Am 5<sup>21</sup>, ψ 141<sup>3</sup>, Pr 4<sup>13</sup> (*z*); Pr 27<sup>25</sup> (*š*); Is 5<sup>28</sup>, ψ 37<sup>15</sup>, Jer 51<sup>56</sup>, Neh 4<sup>7</sup> (*š*). Also, with כ Ho 3<sup>2</sup>; with ב Is 9<sup>3</sup>, Jer 4<sup>7</sup>; with ח 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>. In many instances of this kind the influence of the following consonant is also observable.

(c) When a vowel is to be made specially emphatic, generally in *i* the principal pause, by a *Dageš forte affectuosum* in the following consonant. Thus in a following sonant, Ju 5<sup>7</sup> (חֲדָלִי), Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (יִחַלִּי), 22<sup>12</sup> (רָפוּ); Ez 27<sup>19</sup> (in *n*); in ח Is 33<sup>12</sup>, 41<sup>17</sup>, Jer 51<sup>68</sup>, perhaps also Jb 21<sup>13</sup> (יִחַתִּי).

(d) When the sonants ל, מ, נ are strengthened by *Dageš forte firmativum* in the pronouns הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה, אֵלֶּה, and in לָמָּה *why*? cf. also בָּמָּה, *whereby*? בָּמָּה *how much*? (§ 102 *k, l*), to give greater firmness to the preceding tone-vowel.

3. Omission of the strengthening, or at least the loss of the *Dageš forte* occurs,

(a) almost always at the end of a word, since here a strengthened

<sup>1</sup> The ordinary reading הִרְדִּיפָהוּ, where ר is without *Dageš*, is only intelligible if the ר has *Dageš*.

<sup>2</sup> Also in ψ 45<sup>10</sup> read בִּיקְרוּלִיךְ with Baer and Ginsburg, following Ben Asher, and in Pr 30<sup>17</sup> לִיקַחַת (Ben Naphthali בִּיקַ' and לִיקַ').

consonant cannot easily be sounded.<sup>1</sup> In such cases the preceding vowel is frequently lengthened (§ 27 d), e. g. רב *multitude*, from רבב; עם *people*, with a distinctive accent or after the article, עם, from עמם; but e. g. גן *garden*, בת *daughter*, with the final consonant virtually sharpened. On the exceptions אתה *thou* (fem.) and נתתה *thou* (fem.) *hast given* Ez 16<sup>33</sup>, see § 10 k.

- m (b) Very frequently in certain consonants with *ſewa mobile*, since the absence of a strong vowel causes the strengthening to be less noticeable. This occurs principally in the case of ו and י (on ו and י after the article, see § 35 b; on ו after מה, § 37 b); and in the sonants מ, נ and ל; also in the sibilants, especially when a guttural follows (but note Is 62<sup>9</sup>, מאספיו, as ed. Mant. and Ginsb. correctly read, while Baer has מאס with compensatory lengthening, and others even מאס; משמני Gn 27<sup>28,39</sup> משלש 38<sup>24</sup> for משש 1 K 7<sup>28</sup>; משקה 1 K 19<sup>20</sup> from נשק השפתיים Ez 40<sup>43</sup> and לשפנים ψ 104<sup>18</sup>; משמים Jon 4<sup>11</sup>, הצפרדעים Ex 8<sup>1</sup> &c.);—and finally in the emphatic פ.<sup>3</sup>

Of the *Begadkephath* letters, ב occurs without *Dageš* in מבצר Ju 8<sup>2</sup>; ג in מגבורתם Ez 32<sup>30</sup>; ד in נדחי Is 11<sup>12</sup> 56<sup>8</sup>, ψ 147<sup>2</sup> (not in Jer 49<sup>36</sup>), supposing that it is the Participle Niph'al of נדח; lastly, ח in חתצו Is 22<sup>10</sup>. Examples, עוררי, ויהי (so always the preformative ו in the imperf. of verbs), מלמעה, למנצה, הנני, הללי, מלאו, פסאי, ישאו, יקחו, יקחו, מקצה, מקלה, &c. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dageš* is indicated by the *Rāphè* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. However, in these cases, we must assume at least a *virtual* strengthening of the consonant (*Dageš forte implicitum*, see § 22 c, end).

(c) In the Gutturals, see § 22 b.

- n Rem. 1. Contrary to rule the strengthening is omitted (especially in the later Books), owing to the lengthening of the preceding short vowel, generally *hireq* (cf. *mīle* for *mīlle*), e. g. יחיתן *he makes them afraid*, for יחתן Hb 2<sup>17</sup> (where, however, it is perhaps more correct to suppose, with König, a formation on the analogy of verbs יעי, and moreover to read יחיתך with the LXX), יקות Is 50<sup>11</sup> for יקות.

- O 2. Very doubtful are the instances in which compensation for the strengthening is supposed to be made by the insertion of a following נ. Thus for

<sup>1</sup> So in Latin *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis*; *mel*, *mellis*; *os*, *ossis*. In Middle High German the doubling of consonants never takes place at the end of a word, but only in the middle (as in Old High German), e. g. *val* (*Fall*), gen. *valles*; *swam* (*Schwamm*), &c., Grimm, *Deutsche Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. 383.

<sup>2</sup> *Dageš forte* is almost always omitted in מ when it is the prefix of the participle Pi'el or Pu'al, hence ψ 104<sup>3</sup> המקרה *who layeth the beams*, but המקרה *the roof* Ec 10<sup>18</sup> (cf. המלאכה *the work*, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> According to some also in מ המעי Is 17<sup>10</sup>; but see Baer on the passage.

מְעוֹרֶיָה Is 23<sup>11</sup>, read מְעוֹרֶיָה (or מְעוֹרֶיָה); and for הַמָּנוּ La 3<sup>22</sup>, read הַמָּנוּ. In Nu 23<sup>13</sup> קָבְנוּ is not an instance of compensation (see § 67 o, end).

§ 21. *The Aspiration of the Tenues.*<sup>1</sup>

The harder sound of the six *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath* letters, indicated by *a Dageš lene*, is to be regarded, according to the general analogy of languages, as their older and original pronunciation, from which the softer sound was weakened (§ 6 n and § 13). The original hard sound is maintained when the letter is initial, and after a consonant, but when it immediately follows a vowel or *Šwā mobile* it is softened and aspirated by their influence, e.g. פָּרַץ *pāraš*, יִפְרוֹץ *yiphrōš*, כֹּל *kōl*, לֶכְחֹל *l<sup>e</sup>khōl*. Hence the *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath* take *Dageš lene*

(1) at the beginning of words: (a) without exception when the *b* preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, e.g. עֲלֶכֶן *‘al-kēn* (therefore), עֵץ פֵּרִי *‘ēš p<sup>e</sup>ri* (fruit-tree); (b) at the beginning of a section, e.g. בְּרֵאשִׁית Gn 1<sup>1</sup>, or at the beginning of a sentence, or even of a minor division of a sentence after a distinctive accent (§ 15 d), although the preceding word may end with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the vowel from influencing the following tenuis, e.g. וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר *and it was so, that when*, Ju 11<sup>6</sup> (but וַיְהִי Gn 1<sup>7</sup>).

Rem. 1. The vowel letters ה, ו, י, א, as such, naturally do not close a *C* syllable. In close connexion they are therefore followed by the aspirated *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath*, e.g. וּמִצָּה כֶּה, &c. On the other hand, syllables are closed by the consonantal ו and י (except קִרְתָּהּ Is 34<sup>11</sup>; שָׁלוֹם Ez 23<sup>42</sup>; אֲדֹנָיָם ψ 68<sup>18</sup>), and by ה with *Mappiq*; hence e.g. there is *Dageš lene* in עֲלֵי פִיהֶם and always after הָיָה, since the *Q<sup>e</sup>rē perpetuum* of this word (§ 17) assumes the reading אֲדֹנָי.

2. In a number of cases *Dageš lene* is inserted, although a vowel precedes in *d* close connexion. This almost always occurs with the prefixes בַּ and בִּ in the combinations בִּב, בִּכ, בִּפ (i. e. when a *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath* with *Šwā* precedes the same or a kindred aspirate) and בִּמ (see Baer, *L. Psalmorum*, 1880, p. 92,<sup>2</sup> on ψ 23<sup>3</sup>); cf. e. g. 1 S 25<sup>1</sup>, Is 10<sup>9</sup>, ψ 34<sup>3</sup>, Jb 19<sup>2</sup>; כֵּן is uncertain; כִּר, כִּד, and כִּב according to David Qimḥi do not take *Dageš*, nor כִּנ, כִּב, and כִּפ according to the *Dikduke ha-ṭ<sup>e</sup>amim*, p. 30. Sometimes the *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath* letters, even with a full vowel, take *Dageš* before a spirant (and even before ה in בְּחִמְשָׁה 1 K 12<sup>32</sup>); cf. the instances mentioned above, § 20 e (mostly *tenuis* before א). In all these cases the object is to prevent too great an accumulation of aspirates. The LXX, on the other hand, almost always represent the כ and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1878, p. 585 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also *L. Proverbiorum*, 1880, Praef. p. ix; and *Dikduke ha-ṭ<sup>e</sup>amim*, p. 30 (in German in König's *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 62).

ם, even at the beginning of a syllable, by χ and φ; Χερούβ, Χαλδαῖοι, Φαρφάρ, &c.—The forms כִּרְכֹּר (after וְיִשְׁמְתִי) Is 54<sup>11</sup>, and כִּלְכֵּל (after וְנִלְאִיתִי) Jer 20<sup>9</sup> are doubly anomalous.

- e (2) In the middle of words after *Šewā quiescens*, i.e. at the beginning of a syllable immediately after a vowelless consonant,<sup>1</sup> e.g. יִרְפָּא *yirpā* (*he heals*), הָרְצִיחַם *ye have killed*; but after *Šewā mobile*, e.g. רָפָא *r<sup>e</sup>phā* (*heal thou*), כִּבְדָּה *she was heavy*.

f On קָטַלְתָּ, וְיִשְׁכַּב, and similar forms, see § 10 i.

Whether *Šewā* be vocal and consequently causes the aspiration of a following *tenuis*, depends upon the origin of the particular form. It is almost always vocal

(a) When it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e.g. רָרְפוּ *pursue ye* (not רָרְפוּ) from רָרַף; מִלְכִּי (not מִלְכִּי), because originally *mālākhē*, but מִלְכִּי from the ground-form *malak*.

(b) With the ך of the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd pers. הָ, כֶּם, לְךָ, since *Šewā mobile* is characteristic of these forms (see § 58 f; § 91 b).

Rem. Forms like שְׁלַחְתָּ *thou* (fem.) *hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated ח after the vowel, cf. הִחַד Ex 18<sup>9</sup>, have arisen from שְׁלַחְתָּ, יַחַד, &c.; Pathah being here simply a helping vowel has no influence on the *tenuis*; cf. § 28 e.

## § 22. *Peculiarities of the Gutturals.*

- a The four gutturals ה, ח, ע, א, in consequence of their peculiar pronunciation, have special characteristics, but א, as the weakest of these sounds, and sometimes also ע (which elsewhere as one of the harder gutturals is the opposite of א), differ in several respects from the stronger ח and ה.
- b 1. They do not admit of *Dageš forte*, since, in consequence of a gradual weakening of the pronunciation (see below, note 2), the strengthening of the gutturals was hardly audible to the Masoretes. But a distinction must be drawn between (a) the complete omission of the strengthening, and (b) the mere *echo* of it, commonly called *half doubling*, but better, *virtual strengthening*.
- c In the former case, the short vowel before the guttural would stand in an open syllable, and must accordingly be lengthened or modified.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exceptions יִקְרָא Jos 15<sup>38</sup> (see *Minḥat shay*, on this passage), אֶרֶץ Jos 15<sup>56</sup> may perhaps be due to the character of the פ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *terra* and the French *terre*, the German *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; German *drollig* and French *drôle*. The omission of the strengthening shows a deterioration of the language. Arabic still admits of the strengthening of gutturals in all cases.

For a distinction must again be drawn between the full lengthening of *Pathah* into *Qameṣ*—mostly before א (always under the ה of the article, see § 35), as a rule also before ע, less frequently before ה, and least often before ה—and the modification of *Pathah* to *Seḡhōl*, mostly before a guttural with *Qameṣ*. In the other case (*virtual* strengthening) the *Dageṣ* is still omitted, but the strengthening is nevertheless regarded as having taken place, and the preceding vowel therefore remains short. This *virtual* strengthening occurs most frequently with ה, usually with ה, less frequently with ע, and very seldom with א. Examples of (a) מִאֵן, הָאָדָם, הָעָם, הָהָר, יְהִיבָה (for *yihhābhē'*); also אָחָד, הָחָג, הָהָרִים, הָעֵנִי (see more fully on the pointing of the article before ע in § 35).—Of (b) מְחֹזֵק, הַחֲזָק (from *minhāzq*), הָהוּזָה, בָּעֵר, נִאֵץ, &c.—In all these cases of virtual strengthening the *Dageṣ forte* is to be regarded at least as implied (hence called *Dageṣ forte implicitum, occultum, or delitescens*).

2. They prefer before them, and sometimes after them (cf. *h*), *d* a short A-sound, because this vowel is organically the nearest akin to the gutturals. Hence

(a) before a guttural, *Pathah* readily (and always before ה, ח, ע closing a syllable) takes the place of another short vowel or of a rhythmically long ē or ō, e.g. זָבַח *sacrifice*, not *zēbh*; נִשְׁמַע *report*, not *šēmē'*. This is more especially so when *a* was the original vowel of the form, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the Imperat. and Imperf. Qal of guttural verbs, שִׁלַּח *send thou*, יִשְׁלַח *he will send* (not *yīšlōh*); Perf. Piel שָׁלַח (but in Pausa שִׁלַּח); יִחְמֹד *he will desire* (not *yihmōd*); וַיֵּנַח *and he rested* (not *wayyānōh*); נָעַר *a youth*. In שָׁלַח and יִחְמֹד *a* is the original vowel.

Rem. In such cases as יִשְׁמַע, נִשְׁמַע, פָּלַח, פָּרַח, the א has no consonantal *ḥ* value, and is only retained orthographically (see § 23 a).

(b) After a heterogeneous long vowel, i. e. after all except *Qameṣ*, *f* the hard gutturals<sup>1</sup> (consequently not א), when standing at the end of the word, require the insertion of a rapidly uttered *ä* (*Pathah furtivum*) between themselves and the vowel. This *Pathah* is placed under the guttural, but sounded *before* it. It is thus merely an orthographic indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e.g. רִיחַ *riāḥ*, נוֹעַ, רַע, הַשְׁלִיחַ, נְבוֹיָה (when consonantal ה is

<sup>1</sup> Prätorius, *Ueber den rückweich. Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, p. 17, &c., remarks that *Pathah furtivum* has not arisen merely under the influence of the guttural, but is due to a duplication of the accented syllable, so that e.g. יִשְׁבַּח, יִצְוֹר would also be pronounced *yasiḥḥ, yašū'āh* although the short intermediate vowel was not so noticeable as before a guttural.

final it necessarily takes Mappiq), but e.g. רִיחִי, &c., since here the rapidly uttered *ā* is no longer heard.

*g* *I*<sup>ach</sup> for *ich*, &c., in some Swiss dialects of German, is analogous; a *furtive Pathah* is here involuntarily intruded before the deep guttural sound. In Arabic the same may be heard in such words as *mesiah*, although it is not expressed in writing. The LXX (and Jerome, cf. ZAW. iv. 79) write *ε*, sometimes *α*, instead of *furtive Pathah*, e.g. נַח Nwε, יְדֹעַ 'Ιεδδούα (also 'Ιαδδού).

*h* Rem. 1. The guttural may also have an influence upon the following vowel, especially in Segholate forms, e.g. נָעַר (not na'ēr) a youth, בָּעַל (not pō'el, deed). The only exceptions are אָהַל, בָּהֶן, לָחֶם, רָחֶם.

*i* 2. Where in the present form of the language an *i*, whether original or attenuated from *Pathah*, would stand before or after a guttural in the first syllable of a word, a *S<sup>g</sup>höl* as being between *ā* and *i* is frequently used instead, e.g. יַחְבֵּשׁ (also יַחְבֵּשׁ), נָאָדָר, חֲבִלִי יֶהוָה, &c.

*k* On the other hand, the slighter and sharper *Hireq* is retained even under gutturals when the following consonant is sharpened by *Dages forte*, e.g. הֶלֶל, הֶנָּה, הֶחָה; but when this sharpening is removed, *S<sup>g</sup>höl* is again apt to appear, e.g. הֶיָּחֹן constr. הֶיָּחֹן, הֶיָּחֹן constr. הֶיָּחֹן.

*l* 3. Instead of simple *S<sup>e</sup>wā mobile*, the gutturals take without exception a compound *S<sup>e</sup>wā*, e.g. אָמַר, אָמַרְתָּ, אָמַרְתָּ, &c.

*m* 4. When a guttural with *quiescent S<sup>e</sup>wā* happens to close a syllable in the middle of a word, the strongly closed syllable (with *quiescent S<sup>e</sup>wā*) may remain; necessarily so with ח, ע, and ה at the end of the tone-syllable, e.g. יָדַעַתְּ, שָׁלַחְתָּ, but also before the tone (see examples under *i*), even with א.

But in the syllable before the tone and further back, the closed syllable is generally opened artificially by a *Hateph* (as being suited to the guttural) taking the place of the *quiescent S<sup>e</sup>wā*, and in particular that *Hateph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e.g. יֶחֱשֹׁב (also יֶחֱשֹׁב); יֶחֱזֹק (also יֶחֱזֹק); פָּעִלָּו pō'ló (for pō'ló). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Hateph* is weakened into *S<sup>e</sup>wā mobile*, then instead of the *Hateph* its full vowel is written, e.g. יַעֲמֹד (from יַעֲמֹד), נַעֲרָם (from נַעֲרָם), פָּעִלָּה (from פָּעִלָּה). The original forms, according to § 28 c, were ya'm<sup>e</sup>dhū, ne'r<sup>e</sup>mū, pō'lekhā. Hence יַעֲמֹד, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יַעֲמֹד, &c., and would be better transcribed by ya'a<sup>m</sup>dhū, &c.

*n* Rem. 1. On the use of simple or compound *S<sup>e</sup>wā* in guttural verbs, see further §§ 62-65.

*o* 2. The choice between the three *Hatephs*, it may be remarked:  
(a) ח, ה, ע at the beginning of a syllable prefer *—*, but א prefers *—*, e.g. חָמֹר ass, הָרָג to kill, אָמַר to say; when farther from the tone syllable, however, the *—* even under א changes into the lighter *—*, e.g. אָלִי (poetic for אֵלִי) to, but אֵלֵיכֶם to you, אָכַל to eat, but אָכַל (a<sup>kh</sup>öl, toneless on account

of Maqqēph). Cf. § 27 w. The 1st pers. sing. imperf. Pi'el regularly has  $\text{---}$ . Likewise  $\text{---}$  is naturally found under  $\aleph$  in cases where the *Ḥateph* arises from a weakening of an original  $\ddot{a}$  (e.g.  $\text{לִי־אֵרֶץ}$  lion, ground-form 'ary), and  $\text{---}$  if there be a weakening of an original  $u$  (e.g.  $\text{לִי־אֵרֶץ}$  a fleet,  $\text{עֲנִי}$  affliction, cf. § 93 a, z).

(b) In the middle of a word after a long vowel, a *Ḥateph-Pathah* takes the place of a simple *Šēwā mobile*, e.g.  $\text{מִאֲנָה הָעֵלָה}$  (see § 63 p); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Ḥateph* is generally regulated by it, e.g. *Perf. Hiph.*  $\text{הָעֵמִיד}$  (see above, i), *Infinitive*  $\text{הָעֵמִיד}$  (regular form  $\text{הָקֵטִיל}$ ); *Perf. Hoph.*  $\text{הָעֵמִיד}$  (regular form  $\text{הָקֵטִיל}$ ); but cf.  $\text{שָׁחַדוּ}$  Jb 6<sup>22</sup> (§ 64 a).

5. The  $\aleph$ ; which in sound approximates to the gutturals (§ 6 g),  $\aleph$  shares with the gutturals proper their first, and to a certain extent their second, peculiarity, viz.

(a) The exclusion of the strengthening, instead of which the preceding vowel is almost always lengthened, e.g.  $\text{בֵּרַךְ}$  he has blessed for *birrahk*,  $\text{בִּרְךָ}$  to bless for *barrēkh*.

(b) The preference for  $\ddot{a}$  as a preceding vowel, e.g.  $\text{וַיֵּרָא}$  and he saw  $\aleph$  (from  $\text{וַיֵּרָא}$ );  $\text{וַיִּסָּב}$  both for  $\text{וַיִּסָּב}$  and he turned back, and for  $\text{וַיִּסָּב}$  and he caused to turn back.

The exceptions to  $\ddot{a}$  are  $\text{מָרַת}$  *mōrrāth*, Pr 14<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{כָּרַת}$  *khōrrāth* and  $\text{שָׁרַךְ}$  *šōrrēkh*, S Ez 16<sup>4</sup> (cf. Pr 3<sup>8</sup>);  $\text{שָׁרַאֲשִׁי}$  Ct 5<sup>2</sup>;  $\text{הָרַעְמָה}$  1 S 15<sup>6</sup>;  $\text{הָרַאֲתָם}$  1 S 10<sup>24</sup>, 17<sup>25</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>32</sup>;  $\text{הָרַדִּיפָהוּ}$  Ju 20<sup>43</sup> (cf. § 20 h);  $\text{מָרַדְךָ}$  1 S 23<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>16</sup>; also on account of  $\text{רוּחִיק}$  (§ 20 c), Pr 15<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>22</sup>, 2 Ch 26<sup>10</sup>; and on account of  $\text{מַרְחִיק}$  (§ 20 f) 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>, Jer 39<sup>12</sup>, Hb 3<sup>13</sup>, Pr 11<sup>21</sup>, Jb 39<sup>9</sup>, Ez 9<sup>6</sup>. A kind of virtual strengthening (after  $\text{מ}$  for  $\text{מֶן}$ ) is found in  $\text{מֶרְנִיחַ}$  Is 14<sup>3</sup>. In Samaritan and Arabic this strengthening has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e.g.  $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$  for  $\text{שָׁרַת}$ .

## § 23. The Feebleness of the Gutturals $\aleph$ and $\aleph$ .

1. The  $\aleph$ , a light and scarcely audible guttural breathing, as a rule  $\aleph$  entirely loses its slight consonantal power whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then remains (like the German  $h$  in *roh, geh, nahie*) merely as a sign of the preceding long vowel, e.g.  $\text{מָצָא, הוֹצִיא, מָלָא}$  (but when a syllable is added with an introductory vowel, according to  $\aleph$  below, we have, e.g.  $\text{מָצָאִי, הוֹצִיאִי}$ , since the  $\aleph$  then stands at the beginning of the syllable, not  $\text{מָצָאִי, הוֹצִיאִי}$ ),  $\text{מָצָא, הוֹצִיא, מָלָא}$  (cf., however, § 74 a),  $\text{מָצָאֵה}$  (for *māsa'tā*),  $\text{מָצָאֵה}$ . Similarly in cases like  $\text{הָטָא, וַיֵּרָא, שָׁוָא}$ , &c. (§ 19 l), and even in  $\text{הָטָא, וַיֵּרָא, שָׁוָא}$  (see above, § 22 e), the  $\aleph$  only retains an orthographic significance.

2. On the other hand,  $\aleph$  is in general retained as a strong consonant whenever it begins a syllable, e.g.  $\text{מָצָאֵה, מָצָאֵה}$ , or when it is protected by a *Ḥateph* after a short syllable, e.g.  $\text{לֶאֱכָל}$ , and finally,

when it stands in a closed syllable with quiescent *Šewā* after a preceding *Sḡhōl* or *Pathah*, e.g. וַיֵּאָדָמוּ, וַיֵּאָדָרוּ *nū'dār*, וַיֵּאָדְמוּ *ya'dimā*. Even in such cases the consonantal power of א may be entirely lost, viz.

c (a) when it would stand with a long vowel in the middle of a word after *Šewā mobile*. The long vowel is then occasionally thrown back into the place of the *Šewā*, and the א is only retained orthographically, as an indication of the etymology, e.g. ראשִׁים *heads* (for *r<sup>e</sup>'āšīm*), מאתיים *two hundred* (for *m<sup>e</sup>'ātháyim*), עֶשְׂמֵאל *Ez 25<sup>6</sup>* for עֶשְׂמֵאֵל *Neh 6<sup>8</sup>* for עֶשְׂמֵאֵל; מֵאֵם *Jb 31<sup>7</sup>*, דָּן *1<sup>4</sup>* for מֵאֵם; פֶּאֱרָה *Is 10<sup>33</sup>* for חֲמָאִים *hōlīm*, 1 S *14<sup>33</sup>* for חֲמָאִים (cf. § 74 *h*, and § 75 *oo*); הָרְאוּבֵנִי *Nu 34<sup>14</sup>*, from רֵאבֶן; so always חֲטָאָה or חֲטָאוֹת 1 K *14<sup>16</sup>*, מִי *1<sup>5</sup>*, &c., for חֲטָאוֹת. Sometimes a still more violent suppression of the א occurs at the beginning of a syllable, which then causes a further change in the preceding syllable, e.g. מְלָאכָה *work* for מְלָאכָה (as in the Babylonian punctuation), יִשְׁמְעָאֵל for יִשְׁמָעֵאל; שְׂמָאל for שְׂמָאֵל *the left hand*, ground form *sim'al*.

d (b) When it originally closed a syllable. In these cases א is generally (by § 22 *m*) pronounced with a *Haṭeph*, אֲ or אַ. The preceding short vowel is, however, sometimes lengthened and retains the following א only orthographically, e.g. וַיֵּאָדָמוּ *Nu 11<sup>25</sup>* for וַיֵּאָדָמוּ (cf. *Ju 9<sup>41</sup>*), and פֶּאֱרָה *Jo 2<sup>6</sup>* for פֶּאֱרָה; לֵאמֹר for לֵאמֹר; לְאֱלֹהִים for לְאֱלֹהִים; but the contraction does not take place in לֵאמֹר *Is 10<sup>11</sup>*. The short vowel is retained, although the consonantal power of א is entirely lost, in וַאֲנִי, &c. (see § 102 *m*), וַאֲנִי *Is 41<sup>25</sup>*, וַאֲנִי *Ez 28<sup>16</sup>* for וַאֲנִי; cf. *Dt 24<sup>10</sup>*, 1 K *11<sup>39</sup>*, *Is 10<sup>15</sup>*.

e Instead of this א which has lost its consonantal value, one of the vowel letters ו and י is often written according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ō* and the latter with *ē* and *i*, e.g. בָּרִים *buffalo* for בָּרִים. At the end of the word ה also is written for א, יִמְלֵה *he fills* for יִמְלֵה *Jb 8<sup>21</sup>* (see below, *h*).

f 3. When א is only preserved orthographically or as an indication of the etymology (quiescent), it is sometimes entirely dropped (cf. § 19 *k*), e.g. יָצַח *Jb 1<sup>21</sup>* for יָצַח; מְלָחִי *Jb 32<sup>18</sup>* for מְלָחִי; מְצַחִי *Nu 11<sup>11</sup>*; וַיִּרְפֵּי *Jer 8<sup>11</sup>* for וַיִּרְפֵּי; וַיִּרְפֵּי *2 S 20<sup>9</sup>*; וַיִּרְפֵּי *2 S 22<sup>40</sup>*, but וַיִּרְפֵּי *ψ 18<sup>40</sup>*; תּוֹמָם *Gn 25<sup>24</sup>* for תּוֹמָם; אֲחֻזָּה *31<sup>39</sup>* for אֲחֻזָּה; שְׁלֹחַ *1 S 1<sup>17</sup>* for שְׁלֹחַ; שְׁאֵלִי *ψ 22<sup>22</sup>* for שְׁאֵלִי; גִּוָּה *Jb 22<sup>29</sup>* for גִּוָּה; חֲבֵרְתִּי *1 Ch 11<sup>39</sup>* for חֲבֵרְתִּי, and so חֲבֵרְתִּי *1 Ch 12<sup>38</sup>* for חֲבֵרְתִּי; שְׁאֵרִית *2 K 19<sup>25</sup>* *Kethibh* for שְׁאֵרִית (cf. *Is 37<sup>26</sup>*); חֲמָה *Jb 29<sup>6</sup>* for חֲמָה. In מְלָחִי

<sup>1</sup> In *Jer 22<sup>23</sup>*, נִחַח is unquestionably a corruption of נִחַח for נִחַח.

1 K 5<sup>25</sup> (for "אֶבֶן") the strengthening of the following consonant by Dageš compensates for the loss of the א; in מִסְרָה Ez 20<sup>37</sup>, if for "מִסְרָה" (but read מִסְרָה, with Cornill), the preceding vowel is lengthened; cf. above, c. On אֶמֶר for אֶמֶר, see § 68 *g*.

Rem. 1. In Aramaic the א is much weaker and more liable to change than *g* in Hebrew. In literary Arabic, on the other hand, it is almost always a firm consonant. According to Arabic orthography, א serves also to indicate a long *a*, whereas in Hebrew it very rarely occurs as a mere vowel letter after Qames; as in קָאם Ho 10<sup>14</sup> for קָם *he rose up*; רָאשׁ Pr 10<sup>4</sup>, 13<sup>23</sup> for רָשׁ *poor*; but in 2 S 11<sup>1</sup> the K<sup>ethibh</sup> מְלָאכִים *the messengers*, is the true reading; cf. § 7 b.

2. In some cases at the beginning of a word, the א, instead of a compound *h* *Šewā*, takes the corresponding full vowel, e.g. אָזָר *girdle* for אָזָר; cf. § 84 *a, g*, and the analogous cases in § 52 *n*, § 63 *p*, § 76 *d*, § 93 *r* (אֶהְיֶה).

3. An א is sometimes added at the end of the word to a final *ā*, *i*, or *ō*, e.g. *i* אֶבֶן Jos 10<sup>24</sup> (before א!), אֶבֶן Is 28<sup>12</sup>. These examples, however, are not so much instances of 'Arabic orthography', as early scribal errors, as in יִשְׁשָׁאֵל Je 10<sup>6</sup> for יִשְׁשָׁאֵל; and in נִשְׁאָר ψ 139<sup>20</sup> for נִשְׁאָר. Cf. also יִהְיֶה Ec 11<sup>3</sup> (§ 75 *s*); נָקִיָּא for נָקִי *pure*; לֹאָ for לוֹ *if*; אֶפֶסָא for אֶפֶס *then (enclitic)*; רַבּוּאָא for רַבּוּ *myriad*, Neh 7<sup>66-71</sup>. On הָא and הֵא see § 32 *k*.

4. The ה is stronger and firmer than the א, and never loses its *k* consonantal sound (i.e. *quiesces*) in the middle of a word<sup>1</sup> except in the cases noted below, in which it is completely elided by syncope. On the other hand, at the end of a word it is always a mere vowel letter, unless expressly marked by *Mappâq* as a strong consonant (§ 14 *a*). Yet at times the consonantal sound of ה at the end of a word is lost, and its place is taken by a simple ה or more correctly *h*, with *Rāphè* as an indication of its non-consonantal character, e.g. לָהָה *to her* for לָהָה, Zc 5<sup>11</sup>, &c. (cf. § 103 *g*, and §§ 58 *g*, 91 *e*); cf. also יָהָה for יָהָה (from יָהָה) in proper names like יִרְמְיָהָ, &c.—Finally, in very many cases a complete elision of the consonantal ה takes place by *syncope*: (a) when its vowel is thrown back to the place of a preceding *Šewā mobile* (see above, c, with א), e.g. לְבָקָר for לְבָקָר (the ה of the article being syncope as it almost always is); בְּרִיּוֹם for בְּרִיּוֹם [but see § 35 *n*], בְּהַשְׁמִים for בְּהַשְׁמִים; יְהוֹנָתָן for יְהוֹנָתָן; perhaps also בְּנֵיהֶם for בְּנֵיהֶם Ez 27<sup>32</sup>. (b) By contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e.g. סִסְחָ (also written סִסְחָ) from *sūsahu* (*a + u = ō*).—A violent suppression of ה together with its vowel occurs in בָּם (from בָּהֶם), &c.

<sup>1</sup> Only apparent exceptions are such *proper names* as עֶשְׂהָאֵל, פְּרָהָעֵזֶר, which are compounded of two words and hence are sometimes even divided. Cf. forms like חֶזְאֵל for חֶזְאֵל. Another exception is יִפְהָפִיָּה, the reading of many MSS. for the artificially divided form יִפְהָפִיָּה in the printed texts, Je 46<sup>20</sup>.

*l* Rem. In connexion with  $\delta$  and  $\epsilon$ , a  $\eta$  which only marks the vowel ending is occasionally changed into  $\imath$  or  $\text{׳}$  ( $\imath\text{אָ} = \text{אָאָ}$ ,  $\text{׳אָ} = \text{אָאָ}$  Ho 6<sup>9</sup>), and with any vowel into  $\aleph$  in the later or Aramaic orthography, but especially with  $\bar{a}$ , e.g.  $\text{אָנָן}$  *sleep*,  $\psi$  127<sup>2</sup> for  $\text{אָנָן}$ ;  $\text{אָנָן}$  Jer 23<sup>39</sup> for  $\text{אָנָן}$ , &c. Thus it is evident that final  $\eta$  as a vowel letter has only an orthographical importance.

#### § 24. *Changes of the Weak Letters* $\imath$ and $\text{׳}$ .

Philippi, *Die Aussprache der semit. Konsonanten*  $\imath$  und  $\text{׳}$  (mentioned above, § 5 b, note 1), a thorough investigation of their phonetic value as consonantal, i. e. non-syllabic, vowel-sounds, not palatal or labial fricatives; cf. also E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 15.

*a*  $\imath$  and  $\text{׳}$  are, as consonants, so weak, and approach so nearly to the corresponding vowels  $u$  and  $i$ , that under certain conditions they very readily merge into them. This fact is especially important in the formation of those weak stems, in which a  $\imath$  or  $\text{׳}$  occurs as one of the three radical consonants (§ 69 ff., § 85, § 93).

1. The cases in which  $\imath$  and  $\text{׳}$  lose their consonantal power, i. e. merge into a vowel, belong almost exclusively to the middle and end of words; at the beginning they remain as consonants.<sup>1</sup>

The instances may be classified under two heads:

*b* (*a*) When either  $\imath$  or  $\text{׳}$  with *quiescent*  $\text{שְׁוָא}$  stands at the end of a syllable immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel ( $u$  or  $i$ ). It then merges in the homogeneous vowel, or more accurately it assumes its vowel-character ( $\imath$  as  $u$ ,  $\text{׳}$  as  $i$ ), and is then contracted with the preceding vowel into *one* vowel, necessarily long, but is mostly retained orthographically as a (quiescent) vowel letter. Thus  $\text{הוֹשָׁב}$  for *huwšab*;  $\text{יִיְיָ}$  for *yiyqas*; so also at the end of the word, e.g.  $\text{עֲבָרִי}$  *a Hebrew*, properly *ʿibriy*, fem.  $\text{עֲבָרִיָּה}$ , pl.  $\text{עֲבָרִיִּים}$  (and  $\text{עֲבָרִים}$ );  $\text{עֲשֹׂו}$  41<sup>23</sup> for *ʿušw* (cf.  $\text{עֲשׂוּת}$  1 S 25<sup>18</sup> *Kethibh*). On the other hand, if the preceding vowel be heterogeneous,  $\imath$  and  $\text{׳}$  are retained as full consonants (on the pronunciation see § 8 m), e.g.  $\text{שָׁלוֹ}$  *quiet*,  $\text{יָוֵן}$  *the month of May*,  $\text{גִּוִּי}$  *nation*,  $\text{גָּלוֹי}$  *revealed*. But with a preceding  $\bar{a}$  the  $\imath$  and  $\text{׳}$  are mostly contracted into  $\delta$  and  $\epsilon$  (see below, *f*), and at the end of a word they are sometimes rejected (see below, *g*).

Complete syncope of  $\imath$  before  $\bar{i}$  occurs in  $\text{אִי}$  *island* for  $\text{אָי}$ ;  $\text{עִי}$  *ruins* for  $\text{עָי}$ ;  $\text{רִי}$  *watering* Jb 37<sup>11</sup> for  $\text{רָי}$ ;  $\text{בִּי}$  *burning* Is 3<sup>24</sup> for  $\text{בָּי}$ , cf. §§ 84<sup>a</sup> c, e, 93 y].

<sup>1</sup> Or as consonantal vowels (see above), and are then transcribed by P. Haupt, Philippi, and others, as  $u$ ,  $i$ , following the practice of Indogermanic philologists.  $\imath$  for  $\imath$  and, alone is a standing exception, see § 26.  $\imath$  and § 104 e. On  $\text{׳} = i$  at the beginning of a word, cf. § 47 b, note. According to § 19 a, end, initial  $\imath$  in Hebrew almost always becomes  $\text{׳}$ ; always in verbs originally  $\text{פִּי}$ , § 69 a. Apart from a few proper names, initial  $\imath$  occurs only in  $\text{וֵן}$  *hook*,  $\text{וֵלֵךְ}$  *child* Gn 11<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>23</sup> *Kethibh* [elsewhere  $\text{וֵלֵךְ}$ ], and the doubtful  $\text{וֵלֵךְ}$  Pr 21<sup>8</sup>.

Thus an initial י after the prefixes בּ, ל, מ, שׁ, which would then be *c* pronounced with *i* (see § 28 a), and also almost always after מ (see § 102 b), coalesces with the *i* to *ê*, e. g. בְּיהוּדָה in *Judah* (for בִּיהוּדָה), וַיְהוּדָה and *Judah*, בְּיֶאֱרַ as the *Nile*, לְיְהוּדָה for *Judah*, מִיְּדֵי from the hands of.

(b) When ו and י without a vowel would stand at the end of the *d* word after quiescent *Šewā*, they are either wholly rejected and only orthographically replaced by ה (e. g. בִּכְיָה from *bikhy*, as well as the regularly formed בִּכְיָה *weeping*; cf. § 93 x) or become again vowel letters. In the latter case י becomes a homogeneous *Hireq*, and also attracts to itself the tone, whilst the preceding vowel becomes *Šewā* (e. g. פִּירִי from *piry*, properly *pary*); ו is changed sometimes into a toneless *u* (e. g. תוּחֻו from *tuhw*).

Rem. In Syriac, where the weak letters more readily become vowel sounds, *c* a simple *i* may stand even at the beginning of words instead of י or ו. The LXX also, in accordance with this, write 'Ioudā for יְהוּדָה, 'Ioudān for יְהוּדָן. Hence may be explained the *Syriac usage* in Hebrew of drawing back the vowel *i* to the preceding consonant, which properly had a simple vocal *Šewā*, e. g. (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali <sup>1</sup>) וַיִּלְלֵת Jer 25<sup>38</sup> for וַיִּלְלֵת (so Baer), בְּיֶתְרוֹן Ec 2<sup>13</sup> for בְּיֶתְרוֹן, cf. also the examples in § 20 h, note 2; even וַיִּחַלְוּ Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (in some editions) for וַיִּחַלְוּ. According to Qimḥi (see § 47 b) יִקְטֹל was pronounced as *iqṭōl*, and therefore the 1st pers. was pointed אֶקְטֹל to avoid confusion. In fact the Babylonian punctuation always has *i* for *ā* in the 1st pers.

2. With regard to the choice of the long vowel, in which ו and י *f* quiesce after such vocalization and contraction, the following rules may be laid down:

(a) With a short homogeneous vowel ו and י are contracted into the corresponding long vowel (*ā* or *ê*), see above, b.

(b) With short *ā* they form the diphthongs *ō* and *ē* according to § 7 a, e. g. מִיִּטִּיב from מִיִּטִּיב; יִשְׁיב from יִשְׁיב, &c.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. The rejection of the half vowels ו and י (see above, b) occurs especially *g* at the end of words after a heterogeneous vowel (*ā*), if according to the nature of the form the contraction appears impossible. So especially in

<sup>1</sup> According to Abulwalid, Ben-Naphtali regarded the *Yodh* in all such cases as a vowel letter.

<sup>2</sup> Instances in which no contraction takes place after *ā* are, מִיִּמִּינִים 1 Ch 12<sup>2</sup>; אֶסְכְּרֶם Ho 7<sup>12</sup> (but cf. § 70 b); הַיִּשָּׁר ψ 5<sup>9</sup> *Qerē*; the locatives בְּיֶתָהּ, מִצְרָיִמָה, &c.—On the suffix יִכְיָיִ for יִכְיָיִ see § 91 l.—Sometimes both forms are found, as עוֹלָהּ and עוֹלָהּ; cf. חַי living, constr. state חַי. Analogous is the contraction of מָוֶת (ground-form *marot*) death, constr. מוֹת; עַיִן (ground-form 'ayn ['ain]) eye, constr. עֵינָן.

verbs הָלַךְ, e.g. originally הָלַךְ = (י)הָלַךְ, since *ā* after the rejection of the *ʾ* stands in an open syllable, and consequently must be lengthened to *ā*. The ה is simply an orthographic sign of the long vowel. So also הָלַךְ for *hālāw*.<sup>1</sup> On the origin of הָלַךְ, see § 75 e; on קָם as perf. and part. of קָם, see § 72 b and g; on יָלַךְ, &c., from וָלַךְ, see § 69 b.—On the weakening of *ʾ* and *ʿ* to *ʿ*, see § 93 x.

### § 25. *Unchangeable Vowels.*

*a* What vowels in Hebrew are unchangeable, i.e. are not liable to attenuation (to *Šewā*), modification, lengthening, or shortening, can be known with certainty only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and in some cases by comparison with Arabic (cf. § 1 m). This holds good especially of the *essentially* long vowels, i.e. those long by *nature* or *contraction*, as distinguished from those which are only lengthened *rhythmically*, i.e. on account of the special laws which in Hebrew regulate the tone and the formation of syllables. The latter, when a change takes place in the position of the tone or in the division of syllables, readily become short again, or are reduced to a mere *vocal Šewā*.

*b* 1. The essentially long and consequently, as a rule (but cf. § 26 p, § 27 n, o), unchangeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, *i*, *ē*, *ū*, *ō*, can often be recognized by means of the vowel letters which accompany them (אָ, עֵ, וּ, וֹ); e.g. יַיִטֵּב *he does well*, הַיְכָל *palace*, גְּבוּל *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The defective writing (§ 8 i) is indeed common enough, e.g. יִטֵּב and יַיִטֵּב for יַיִטֵּב; גָּבַל for גְּבוּל; קָל for קוֹל, but this is merely an orthographic licence and has no influence on the quantity of the vowel; the *ū* in גָּבַל is just as necessarily long, as in גְּבוּל.

As an exception, a merely tone-long vowel of both these classes is sometimes written *fully*, e.g. יִקְטֹל for יִקְטָל.

*c* 2. The essentially or naturally long *ā* (*Qames impure*),<sup>2</sup> unless it has become *ō* (cf. § 9 q), has as a rule in Hebrew no representative among the consonants, while in Arabic it is regularly indicated by *ʿ*; on the few instances of this kind in Hebrew, cf. § 9 b, § 23 g. The naturally long *ā* and the merely tone-long *ā* therefore can only be distinguished by an accurate knowledge of the forms.

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic, in such cases, often writes etymologically הָלַךְ, but pronounces *galā*. So the LXX סיני *Sinā*, Vulg. *Sina*; cf. Nestle, *ZAW.* 1905, p. 362 f. But even in Arabic سَلَا is written for سَلَو and pronounced *salā*.

<sup>2</sup> By *vocales impurae* the older grammarians meant vowels properly followed by a vowel letter. Thus קָתַב *kāthāb* was regarded as merely by a licence for קָתַב, &c.

3. Short vowels in closed syllables (§ 26 b), which are not final, are *d* as a rule unchangeable, e. g. מַלְבוּשׁ *garment*, מִדְבָּר *wilderness*, מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*; similarly, short vowels in sharpened syllables, i. e. before *Dageš forte*, e. g. גַּנָּב *thief*.

4. Finally, those long vowels are unchangeable which, owing to *e* the omission of the strengthening in a guttural or ר, have arisen by lengthening from the corresponding short vowels, and now stand in an open syllable, e. g. מֵאֵן for *mē'en*; בִּרְרָה for *burrah*.

## § 26. Syllable-formation<sup>1</sup> and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels.

Apart from the unchangeable vowels (§ 25), the use of short or long *a* vowels, i. e. their lengthening, shortening, or change into vocal *Šewa*, depends on the *theory of syllable-formation*. The initial and final syllables especially require consideration.

1. The *initial* syllable. A syllable regularly begins with a consonant, or, in the case of initial ו and י (cf. note on § 5 b), a consonantal vowel.<sup>2</sup> The copula is a standing exception to this rule. According to the Tiberian pronunciation ו *and* is resolved into the corresponding vowel ו before *Šewa*, and the labials, e. g. וַיֵּלֶךְ, וַיִּבְרָךְ; the Babylonian punctuation in the latter cases writes ו, i. e. ו before a full vowel.

2. The *final* syllable. A syllable may end—

*b*

(a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in קָטַלְתָּ where the first and last are open. See below, *e*.

(b) With *one* consonant, and is then called a *simple closed* or *com-pound* syllable, as the second in קָטַלְתָּ, לִיכָב. See below, *o*, *p*. Such are also the syllables ending in a strengthened consonant, as the first in קָטַל *qat-tāl*. See below, *q*.

(c) With *two* consonants, a *doubly closed* syllable, as קָטַלְתָּ *qōšt*, קָטַלְתָּ *d*. Cf. below, *r*, and § 10 i-l.

3. *Open* or *simple* syllables have a long vowel, whether they have *e* the tone as in בָּרָךְ *in thee*, הֵלֵךְ *he goes*, or are toneless as in קָטַלְתָּ, עֵנֶב *a bunch of grapes*.<sup>3</sup> A long vowel (Qameš, less frequently Šere) is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. H. Toy, 'The Syllable in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journal of Philol.*, 1884, p. 494 ff.; H. Strack, 'The Syllables in the Hebrew Language,' *Hebraica*, Oct. 1884, p. 73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> We are not taking account here of the few cases in which initial *Yodh* is represented as simple *i*, by being written יֹ or י, see § 24 e, and especially § 47 b, note; nor of certain other cases in which *Š* with an initial vowel has only a graphic purpose, though it is indispensable in an unpointed text.

<sup>3</sup> In opposition to this fundamental law in Hebrew (a long vowel in an open syllable), the original short vowel is found always in Arabic, and sometimes

especially common in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel),  
e. g. לֵהֱם, יָקִים, קָטַל, לֵבָב.<sup>1</sup>

Short vowels in open syllables occur :

- f* (a) In apparently dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel from monosyllables, as נָחַל brook, בַּיִת house, יָרַב let him increase, from *nahl*, *bayt*, *yirb* ; cf. also יָמֵם the ending of the dual (§ 88). But see § 28 e.
- g* (b) In the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing. מֵי (me), e. g. קָטַלְתִּי (Arab. *qātālāni*). The uncommon form מֵי, however (Gn 36<sup>e</sup>, cf. § 59f), proves that the tone-bearing *Pathah* produces a sharpening of the following sonant, and thus virtually stands in a closed syllable, even when the *Nun* is not expressly written with *Dageš*. In cases like וְאֶרְנִי (§ 102m) *Pathah* is retained in the counter-tone after the *N* has become quiescent.
- h* (c) Sometimes before the toneless הֶ local (§ 90c), e. g. מִדְבָּרָה towards the wilderness ; only, however, in the constr. state (1 K 19<sup>1</sup>), since the toneless suffix הֶ does not affect the character of the form (especially when rapidly pronounced in close connexion) ; otherwise it is מִדְבָּרָה.
- In all these cases the short vowel is also supported by the tone, either the principal tone of the word, or (as in *h*) by the secondary tone in the constr. st., or by the counter-tone with *Metheg*, as in וְאֶרְנִי above, *g* ; cf. the effect of the *arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

- i* (d) In the combinations וְ, וְ, וְ, וְ, e. g. נַעֲרוֹ his boy, יֹאמֵר he will bind, פָּעֲלָהּ his deed. In all these cases the syllable was at first really closed, and it was only when the guttural took a *Haṭeph* that it became in consequence open (but cf. e. g. יֹאמֵר and יֹאמֵר). The same vowel sequence arises wherever a preposition וְ, וְ, וְ, or וְ copulative is prefixed to an initial syllable which has a *Haṭeph*, since the former then takes the vowel

in the other Semitic languages, except of course in the case of *naturally* long vowels. The above examples are pronounced in Arabic *bikā*, *qātālā*, *ʿināb*. Although it is certain therefore that in Hebrew also, at an earlier period, short vowels were pronounced in open syllables, it may still be doubted whether the present pronunciation is due *merely* to an artificial practice followed in the solemn recitation of the O. T. text. On this hypothesis we should have still to explain, e. g. the undoubtedly very old lengthening of *i* and *ä* in an open syllable into *ē* and *ö*.

<sup>1</sup> That these pretonic vowels are really *long* is shown by Broekelmann, *ZA.* xiv. 343 f., from the transcription of Hebrew proper names in the Nestorian (Syriac) punctuation, and e. g. from the Arabic 'Ibrāhīm = אִבְרָהִים. He regards their lengthening in the syllable before the tone as a means adopted by the Masoretes to preserve the pronunciation of the traditional vowels. This explanation of the pretonic vowels as due to a precaution against their disappearing, is certainly right ; as to whether the precaution can be ascribed to the Masoretes, see the previous note. For the pretonic vowel the Arabic regularly has a short vowel (*lāhūm*, *yāqūm*, &c.), the Aramaic simply a vocal *Sewa* (לְהוּם, יְקוּם, קְטַל, לְבָב) ; and even in Hebrew, when the tone is thrown forward the pretonic vowel almost always becomes *Sewa*, see § 27. It would, however, be incorrect to assume from this that the pretonic vowel has taken the place of *Sewa* only on account of the following tone-syllable. It always arises from an original short vowel, since such a vowel is mostly lengthened in an open syllable before the tone, but when the tone is moved forward it becomes *Sewa*.

contained in the *Ha'eph* (see § 102 *d* and § 104 *d*). To the same category belong also the cases where these prepositions with Hireq stand before a consonant with simple Š<sup>wā</sup> mobile, e.g. בְּרֵכַר, בְּרֵכַר, &c.

(e) In forms like יִחוּקִי *yāhū-qū* (they are strong), פֶּעֶלְךָ *pō'ē l'ekhā* (thy deed). These again are cases of the subsequent opening of closed syllables (hence, e.g. יִחוּקִי also occurs); פֶּעֶלְךָ is properly *pō'ē'ekhā*; cf. generally § 22 *m*, end, and § 28 *c*.

Such cases as הֶחָדָשׁ, אֶתִּים (§ 96), הֶחָדָת, (§ 67 *w*) do not come under this *l* head, since they all have *ā* in a virtually sharpened syllable; nor does the tone-bearing *S<sup>eghōl</sup>* in suffixes (e.g. דְּבָרְךָ), nor *S<sup>eghōl</sup>* for *ā* before a guttural with *Qames* (§ 22 *c*). On שְׂרָשִׁים and קָרָשִׁים, see § 9 *v*.

4. The independent syllables with a firm vowel which have been *m* described above, are frequently preceded by a single consonant with vocal Š<sup>wā</sup>, simple or compound. Such a consonant with vocal Š<sup>wā</sup> never has the value of an independent syllable, but rather attaches itself so closely to the following syllable that it forms practically one syllable with it, e.g. לְחִי (cheek) *l'ehi*; חֲלִי (sickness) *h'eli*; יִלְמְדוּ *yil-n'edhū*. This concerns especially the prefixes לְ, בְּ, בְּ, לְ. See § 102.

The Š<sup>wā</sup> mobile is no doubt in all such cases weakened from an original *n* full vowel (e.g. יִקְטֹלוּ Arab. *yaqtū'ū*, בְּ Arab. *bikā*, &c.); from this, however, it cannot be inferred that the Masoretes regarded it as forming a kind of *open* syllable, for this would be even more directly opposed to their fundamental law (viz. that a long vowel should stand in an open syllable), than are the exceptions cited above, *f-k*. Even the use of Metheg with Š<sup>wā</sup> in special cases (see § 16 *f*) is no proof of such a view on the part of the Masoretes.

5. Closed syllables ending with one consonant, when without the *o* tone, necessarily have *short* vowels, whether at the beginning or at the end of words,<sup>1</sup> e.g. מַלְכָּה *queen*, חִשְׁבֹּן *understanding*, חִכְמָה *wisdom*, וָיָסַר and he turned back, וַיָּקַם, וַיָּקַם (*wayyāqūm*).

A tone-bearing closed syllable may have either a long or short vowel, *p* but if the latter, it must as a rule be either Pathah or Seghōl.<sup>2</sup> The tone-bearing closed penultima admits, of the *long* vowels, only the tone-long *ā*, *ē*, *ō*, not the longest *î*, *ê*, *ô*, *û*; of the *short* vowels, only *ă*, *ĕ*, not *ĭ*, *ĭ*, *ĕ* (but on *ĭ* and *ĭ*, see § 29 *g*). Thus יִקְטֹלוּ (3rd pl. masc. Imperf. Hiph.) but תִּקְטְלֶנָּה 3rd pl. fem., and קִימוּ (2nd pl. masc. Imperat. Qal) but קִטְנָה fem.

<sup>1</sup> In exceptions such as שְׁתִּי Gn 4<sup>25</sup> (where *šat* is required by the character of the form, although the closed syllable has lost the tone owing to the following Maqqeph), Metheg is used to guard against a wrong pronunciation; similarly *ē* is sometimes retained before Maqqeph, e.g. שָׁם Gn 2<sup>13</sup>; עָץ Gn 2<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See § 9 *e, f*. *ĭ* occurs thus only in the particles אֵם, עֵם, מֵן; but these usually (מֵן always) are rendered toneless by a following Maqqeph. Cf. also such forms as וַיָּשָׁב § 26 *r* and § 75 *q*.

- q 6. A special kind of closed syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end in the same (strengthened) consonant with which the following syllable begins, e. g. אִמִּי 'im-mî, כֹּלִי kûl-lî. If without the tone, they have, like the rest, short vowels; but, if bearing the tone, either short vowels as כֹּלִי, הִנֵּנִי, or long, as שֹׁפָה, הֶפֶה.

On the omission of the strengthening of a consonant at the end of a word, see § 20 l.

- r 7. Syllables ending with *two* consonants occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, קֶטֶלֶת, וִיזֶבֶ; but sometimes *Sere*, as נִרְדֵּי, וִיבִדֵּי, or *Holem*, הוֹסֵם קֶשֶׁם. Cf., however, § 10 i. Usually the harshness of pronunciation is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28 e).

### § 27. *The Change of the Vowels, especially as regards Quantity.*

- a The changes in sound through which the Hebrew language passed, before it assumed the form in which we know it from the Masoretic text of the O.T. (see § 2 k), have especially affected its vowel system. A precise knowledge of these vowel changes, which is indispensable for the understanding of most of the present forms of the language, is derived partly from the phenomena which the language itself presents in the laws of derivation and inflexion, partly from the comparison of the kindred dialects, principally the Arabic. By these two methods, we arrive at the following facts as regards Hebrew:
- b 1. That in an open syllable the language has frequently retained only a half-vowel (*Šewâ mobile*), where there originally stood a full short vowel, e. g. עֲגָלָה (ground-form 'ägälât) a *waggon*, צִדְקָה (ground-form šādāqât) *righteousness*, קִטְלִי (Arab. qātālū), יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. jūqattilū).
- c 2. That vowels originally short have in the tone-syllable, as also in the open syllable preceding it, been generally changed into the corresponding tone-long vowels, *ă* into *ā*, *ĭ* into *ē*, *ũ* into *ō* (see § 9, a-e, k, r). If, however, the tone be shifted or weakened, these tone-long vowels mostly revert to their original shortness, or, occasionally, are still further shortened, or reduced to mere *Šewâ mobile*, or, finally, are entirely lost through a change in the division of syllables; e. g. מָטָר (Arab. mātār) *rain*, when in close dependence on a following genitive in the *construct state*, becomes מֵטָר; עֲקִיב (Arab. 'aqīb) *heel*, dual עֲקִיבִים, dual *construct* (with attenuation of the original *ă* of the first syllable to *ĭ*) עֲקִבֵּי [on the *Ḥ*, see § 20 k]; יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. yāqtūl), plur. יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. yāqtūlū). For instances of complete loss, as in בִּקְשֵׁי, cf. § 93 m.

According to § 26, the following details of vowel-change must be observed:

1. The original, or a kindred short vowel reappears—

*d*

(a) When a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26 o). Thus, יָד *hand*, but יְדֵי־יְהוָה *the hand of Yahwee*; בֶּן *son*, but בְּנֵי־הַמֶּלֶךְ *the son of the king*; כָּל *the whole*, but כָּל־הָעָם *the whole of the people*; so also when a tone-bearing closed syllable loses the tone on taking a suffix, e.g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, but אֶיֶבְךָ *thy enemy*; finally, when the tone recedes, יָקָם, but יִקָּם (wayyāqōm); יָלַד, but יִלָּד.

(b) To the same category belong cases like סֵפֶר *book*, but סִפְרִי *my book*; קֹדֶשׁ *holiness*, but קִדְשִׁי *my holiness*. In spite of the helping vowel, סֵפֶר and קֹדֶשׁ are really closed syllables with a tone-long vowel; when the syllable loses the tone, the original *ɛ* or *o* (properly *u*) reappears.

The same is true of syllables with a virtually sharpened final consonant: the lengthening of original *ɛ* to *ē* and *u* to *ō* takes place only in a tone-bearing syllable; in a toneless syllable the *ɛ* or *o* (or *u*) remains, e.g. אִם *mother*, but אִמִּי *my mother*; חָק *law*, plur. חֻקִּים; but עֹז *strength*, עֲזָי (and עֲזָי) *my strength*.

2. The lengthening of the short vowel to the corresponding long, *e* takes place—

(a) When a closed syllable becomes open by its final consonant being transferred to a suffix beginning with a vowel, or in general to the following syllable, e.g. קָטַל, קָטְלוּ *he has killed him*; מוֹסִיף primarily from מוֹסִיט. Similarly *ā* mostly becomes *ā* even before a suffix beginning with *Šwā mobile*; e.g. קָטַלְךָ from קָטַל, מוֹסִיפְךָ from מוֹסִיט.

(b) When a syllable has become open by complete loss of the *f* strengthening of its final consonant (a guttural or *Rēš*), e.g. בִּרְרַח *for birrah*, see § 22 c. Cf. also § 20 n.

(c) When a weak consonant (א, ו, י) following the short vowel *g* quiesces in this vowel, according to § 23 a, c, d, § 24 f, e.g. מָצָא for מָצָא, where the א, losing its consonantal value, loses also the power of closing the syllable, and the open syllable requires a long vowel.

(d) Very frequently through the influence of the *pause*, i. e. the *h* principal tone in the last word of a sentence or clause (§ 29 k). Sometimes also through the influence of the article (§ 35 o).

3. When a word increases at the end and the tone is consequently *i* moved forward, or when, in the *construct state* (see § 89), or otherwise in close connexion with the following word, its tone is weakened, in such cases a full vowel (short or tone-long) may, by a change in the

division of syllables, be weakened to *Šwā mobile*, or even be entirely lost, so that its place is taken by the mere syllable-divider (*Šwā quiescens*). Examples of the first case are, נָם *name*, pl. נִשְׁמוֹת, but שְׁמִי *my name*, שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דָּבָר *word*, constr. st. דִּבֵּר; צְדָקָה *righteousness*, constr. st. צִדְקָתָה; an example of the second case is, בְּרָכָה *blessing*, constr. st. בְּרַכְתָּהּ. Whether the vowel is retained or becomes *Šwā* (דָּם, דָּמִי, but שָׁם, שְׁמִי), and which of the two disappears in two consecutive syllables, depends upon the character of the form in question. In general the rule is that only those vowels which stand in an open syllable can become *Šwā*.

Thus the change into *Šwā* takes place in—

k (a) The *ā* and *ē* of the first syllable, especially in the inflexion of nouns, e. g. דָּבָר *word*, plur. דִּבְרִים; גָּדוֹל *great*, fem. גְּדוּלָה; לֵב *heart*, לִבִּי *my heart*; but also in the verb, תָּשָׁב *she will return*, plur. תִּשְׁבְּנָה, and so always, when the originally short vowel of the prefixes of the Imperfect comes to stand in an open syllable which is not pretonic. On the other hand, an *ā* lengthened from *ā* before the tone is retained in the *Perfect consecutive* of Qal even in the secondary tone, e. g. וְקָטַלְתָּ; cf. § 49 i.

l (b) The short, or merely tone-long, vowels *a*, *e*, *o* of the ultima, especially in verbal forms, e. g. קָטַל, fem. קָטְלָה *qāṭelā*; יָקַטַל, יִקְטֹלוּ; but note also יִלְקֹטוּ, תִּדְבְּקוּ, &c., according to § 47 m and o. The helping vowels are either entirely omitted, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *king* (ground-form *malk*), מִלְכִּי *my king*; or, under the influence of a guttural, are weakened to Hataf, e. g. נָעַר *boy*, נַעְרוֹ *his boy*. If the tone remains unmoved, the vowel also is retained, notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, e. g. יָקַטַל pausal-form for יִקְטֹלוּ.

m Where the tone moves forward two places, the former of the two vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, and the second changed into *Šwā*. Cf. דָּבָר *word*; in the plur. דִּבְרִים; with heavy suffix דִּבְרֵיהֶם (cf. § 28 a) *their words*. On the attenuation of the *ā* to *ɛ*, see further, s, t.

n Rem. 1. An *ō* arising from *aw* = *au*, or by an obscuring of *ā* (see § 9 b), sometimes becomes *û*, when the tone is moved forward, e. g. נִקְמוֹת, נִקְמוּ *נקום* (see Paradigm *Perf. Niph.* of קָם); מְנוּסָה, מְנוּסָה *מנוס* (see Paradigm *Perf. Niph.* of מָנָס); with suffix, מְנוּסָהּ. The not uncommon use of *ɔ* in a sharpened syllable, as בָּחֻקִּי Ez 20<sup>18</sup> (for בָּחֻקִּי, cf. also the examples in § 9 o), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases *û* may really have been intended by the K<sup>ethibh</sup>.

o Of the vowels of the U-class, *û* and tone-long *ō* stand in a tone-bearing

closed final syllable, and *ō* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will arise*, יָקֻם jussive, *let him arise*, יָקָם and *he arose*. The only instance of *ū* in an ultima which has lost the tone is יָרָם Ex 16<sup>20</sup> (see § 67 n). Similarly, of vowels of the *I*-class, *ê*, *î*, and *ē* stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and *ē* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will raise*, יָקָם *let him raise*, יָקָם and *he raised*. The only instance of *î* in an ultima which has lost the tone is יָרָם Ju 9<sup>53</sup> (see § 67 p).

2. In the place of a *Pathah* we not infrequently find (according to § 9 f) *p* a *Sēghôl* (*ē*, *è*) as a modification of *ā*:

(a) In a closed antepenultima, e.g. in the proper names אֲבִיחַר and אֲבִיחַר, where LXX 'Αβι- = 'Αβι, which is certainly the better reading, cf. Ulmer, *Die semit. Eigennamen*, 1901, p. 12; or in a closed penultima, e.g. יָדְךָ *your hand*, for *yad-khēm*. In all these cases the character of the surrounding consonants (see § 6 q) has no doubt had an influence.

(b) Regularly before a guttural with *Qameṣ* or *Ḥateph Qameṣ*, *q* where the strengthening has been dropped, provided that a lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameṣ* be not necessary, e.g. אֲחֵי *his brothers*, for 'ahāw; פָּחַשׁ *false*, for kahāš; פָּחָה *governor*, constr. st. פָּחַת. פָּחַם *coal*; חַיָּה *the living* (with the article, הַ for הֵ); יָתְנָחַם Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, &c., and so always before הֵ and הַ, as יָתְנָחַם *the months*, see § 35 k. Before הֵ and הַ *Sēghôl* generally stands only in the second syllable before the tone, e.g. הָהָרִים *the mountains*; הָעוֹן *the guilt*; immediately before the tone *Pathah* is lengthened into a (pretonic) *Qameṣ*, e.g. הָהָרִי, הָעָם; but cf. also הַפָּהָרִי Nu 8<sup>7</sup>. Before the weak consonants נ and ר (cf. § 22 c, q), the lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameṣ* almost always takes place, e.g. הָאָב *the father*, pl. הָאָבוֹת; הָרָאשׁ *the head*, pl. הָרָאשִׁים. Exceptions, הָרָה *towards the mountain*, Gn 14<sup>10</sup>, in the tone-syllable, for hārrā; יִבְרָכְיָהוּ (pr. name) for יִבְרָכְיָהוּ. On הֵ as a form of the interrogative הֵ (הַ), see § 100 n; on מֵה for מֵה (מֵה), § 37 e, f. Finally, אֲכַלְךָ Ex 33<sup>3</sup> also comes partly under this head, in consequence of the loss of the strengthening, for אֲכַלְךָ, and יַחְזַקְאֵל *Ezekiel* for יַחְזַקְאֵל = יַחְזַקְאֵל *God strengthens*.

(c) As a modification of the original *Pathah* in the first class of the segholate *r* forms (§ 93 g), when a helping vowel (§ 28 e) is inserted after the second consonant. Thus the ground-form *kalb* (*dog*), after receiving a helping *Sēghôl*, is modified into כָּלֵב (also in modern Arabic pronounced *kelb*),<sup>1</sup> יָרַחְלִי (*month*), with a helping *Pathah*, יָרַחְלִי. The same phenomenon appears also in the formation of verbs, in cases like יָנַל (jussive of the Hiph'il of נָלַח), with a helping *Sēghôl*, for *yagl*.

3. The attenuation of *ā* to *î* is very common in a toneless closed syllable. (a) In a firmly closed syllable, מִדּוֹ *his measure*, for מִדּוֹ (in a sharpened syllable); יָלַדְתִּיךָ *I have begotten thee*, from יָלַדְתִּי with the suffix יָךְ; cf. Lv 11<sup>44</sup>, Ez 38<sup>23</sup>, and § 44 d. Especially is this the case in a large number of *segholates*

<sup>1</sup> So the LXX write Μελαχισδέκ for מִלְכִּי־דֶק.

from the ground-form *qaṭl*, when combined with singular suffixes, e.g. צִדְקִי *my righteousness*, for *ṣadqī*.

**t** (b) In a loosely-closed syllable, i.e. one followed by an aspirated *Begadkephath*, as דְּמָמָם *your blood*, for דְּמָמָם, and so commonly in the *st. constr. plur.* of segholates from the ground-form *qaṭl*, e.g. בְּגָדִי from בְּגָד (ground-form *bagd*) *a garment*. In most cases of this kind the attenuation is easily intelligible from the nature of the surrounding consonants. It is evident from a comparison of the dialects, that the attenuation was consistently carried out in a very large number of noun and verb-forms in Hebrew, as will be shown in the proper places.<sup>1</sup>

**u** 4. *S<sup>e</sup>ghōl* arises, in addition to the cases mentioned in *o* and *p*, also from the weakening of *ā* of the final syllable in the isolated cases (הָ for הֶ) in 1 S 28<sup>15</sup> (? see § 48 d), ψ 20<sup>4</sup> (?), Is 59<sup>5</sup>, Pr 24<sup>14</sup> (see § 48 i); for examples of Locative forms in הָ see § 90 i end.

**u** 5. Among the *Hateph*-sounds ֿ is shorter and lighter than ֿֿ, and consequently the vowel group ֿֿֿ is shorter than ֿֿֿֿֿ; e.g. אֶדוֹם *Edom*, but אֶדְמוֹי (*Edomite*), shortened at the beginning because the tone is thrown forward; אֶמֶת (*ṁēth*) *truth*, אֶמְתּוֹ *his truth*; נֶעְלָם *hidden*, pl. נֶעְלָמִים *the hidden ones*; but also conversely נֶעְשָׂה *fem. נֶעְשָׂה*, cf. § 63 f, 3.

**w** 6. To the chapter on vowel changes belongs lastly the *dissimilation* of vowels, i.e. the change of one vowel into another entirely heterogeneous, in order to prevent two similar, or closely related vowels, from following one another in the same word.<sup>2</sup> Hence לֵלֵא for *lū wō* (unless). Cf. also חֵצוֹן from חָצוֹן; רֵאשׁוֹן from רֹאשׁ; תִּיכוֹן from תָּוֶן; נִכְחוֹ from נִכָּח; עֵירִים from עָרִים; most probably also יָלוֹד *offspring*, קָפוֹד *porcupine*, for יָלֹד, קָפֹד, see § 68 c, note.— On the proper names יְהוֹא and יִשָּׁע, which were formerly explained in the same way, see now Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 341 f.

## § 28. *The Rise of New Vowels and Syllables.*

**a** 1. According to § 26 *m* a half-syllable, i.e. a consonant with *Šewā* mobile (always weakened from a short vowel), can only occur in close dependence on a full syllable. If another half-syllable with simple *Šewā* follows, the first takes a full short vowel again.<sup>3</sup> This vowel is almost always *Hireq*. In most cases it is probably an attenuation of an original *ā*, and never a mere helping vowel. In some instances analogy may have led to the choice of the *i*. Thus, according to § 102 d, the prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ before a consonant with *Šewā* mobile become בֶּ, כֶּ, לֶ, e.g. בֶּפֶרֶךְ, כֶּפֶרֶךְ, לֶפֶרֶךְ; before י they are pointed as in בִּיהִירָה (from *bi-yēhūdā*, according to § 24 c); so too with *Wāw* copulative, e.g. בִּיהִירָה for בִּיהִירָה attenuated from בִּיהִירָה. The first half-

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this attenuation of *ā* to *i* is the Lat. *tango, attingo; latus, prolixus*; to the transition of *ā* to *ē* (see above, *a*), the Lat. *carpo, decerpo; spergo, conspergo*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semit. Spr.*, p. xxix; A. Müller, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1892, p. 177 f., and Nestle, *ibid.*, p. 573 f.

<sup>3</sup> Except י and *and*, which generally becomes *i* before a simple *Šewā*, cf. § 104 2.

syllable, after the restoration of the short vowel, sometimes combines with the second to form a firmly closed syllable, e. g. לָנָפַל Nu 14<sup>3</sup> for *lin<sup>e</sup>phōl*, and so almost always in the infin. constr. after ל (§ 45 g); in isolated cases also with ך, as בָּוֹרֶר Jer 17<sup>2</sup>.

2. If a guttural with *Ḥateph* follows, the original *ā* of the prefixes *b* is retained before *Ḥateph Pathah*, but before *Ḥateph Seghol* or *Ḥateph Qameṣ* it is modified to the short vowel contained in the *Ḥateph*. Thus arise the vowel groups  $\overline{\text{אֵ}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{אִ}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{אֻ}}$ , e. g. וְאֵי and *I*, וְאִשָּׁר as, לָעֶבֶר to serve, לֶאֱכַל to eat, לְחָלִי in sickness. On the Metheg with every such short vowel, see § 16 f, δ. Sometimes here also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case, the prefix takes the short vowel, which would have belonged to the suppressed *Ḥateph*, e. g. לְחַטָּב for לְחַטֵּב; לְחַמָּם Is 47<sup>14</sup> for לְחַמָּם (see § 67 cc); לְאֶסֶר but also לְאֶסֶר; and even וְעָזָר Jb 4<sup>2</sup>, cf. Gn 32<sup>16</sup>. So always in the Infin. and Imperat. Qal of the verbs לָהֵיָה to be and לְהִיָּה to live, e. g. וְהִיָּה to be, וְהִיָּה and be ye; even with מן, as מְהִיָּה, on which cf. § 102 b; but וְהִיָּה and be, וְהִיָּה and live, have *ē* instead of *ī* under the prefix. For the Metheg, cf. § 16 f, ε.

3. When a *Ḥateph* in the middle of a word, owing to flexional *c* changes, would stand before a vocal *Ṣ<sup>e</sup>wā*, it is changed into the short vowel, with which it is compounded. This applies especially to cases in which the *Ḥateph* stands under a guttural instead of quiescent *Ṣ<sup>e</sup>wā*, as an echo of the preceding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲמֹד he will stand (for יַעֲמֹד), but plur. יַעֲמֹדוּ for *ya<sup>a</sup>m<sup>e</sup>dhū*, and נִהְפָּכוּ for *neh<sup>a</sup>ph<sup>e</sup>khu* (they have turned themselves), בַּעֲלֶךָ thy work, cf. § 26 k. The syllables are to be divided *yā<sup>a</sup>-ā-m<sup>e</sup>dhū*, and the second *ā* is to be regarded exactly as the helping *Pathah* in בָּעֵר, &c.<sup>1</sup>

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two con-*d*sonants (§ 10 i, § 26 r), but only when the latter of the two is an emphatic consonant (מ, פ) or a tenuis (viz. ב, ד, ג, ת<sup>2</sup>), e. g. יָשָׁט let him turn aside, וַיִּשָּׁק and he caused to drink, אָמַרְתָּ thou (fem.) hast said, וַיִּבְךְ and he wept, וַיִּרְד and let him have dominion, וַיִּשָּׁב and he took captive.

This harsh ending is elsewhere avoided by the Masora,<sup>3</sup> which *c* inserts between the two final consonants a helping vowel, usually

<sup>1</sup> In Ju 16<sup>13</sup> read תִּאֲרָגִי not (with Opatius, Hahn and others) תִּאֲרָגִי.

<sup>2</sup> With a final ה, the only example is הִלָּכְתָּ Pr 30<sup>e</sup>, where several MSS. and printed editions incorrectly have ה without Dageš. Instead of this masoretic caprice we should no doubt read הִלָּכְתָּ.

<sup>3</sup> An analogy to this practice of the Masora is found among the modern Beduin, who pronounce such a helping vowel before ה, ח, ט, ג; cf. Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten*, Lpz. 1880, § 43 d.

*Seghôl*, but with medial or final gutturals a *Pathah*,<sup>1</sup> and after *ḥ* a *Hireq*, e. g. וַיִּגַּל and he revealed, for wayyigal; יִרְבֹּ let it multiply, for yirb; קִדְּשׁ holiness, ground-form qudš; נָחַל brook, ground-form nahl; שְׁלַחְתָּ<sup>2</sup> thou hast sent; בַּיִת house, ground-form bayt. These helping vowels are, however, to be regarded as exactly like furtive *Pathah* (§ 22 f, g); they do not alter the monosyllabic character of the forms, and they disappear before formative suffixes, e. g. קִדְּשִׁי my holiness, בַּיְתָּי home-ward.

f 5. On the rise of a full vowel in place of a simple *Seghôl*, under the influence of the pause, see § 29 m; on initial *Mem* for *Nun*, see § 23 h.

### § 29. The Tone, its Changes and the Pause.

- a 1. The principal tone rests, according to the Masoretic accentuation (cf. § 15 c), as a rule on the final syllable, e. g. דְּבָרִים, דְּבָרָ, קָטָר, קָטָל—in the last five examples on the formative additions to the stem. Less frequently it rests on the penultima, as in לַיְלָה night, קָטָלְתָּ, קָטָלְתָּ; but a closed penultima can only have the tone if the ultima is open (e. g. קָטָלְתָּ, לִבְנָה, קָטָנָה), whilst a closed ultima can as a rule only be without the tone if the penultima is open, e. g. וַיִּקָּם, וַיִּקָּם; see also below, e.
- b A kind of counter-tone or secondary stress, as opposed to the principal tone, is marked by *Metheg* (§ 16 c). Words which are closely united by *Maqqeph* with the following word (§ 16 a) can at the most have only a secondary tone.
- c 2. The original tone of a word, however, frequently shifts its place in consequence either of changes in the word itself, or of its close connexion with other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is moved forward (*descendit*) one or two places according to the length of the addition, e. g. דְּבָר word, plur. דְּבָרִים; דְּבָרֶיךָ your words; קֹדֶשׁ holy thing, plur. קֹדֶשִׁים; קָטָלְתָּ with suffix קָטָלְתָּהוּ, with *Wāw* consecutive וַקָּטָלְתָּ. On the consequent vowel-changes, see § 27 d, i-m.
- d 3. On the other hand, the original tone is shifted from the ultima to the penultima (*ascendit*):

<sup>1</sup> On the apparent exceptions נִשְׁתָּ, &c., cf. § 22 e; other instances in which *Nun* has entirely lost its consonantal value, and is only retained orthographically, are חַטָּא sin, נַי valley (also נַי), נִשְׁוֹ vanity (Jb 15<sup>31</sup> *Kethibh* נִשְׁוֹ).

<sup>2</sup> In this form (§ 65 g) the *Dages lene* remains in the final *Tāw*, although a vowel precedes, in order to point out that the helping *Pathah* is not to be regarded as a really full vowel, but merely as an orthographic indication of a very slight sound, to ensure the correct pronunciation. An analogous case is יִחַד from יִחַד (cf. § 75 r).

(a) In many forms of the Imperfect, under the influence of a prefixed *Wāw* consecutive (י see § 49 c-e), e. g. יֵאמֵר *he will say*, יֵאמְרוּ *and he said*; יֵלֵךְ *he will go*, יֵלְכוּ *and he went*. Cf. also § 51 n on the impf. Niph'al, and § 65 g, end, on the impf. Pi'el; on these forms in Pause, when the י consec. does not take effect, see below, p.

(b) For rhythmical reasons (as often in other languages), when *e* a monosyllable, or a word with the tone on the first syllable, follows a word with the tone on the ultima, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.<sup>1</sup> This rhythmical retraction of the tone, however (מְסוּגָה *receding*, as it is called by the Jewish grammarians), is only admissible according to a, above, provided that the penultima, which now receives the tone, is an open syllable (with a long vowel; but see g), whilst the ultima, which loses the tone, must be either an open syllable with a long vowel, e. g. לֵילָהּ קָרָא Gn 1<sup>5</sup>, 4<sup>17</sup>, 27<sup>25</sup>, Ex 16<sup>29</sup>, ψ 5<sup>11</sup>, 104<sup>14</sup>, Dn 11<sup>13</sup>, or a closed syllable with a short vowel, e. g. תִּאָכַל לֶחֶם Gn 3<sup>19</sup>, Jb 3<sup>3</sup>, 22<sup>28</sup>.<sup>2</sup> The grave suffixes בָּם-, בָּן-, הֶם-, הֵן- are exceptions, as they never lose the tone. Moreover a fair number of instances occur in which the above conditions are fulfilled, but the tone is not retracted, e. g. esp. with הֵיךְ, and before נ; cf. Qimḥi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg (Lyck, 1862), p. 4<sup>b</sup>, line 13 ff.

Although *Sere* can remain in a closed ultima which has lost the tone, it *f* is perhaps not to be regarded in this case (see § 8 b) as a long vowel. At any rate it then always has, in correct editions, a retarding *Metheg*, no doubt in order to prevent its being pronounced as *S'eghōl*, e. g. לִבְיָעַר קָנוּ Nu 24<sup>22</sup>; cf. Nu 17<sup>23</sup>, Ju 20<sup>2</sup>, Is 66<sup>3</sup>, Jer 23<sup>29</sup>, Ez 22<sup>25</sup>, ψ 37<sup>7</sup>, and even with a following *furtive Pathah* Pr 1<sup>19</sup>, 11<sup>26</sup>, &c., although there is no question here of two successive tone-syllables. In other cases the shortening into *S'eghōl* does take place, e. g. הוֹלֵם פָּעַם *who smiteth the anvil*, Is 41<sup>7</sup>, for הוֹלֵם פָּעַם; מֵאֵת שְׁמֵר 1 K 16<sup>24</sup>.—The retraction of the tone even occurs when a half-syllable with a Šewā mobile precedes the original tone-syllable, e. g. וַיֵּאמְרוּ לוֹ Gn 19<sup>5</sup>, and frequently; וַיֹּדְרִי בור ψ 28<sup>1</sup>; לִי טָמְנוּ לִי

<sup>1</sup> Even Hebrew *prose* proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of iambic rhythm. That this was intended by the marking of the tone, can be seen from the use of *Metheg*.—Jos. Wijnkoop in *Darche hannesigah sive leges de accentus Hebraicæ lingue ascensione*, Ludg. Bat. 1881, endeavours to explain, on euphonic and syntactical grounds, the numerous cases in which the usual retraction of the tone does not occur, e. g. וּבֹרָא חֶשֶׁךְ Is 45<sup>7</sup>, where the object probably is to avoid a kind of hiatus; but cf. also Am 4<sup>13</sup>. Prätorius, *Ueber den rückweich. Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, has fully discussed the *nasog 'ahor*.

<sup>2</sup> The reading עָרִיִּים (so even Opatius and Hahn) Ez 16<sup>7</sup> for עָרִיִּים is rightly described by Baer as 'error turpis'.—That an unchangeable vowel in a closed final syllable cannot lose the tone is shown by Prätorius from the duplication of the accent (see above, § 22 f).

פֶּסַח <sup>31</sup> Is 14<sup>19</sup>; as also when the tone-syllable of the second word is preceded by a half-syllable, e.g. עֲשֵׂה פֶּרִי Gn 1<sup>11</sup> (on the *Dag. f.*, cf. § 20 f); לָחַת לָךְ Gn 15<sup>7</sup> (cf. § 20 c).

g According to the above, it must be regarded as anomalous when the *Masora* throws back the tone of a closed ultima upon a *virtually* sharpened syllable with a short vowel, e.g. אָחֵר 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>, § 101 a; בּוֹ וְכָחֵשׁ Jb 8<sup>18</sup>, cf. Lv 5<sup>22</sup>, Ho 9<sup>2</sup>; לַעֲרוֹךְ בָּנוּ Gn 39<sup>14-17</sup>; whereas it elsewhere allows a closed penultima to bear the tone only when the ultima is open. Still more anomalous is the placing of the tone on a *really* sharpened syllable, when the ultima is closed, as in הַקֶּסֶם 2 S 23<sup>1</sup>; נָכַר שֵׁשׁ Jb 34<sup>19</sup>; cf. also יָקַם-קָיִן Gn 4<sup>24</sup>, with Metheg of the secondary tone. We should read either הַקֶּסֶם or, with Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 167, Ginsb., Kittel, after Bomb., הֶקֶם. Other abnormal forms are וַיִּחְזֹק Ex 4<sup>4</sup> (for similar instances see § 15 c, end) and וַיְהִי שָׁם Dt 10<sup>5</sup>.

h (c) In *pause*, see i-v.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (see e, f) is avoided also by connecting the words with Maqqeph, in which case the first word entirely loses the tone, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּב-שָׁם and he wrote there, Jos 8<sup>82</sup>.

i 4. Very important changes of the tone and of the vowels are effected by the *pause*. By this term is meant the strong stress laid on the tone-syllable in the last word of a sentence (verse) or clause. It is marked by a great *distinctive accent*, *Silluq*, *Athnah*, and in the accentuation of the books תַּאֲרָם, *Ôlè w'êyôrêd* (§ 15 h). Apart from these principal pauses (*the great pause*), there are often pausal changes (*the lesser pause*) with the lesser distinctives, especially *S'egolta*, *Zaqeph qaton*, *R'ebhâ'*, and even with *Pašta*, *Tiphha*, *Gereš*, and (Pr 30<sup>4</sup>) *Pazer*.<sup>1</sup> The changes are as follows:

k (a) When the tone-syllable naturally has a short vowel, it as a rule becomes tone-long in *pause*, e.g. קָטַל, קָטַל; מִים, מִים; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ. An *ā* which has been modified to *S'êghôl* usually becomes *ā* in *pause*, e.g. קָשֶׁר (ground-form *qašr*) in *pause* קָשֶׁר 2 K 11<sup>14</sup>; אָרָן אָרָן Jer 22<sup>29</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> In most cases, probably on account of a following guttural or (at the end of a sentence) ה (cf. e.g. Ex 21<sup>31</sup>, Jer 3<sup>9</sup> [but Ginsb. וַתַּחֲנֶךְ], Ru 4<sup>4</sup>, Ec 11<sup>6</sup> [but Ginsb. וַיִּכְשֹׁר]; before ו Jer 17<sup>11</sup>) [see also § 29 w]. אָחֵר 1 S 7<sup>17</sup>, וַאֲרָיִן Is 65<sup>17</sup>, Pr 25<sup>3</sup>, where *ā* has *munaḥ*, are very irregular, but the lengthening here is probably only to avoid the cacophony *šāphāt 'it*. In the same way הִיצְלָה Ez 17<sup>15</sup> (with *Mahpakh* before ה) and וַיִּקְרָם Ez 37<sup>8</sup> (with *Darga* before ו) are to be explained. The four instances of אָנִי for אָנִי apparently require a different explanation; see § 32 c.—The theory of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the *pause* are due *entirely* to liturgical considerations, i.e. that it is 'a convenient way of developing the musical value of the final accents by means of fuller forms' in liturgical reading (Sievers, *Metr. Studien*, i. 236, also explains pausal forms like קָטַלְתָּ, וַיִּקְטַלְתָּ, as 'late formations of the grammarians'), is contradicted by the fact that similar phenomena are still to be observed in modern vulgar Arabic, where they can only be attributed to rhythmical reasons of a general character.

also in 2 K 4<sup>31</sup> read קָשֶׁב with ed. Mant., &c. (Baer קָשֶׁב).—דָּבָר becomes in *pause* דְּבָר.

Sometimes, however, the distinct and sharper *ā* is intentionally retained in *pause*, especially if the following consonant is strengthened, e.g. יָבִהוּ Jb 4<sup>20</sup>, or ought to be strengthened, e.g. בָּבֶת 2 S 12<sup>3</sup>, בָּן Is 8<sup>1</sup>, &c.; but also in other cases as וְקָנִיתִי Gn 27<sup>2</sup>, because from וְקָן, cf. below, q; עָר Gn 49<sup>27</sup>; וְהָקֵד שָׁנוּ 2 Ch 29<sup>10</sup> (so Baer, but Ginsb. 'הקד', ed. Mant. 'הקד'); and regularly in the numeral אַרְבַּע *four*, Lv 11<sup>20</sup>, &c. In the accentuation of the three poetical books (§ 15 d) the use of *Pathah* with '*Athnah*' is due to the inferior pausal force of '*Athnah*', especially after '*Ólè wéyored*' (§ 15 o); cf. ψ 100<sup>3</sup>, Pr 30<sup>3</sup>, and Qimhi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg, p. 5<sup>b</sup>, line 4 from below. Compare the list of instances of pausal *ā* and *è* in the appendices to Baer's editions.

(b) When a full vowel in a tone-bearing final syllable has lost the *m* tone before an affirmative, and has become vocal *Šewā*, it is restored in *pause* as tone-vowel, and, if short, is lengthened, e.g. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטַלָּה (*qātālā*), in *pause* קָטַלָּה; שָׁמְעוּ (*šim'ū*), in *pause* שָׁמְעוּ (from sing. שָׁמַע; מָלָא, יָקַטְלוּ, יָקַטְלוּ (sing. יָקַטַּל). The fuller endings of the Imperfect ו and וֹ— (§ 47 *m* and *o*) alone retain the tone even when the original vowel is restored. In segholate forms, like לָחִי, פָּרִי (ground-form *lahy, pary*), the original *ā* returns, though under the form of a tone-bearing *Seghol*, thus לָחִי, פָּרִי; original *ī* becomes *ē*, e.g. הָצִי, in *pause* הָצִי; original *ō* (*ū*) becomes *ō*, הָלִי (ground-form *huly*), in *pause* הָלִי (§ 93 *x, y, z*).

On the analogy of such forms as הָלִי, &c., the shortened Imperfects ו and וֹ become in *pause* הָלִי, הָלִי, because in the full forms וִיְהִי *he will be*, and וִיחִי *he will live*, the *ī* is attenuated from an original *ā*. Similarly שָׁכַם *shoulder*, in *pause* שָׁכַם (ground-form *šakhm*), and the pron. אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי; cf. also the restoration of the original *ā* as *è* before the suffix תְּ— *thy, thee*, e.g. דְּבָרְךָ *thy word*, in *pause* דְּבָרְךָ; יִשְׁמָרְךָ *he guards thee*, in *pause* יִשְׁמָרְךָ; but after the prepositions ב, ל, מ (אֵת) the suffix תְּ— in *pause* becomes תְּ—, e.g. בְּךָ, לְךָ, אֵתְךָ.

(c) This tendency to draw back the tone in *pause* to the *penultima* O appears also in such cases as אֲנִכִּי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִכִּי; אַתָּה *thou*, in *pause* אַתָּה (but in the three poetically accented books also אַתָּה, since in those books '*Athnah*', especially after '*Ólè wéyōbrēd*', has only the force of a *Zagēph*; hence also יִמְלִיכֻךָ Pr 24<sup>4</sup> instead of יִמְלִיכֻךָ<sup>2</sup>; עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in other sporadic instances, like בָּלִי ψ 37<sup>20</sup> for בָּלִי; but in 1 S 12<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such a pausal syllable is sometimes further emphasized by strengthening the following consonant, see § 20 i.

<sup>2</sup> יִמְלִיכֻךָ ψ 45<sup>6</sup>, cf. also יִמְלִיכֻךָ ψ 40<sup>15</sup>, is to be explained in the same way, but not יִמְלִיכֻךָ Zc 2<sup>11</sup>, where, on the analogy of הַשְׁמָרְךָ Je 9<sup>3</sup>, we should expect הַשְׁמָרְךָ.

תָּפַפּוּ with Baer and Ginsb., is to be preferred to the reading of ed. Mant., &c.

*p* (d) Conversely all forms of imperfects consecutive, whose final syllable, when not in *pause*, loses the tone and is pronounced with a short vowel, take, when in *pause*, the tone on the ultima with a tone-long vowel, e. g. וַיָּמָת and he died, in *pause* וַיִּמָּת.

*q* Of other effects of the *pause* we have still to mention, (1) the transition of an *e* (lengthened from *i*) to the more distinct *ä* (see above, *l*), e. g. הָתָו for הָתוּ Is 18<sup>5</sup> (cf. § 67 *v*; § 72 *dd*); קָמַל Is 32<sup>9</sup>; אָצַל 1 Ch 8<sup>8</sup> (beside אָצַל [see *r*. 37. Cf. מָבֵאֵל Is 7<sup>6</sup> (טָבֵאֵל) Ezr 4<sup>7</sup>); ; נָשָׂר Jer 22<sup>14</sup>; סָפַר Ob 20; ; וַיִּנְצַח Ex 31<sup>17</sup>; ; וַיִּאֲנֶשׁ 2 S 12<sup>15</sup> (below, § 51 *m*)—S. R. D.]; ; הָפַר Gn 17<sup>14</sup>; הָפַצַּר 1 S 15<sup>23</sup>; תָּאֲחַר ψ 40<sup>18</sup>; הָרַחַק Jb 13<sup>21</sup>, mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הָשַׁב Is 42<sup>22</sup>, and without the *pause* הָרַר La 3<sup>48</sup>). So also וַיִּלָּךְ (shortened from וַיִּלָּךְ) becomes in *pause* וַיִּלָּךְ; cf. וַיִּלָּךְ La 3<sup>2</sup>; ; תָּלַן for תָּלָן Ju 19<sup>20</sup>. On *S'ghöl* in *pause* instead of *Sere*, cf. § 52 *n*, 60 *d*, and especially § 75 *n*, on וַחֲיָה Pr 4<sup>4</sup> and 7<sup>2</sup>.

*r* (2) The transition from *ä* to *è* in the ultima; so always in the formula לְעוֹלָם וָעַד (for עַד) for ever and ever.

*s* (3) The *pausal Qames* (according to § 54 *k*, lengthened from original *ä*) in *Hithpa'el* (but not in *Pi'el*) for *Sere*, e. g. יִתְהַלֵּךְ Jb 18<sup>8</sup> for יִתְהַלֵּךְ. But *pausal* forms like סָתַר, נִשְׁבַּט (in the *absol. st.* סָתַר, נִשְׁבַּט) go back to a secondary form of the *abs. st.* סָתַר, נִשְׁבַּט.

*t* (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e. g. בָּעֵי, אָתִי Is 21<sup>12</sup>, for בָּעוּ, אָתִי, the latter also without the *pause* Is 56<sup>9,12</sup>; cf. Jb 12<sup>6</sup>, and the same occurrence even in the word before the *pause* Dt 32<sup>27</sup>, Is 21<sup>12</sup>.

*u* (5) The transition from *ô* or *ō* to *ā* in *pause*: as שָׁאֵלָה Is 7<sup>11</sup>, if it be a locative of שָׁאֵל, and not rather imperat. Qal of שָׁאֵל; שָׁבַלְתִּי Gn 43<sup>14</sup> for שָׁבַלְתִּי; עוּ Gn 49<sup>3</sup>; יִטְרָה Gn 49<sup>27</sup>; perhaps also שָׁרָה 1 K 22<sup>34</sup>, Is 59<sup>17</sup>, and מִשְׁתַּלַּח Is 28<sup>17</sup>, cf. 2 K 21<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand the regular *pausal* form יַחֲפִין (ordinary imperfect יַחֲפִין) corresponds to a perfect חָפִין (see § 47 *h*).

*v* (6) When a *Pathah* both precedes and follows a virtually strengthened guttural, the second becomes *ā* in *pause*, and the first *S'ghöl*, according to § 22 *c* and § 27 *q*, e. g. אָחִי my brothers, in *pause* אָחִי. Similarly in cases where an original *Pathah* after a guttural has been attenuated to *i* out of *pause*, and then lengthened to *e* with the tone (cf. § 54 *k*), e. g. יִתְנַחֵם, but in *pause* יִתְנַחֵם Dt 32<sup>36</sup>; cf. Nu 8<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>19</sup>, Ez 5<sup>13</sup>, ψ 135<sup>14</sup>.—On *pausal Sere*, for *S'ghöl*, in infin., imperat., and imperf. of verbs הָלַךְ, see § 75 *hh*.

*w* [Other instances of the full vowel in lesser *pause*, where the voice would naturally rest on the word, are Gn 15<sup>14</sup> יַעֲבֹדוּ, Is 8<sup>15</sup>, 40<sup>24</sup>, Ho 4<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>7</sup>, Dn 9<sup>15</sup>, and very often in such cases.]

## SECOND PART

### ETYMOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH

#### § 30. *Stems and Roots*<sup>1</sup>: *Biliteral, Triliteral, and Quadriliteral.*

1. Stems in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic languages, have this peculiarity, that by far the majority of them consist of three consonants. On these the meaning essentially depends, while the various modifications of the idea are expressed rather by changes in the vowels, e. g. עמק (עִמָּק or עֵמָק; the 3rd pers. sing. perf. does not occur) *it was deep*, עֵמָק *deep*, עֲמָק *depth*, עִמָּק *a valley, plain*. Such a stem may be either a verb or a noun, and the language commonly exhibits both together, e. g. זָרַע *he has sown*, זֶרַע *seed*; חָכַם *he was wise*, חָכָם *a wise man*. For practical purposes, however, it has long been the custom to regard as the stem the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal (see § 43), since it is one of the simplest forms of the verb, without any formative additions. Not only are the other forms of the verb referred to this stem, but also the noun-forms, and the large number of particles derived from nouns; e. g. קָדַשׁ *he was holy*, קִדְּשׁ *holiness*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy*.

Sometimes the language, as we have it, exhibits only the verbal stem without any corresponding noun-form, e. g. סָקַל *to stone*, נָהַק *to bray*; and on the other hand, the noun sometimes exists without the corresponding verb, e. g. סֶלֶם *stone*, נֶגֶב *south*. Since, however, the nominal or verbal stems, which are not now found in Hebrew, generally occur in one or more of the other Semitic dialects, it may be assumed, as a rule, that Hebrew, when a living language, also possessed them. Thus, in Arabic, the verbal stem 'abinda (*to become compact, hard*) corresponds to נָחַץ, and the Aramaic verb neḡab (*to be dry*) to נָגַב.

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem (i. e. the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal) שֹׁרֵשׁ *root*. Hence it became customary among Christian grammarians to call the stem *radix*, and its three consonants *litterae radicales*, in contradistinction to the *litterae serviles* or *formative letters*. On the correct use of the term *root*, see g.

<sup>1</sup> On the questions discussed here compare the bibliography at the head of § 79.

- d 2. Others regard the three stem-consonants as a *root*, in the sense that, considered as *vowelless* and unpronounceable, it represents the common foundation of the verbal and nominal stems developed from it, just as in the vegetable world, from which the figure is borrowed, stems grow from the hidden root, e.g.

Root : מִלַּךְ, the indeterminate idea of *ruling*.

Verb-stem, מָלַךְ he has reigned.

Noun-stem, מֶלֶךְ king.

For the historical investigation of the language, however, this hypothesis of unpronounceable roots, with indeterminate meaning, is fruitless. Moreover, the term *root*, as it is generally understood by philologists, cannot be applied to the Semitic trilateral stem (see f).<sup>1</sup>

- e 3. The 3rd sing. Perf. Qal, which, according to the above, is usually regarded, both lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form, is generally in Hebrew a dissyllable, e.g. קָטַל. The monosyllabic forms have only arisen by contraction (according to the traditional explanation) from stems which had a weak letter (ו or י) for their middle consonant, e.g. קָם from *qāwām*; or from stems whose second and third consonants are identical, e.g. צָר and צָרַר (but see below, §§ 67, 72). The dissyllabic forms have themselves no doubt arisen, through a loss of the final vowel, from trisyllables, e.g. קָטַל from *qātālā*, as it is in literary Arabic.

- f 2. The law of the trilateral stem is so strictly observed in the formation of verbs and nouns in Hebrew (and in the Semitic languages generally), that the language has sometimes adopted artificial methods to preserve at least an appearance of trilateralism in monosyllabic stems, e.g. שָׁבַת for the inf. constr. of verbs שׁוּב; cf. § 69 b. Conversely such nouns, as אָב father, אִם mother, אָח brother, which were formerly all regarded as original monosyllabic forms (*nomina primitiva*), may, in some cases at least, have arisen from mutilation of a trilateral stem.

- g On the other hand, a large number of trilateral stems really point to a biliteral base, which may be properly called a *root* (*radix primaria, bilitteralis*), since it forms the starting-point for several trilateral modifications of the same fundamental idea. Though in themselves unpronounceable, these roots are usually pronounced with *ā* between the two consonants, and are represented in writing by the sign √, e.g. √כר as the root of כָּרַר, כָּרַה, כָּוַר, אָכַר. The reduction of a stem to the underlying root may generally be accomplished with certainty when the stem exhibits one weak consonant with two strong ones, or when the second and third consonants are identical. Thus e.g. the stems דָּכָה, דָּכָה, דָּכָה, דָּכָה may all be traced to the idea of *striking, breaking*, and the root common to them all is evidently the two strong consonants דך (*dakh*). Very frequently, however, the development of the root into a stem is effected by the addition of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philippi, 'Der Grundstamm des starken Verbums,' in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipz. 1875, pp. 69-106.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the interesting examination of the Semitic roots QR, KR, XR, by P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxiii (1907), p. 241 ff.

sometimes coincide with roots of a similar meaning in the Indo-Germanic family of languages (§ 1 h). Of other roots there is definite evidence that Semitic linguistic consciousness regarded them as onomatopoeic, whilst the Indo-Germanic instinct fails to recognize in them any imitation of sound.

l (c) Stems with the harder, stronger consonants are in general (§ 6 r) to be regarded as the older, from which a number of later stems probably arose through softening of the consonants; cf. פור and בור, צחק and שחק, צעק and זעק, עלם and עלן, רכק and רכך, and the almost consistent change of initial ו to י. In other instances, however, the harder stems have only been adopted at a later period from Aramaic, e.g. טעה, Hebr. תעה. Finally in many cases the harder and softer stems may have been in use together from the first, thus often distinguishing, by a kind of sound-painting, the intensive action from the less intensive; see above קצץ to cut, נזז to shear, &c.

m (d) When two consonants are united to form a root they are usually either both emphatic or both middle-hard or both soft, e.g. קט, קץ, כט, כץ, נט, נץ, גט, גץ, קו. Within (triliteral) stems the first and second consonants are never identical. The apparent exceptions are either due to reduplication of the root, e.g. דרה (ψ 42<sup>5</sup>, Is 38<sup>15</sup>), Arabic دأرا, or result from other causes, cf. e.g. בבה in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants are very seldom identical except in what are called concave stems (with middle ו or י), e.g. צוץ, צוץ; note, however, נגן, נתן, שמש, שמש, and on עלע Jb 39<sup>30</sup> see § 55 f. The second and third consonants on the other hand are very frequently identical, see § 67.<sup>1</sup>

n (e) The softening mentioned under l is sometimes so great that strong consonants, especially in the middle of the stem, actually pass into vowels: cf. § 19 o, and עוּאוּל Lv 16<sup>8</sup> if it is for עוּלוּל.

o (f) Some of the cases in which triliteral stems cannot with certainty be traced back to a biliteral root, may be due to a combination of two roots—a simple method of forming expressions to correspond to more complex ideas.

p 3. Stems of four, or even (in the case of nouns) of five consonants<sup>2</sup> are secondary formations. They arise from an extension of the triliteral stem: (a) by addition of a fourth stem-consonant; (b) in some cases perhaps by composition and contraction of two triliteral stems, by which means even *quinqueliterals* are produced. Stems which have arisen from reduplication of the biliteral root, or from the mere repetition of one or two of the three original stem-consonants, e.g. כָּלַל from כול or כיל, סָחַר from סחר, are usually not regarded as *quadriliterals* or *quinqueliterals*, but as *conjugalional* forms (§ 55); so also the few words which are formed with the prefix ש, as שָׁלַח flame from להב, correspond to the Aramaic conjugation *Saph'el*, שָׁלַח.

q Rem. on (a). The letters r and l, especially, are inserted between the first and second radicals, e.g. כָּרַס, כָּרַס to eat up; שָׁבִיט = שָׁבִיט sceptre (this insertion of an r is especially frequent in Aramaic); וְלָעָפָה hot wind from זָעַף.

<sup>1</sup> Consonants which are not found together in roots and stems are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly consonants belonging to the same class, e.g. נכ, גכ, בך, דט, חט, כף, זן, וז, זך, צס, זין, זן, &c., or in the reverse order.

<sup>2</sup> In Hebrew they are comparatively rare, but more numerous in the other Semitic languages, especially in Ethiopic.

to be *hot*. Cf. Aram. עָרַל to *roll*, expanded from עָל (conjugation Pa'el, corresponding to the Hebrew P'el). In Latin there is a similar expansion of *fid*, *scid*, *tud*, *jug* into *findo*, *scindo*, *tundo*, *jungo*. At the end of words the commonest expansion is by means of ל and ן, e.g. גִּרְוֹן *axe*, בְּרִמְלָה *garden-land* (from בְּרִמָּה), קֶרֶן *corolla* (קֶרֶן *cup*); cf. § 85, xi.

Rem. on (b). Forms such as צִפְּרִיץ *frog*, חֲבַצֶּלֶת *meadow-saffron*, צֶלֶמֶת *shadow* *r* of death,<sup>1</sup> were long regarded as compounds, though the explanation of them all was uncertain. Many words of this class, which earlier scholars attempted to explain from Hebrew sources, have since proved to be *loan-words* (§ 1 i), and consequently need no longer be taken into account.

4. A special class of formations, distinct from the fully developed *s* stems of three or four consonants, are (a) the *Interjections* (§ 105), which, as being direct imitations of natural sounds, are independent of the ordinary formative laws; (b) the *Pronouns*. Whether these are to be regarded as the mutilated remains of early developed stems, or as relics of a period of language when the formation of stems followed different laws, must remain undecided. At all events, the many peculiarities of their formation<sup>2</sup> require special treatment (§ 32 ff.). On the other hand, most of the particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) seem to have arisen in Hebrew from fully developed stems, although in many instances, in consequence of extreme shortening, the underlying stem is no longer recognizable (see § 99 ff.).

### § 31. Grammatical Structure.

P. Dörwald, 'Die Formenbildungsgesetze des Hebr.' (*Hilfsbuch für Lehrer des Hebr.*), Berlin, 1897, is recommended for occasional reference.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems (derivation), *a* and their inflexion, are effected in two ways: (a) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels: (b) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after it. The expression of grammatical relations (e.g. the comparative degree and some case-relations in Hebrew) periphrastically by means of separate words belongs, not to etymology, but to syntax.

The external method (b) of formation, by affixing formative syllables, *b* which occurs e.g. in Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient. Yet other families of language, and particularly the Semitic, at a very early period had recourse also to the internal method, and during their youthful vigour widely developed their power of forming derivatives. But the continuous decay of this power in the later periods of language made syntactical circumlocution more and more necessary. The same process may be seen also e.g. in Greek (including modern Greek), and in Latin with its Romance offshoots.

<sup>1</sup> So expressly Nöldeke in *ZAW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.; but most probably it is to be read צֶלֶמֶת *darkness* from the stem צָלַם [Arab. *zalima*, to be dark].

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hupfeld, 'System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung,' in the *Ztschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. ii. pp. 124 ff., 427 ff.

c 2. Both methods of formation exist together in Hebrew. The internal mode of formation by means of vowel changes is tolerably extensive (קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל, &c.). This is accompanied in numerous cases by external formation also (הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל, &c.), and even these formative additions again are subject to internal change, e.g. הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, chiefly in the formation of the persons of the verb, where the meaning of the affixed syllables is for the most part still perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47). It is also employed to distinguish gender and number in the verb and noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, only scanty traces remain in Hebrew (see § 90).

## CHAPTER I

### THE PRONOUN

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 98 ff.; *Grundriss*, i. 296 ff. L. Reinisch, 'Das persönl. Fürwort u. die Verbalflexion in den chamito-semit. Sprachen' (*Wiener Akad. der Wiss.*, 1909).

#### § 32. *The Personal Pronoun. The Separate Pronoun.*

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronoun generally) belongs *a* to the oldest and simplest elements of the language (§ 30 s). It must be discussed *before* the verb, since it plays an important part in verbal inflexion (§§ 44, 47).

2. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun serve *b* (like the Gk. *ἐγώ, σὺ*, Lat. *ego, tu*, and their plurals) almost exclusively to emphasize the nominative-subject (see, however, § 135 d). They are as follows:

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. Com. אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי; } I. אני, in pause אני	1. Com. אֲנַחְנוּ, in pause אֲנַחְנוּ } we. (אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי), (אנו)
2. { m. אַתָּה (את), in pause אָתָּה or אַתָּה f. אַתְּ (אתְּ) properly אַתְּ, } thou. in pause אַתְּ	2. { m. אַתָּם f. אַתְּנָה (אתְּנָה); אַתָּן (אתְּן) } ye.
3. { m. הוּא he (it). f. הִיא she (it).	3. { m. הֵם (הֵם), הֵנּוּ f. הֵנָּה after prefixes הֵן, הֵן } they.

The forms enclosed in parentheses are the less common. A table of these pronouns with their shortened forms (*pronominal suffixes*) is given in Paradigm A at the end of this Grammar.

#### REMARKS.

##### I. *First Person.*

1. The form אֲנִי is less frequent than אני.<sup>1</sup> The former occurs in C

<sup>1</sup> On the prevalence of אֲנִי in the earlier Books compare the statistics collected by Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 251 ff., partly contested by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, 1882, vol. xi. p. 222 ff. (but cf. his *Introduction*, ed. 6, p. 135, line 1 f.), but thoroughly established by König in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, pp. 464 ff. and 478, and in his *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 168, &c. In some of the latest books אֲנִי is not found at all, and hardly at all in the Talmud. [For details see the Lexicon, s. v. אני and אֲנִי.]

Phoenician, Moabite, and Assyrian, but in no other of the kindred dialects;<sup>1</sup> from the latter the suffixes are derived (§ 33). The *ô* most probably results from an obscuring of an original *â* (cf. Aram. אָנִי, Arab. 'ána). The pausal form אָנִי occurs not only with small disjunctive accents, but even with conjunctives; so always in אָנִי וְ as *I live!* also Is 49<sup>18</sup> with Munah, ψ 119<sup>123</sup> with Merkha (which, however, has been altered from D<sup>e</sup>hi), and twice in Mal 1<sup>6</sup>. In all these cases there is manifestly a disagreement between the vocalization already established and the special laws regulating the system of accentuation.

d 2. The formation of the plural, in this and the other persons, exhibits a certain analogy with that of the noun, while at the same time (like the pronouns of other languages) it is characterized by many differences and peculiarities. The short form אָנִי (אָנִי) from which the suffix is derived occurs only in Jer 42<sup>6</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>thibh*. The form אָנִי (cf. § 19 *h*) only in Ex 16<sup>7,8</sup>, Nu 33<sup>2</sup>, La 3<sup>42</sup>; אָנִי in *pause*, Gn 42<sup>11</sup>; in Arabic *nāhnu* is the regular form. In the Mišna אָנִי (אָנִי) has altogether supplanted the longer forms.

e 3. The pronoun of the 1st person only is, as a rule in languages, of the *common gender*, because the person who is present and speaking needs no further indication of gender, as does the 2nd person, who is addressed (in Greek, Latin, English, &c., this distinction is also lacking), and still more the 3rd person who is absent.

## II. Second Person.

f 4. The forms of the 2nd person אָתָּה, אָתָּה, אָתָּה, אָתָּה, &c., are contracted from 'antā, &c. The kindred languages have retained the *n* before the ת, e.g. Arab. 'antā, fem. 'anti, thou; pl. 'antum, fem. 'antūna, ye. In Syriac אָתָּה, fem. אָתָּה are written, but both are pronounced 'at. In Western Aramaic אָתָּה is usual for both genders.

g אָתָּה (without ה) occurs five times, e.g. ψ 64, always as *K<sup>e</sup>thibh*, with אָתָּה as *Q<sup>e</sup>rē*. In three places אָתָּה appears as a masculine, Nu 11<sup>15</sup>, Dt 5<sup>24</sup>, Ez 28<sup>14</sup>.

h The feminine form was originally אָתָּה as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is found seven times as *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* (Ju 17<sup>2</sup>, I K 14<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>18,28</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, Jer 4<sup>30</sup>, Ez 36<sup>13</sup>) and appears also in the corresponding personal ending of verbs (see § 44 *f*), especially, and necessarily, before suffixes, as אָתָּה אָתָּה, § 59 *a* [*e*]; cf. also *i* as the ending of the 2nd fem. sing. of the imperative and imperfect. The final *i* was, however, gradually dropped in pronunciation, just as in Syriac (see above, *f*) it was eventually only written, not pronounced. The ' therefore finally disappeared (cf. § 10 *h*), and hence the Masoretes, even in these seven passages, have pointed the word in the text as אָתָּה to indicate the *Q<sup>e</sup>rē* אָתָּה (see § 17). The same final ' appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix אָתָּה, אָתָּה (§§ 58, 91).

i 5. The plurals אָתָּה (with the second vowel assimilated to the fem. form) and אָתָּה (אָתָּה), with the tone on the ultima, only partially correspond to the assumed ground-forms 'antumū, fem. 'antinnā, Arab. 'antum (Aram. אָתָּה, אָתָּה) and 'antūna (Aram. אָתָּה, אָתָּה). The form אָתָּה is found only in Ez 34<sup>31</sup> (so Qimhī expressly, others אָתָּה); אָתָּה (for which some MSS. have

<sup>1</sup> In Phoenician and Moabite (inscription of Mēša', line 1) it is written אָנִי, without the final '\_. In Punic it was pronounced *anec* (Plaut. *Poen.* 5, 1, 8) or *anekh* (5, 2, 35). Cf. Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, p. 143. In Assyrian the corresponding form is *anaku*, in old Egyptian *anek*, Coptic *anok*, *nok*.

אֲנִי only four times, viz. Gn 31<sup>6</sup>, Ez 13<sup>11.20</sup>, 34<sup>17</sup>; in 13<sup>20</sup> אֲנִי (before a מ) is even used as feminine.

### III. Third Person.

6. (a) In הוּא and הִיא (*hū* and *hī*) the א (corresponding to the 'Elif of pro-*k* longation in Arabic, cf. § 23 *i*) might be regarded only as an orthographic addition closing the final long vowel, as in לוֹא, לָא, &c. The א is, however, always written in the case of the separate pronouns,<sup>1</sup> and only as a toneless suffix (§ 33 *a*) does הוּא appear as הוּ, while הִיא becomes הִי. In Arabic (as in Syriac) they are written הוּ and הִי but pronounced *hūwā* and *hīyā*, and in Vulgar Arabic even *hūwva* and *hīyya*. This Arabic pronunciation alone would not indeed be decisive, since the vowel complement might have arisen from the more consonantal pronunciation of the ו and י; but the Ethiopic *we'etū* (= *hu'a-tū*) for הוּא, *ye'etū* (= *hi'a-tū*) for הִיא (cf. also the Assyrian *ya-u-a* for הוּא) show that the א was original and indicated an original vocalic termination of the two words. According to Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxviii. 172 and xxix. 371 ff.) הוּא arose from a primitive Semitic *ha-ra*, אִי from *ha-ya*.

(b) The form הוּא also stands in the consonantal text (*K<sup>e</sup>thibh*) of the Pentateuch<sup>2</sup> (with the exception of eleven places) for the *fem.* הִיא. In all such cases the Masora, by the punctuation הוּא, has indicated the *Q<sup>e</sup>rē* הִיא (*Q<sup>e</sup>rē perpetuum*, see § 17). The old explanation regarded this phenomenon as an archaism which was incorrectly removed by the Masoretes. This assumption is, however, clearly untenable, if we consider (1) that no other Semitic language is without the quite indispensable distinction of gender in the separate pronoun of the 3rd pers.; (2) that this distinction does occur eleven times in the Pentateuch, and that in Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, 38<sup>26</sup>, Nu 5<sup>13.14</sup> הוּא and אִי are found close to one another; (3) that outside the Pentateuch the distinction is found in the oldest documents, so that the הִיא cannot be regarded as having been subsequently adopted from the Aramaic; (4) that those parts of the book of Joshua which certainly formed a constituent part of the original sources of the Pentateuch, know nothing of this epicene use of הוּא. Consequently there only remains the hypothesis, that the writing of הוּא for הִיא rests on an orthographical peculiarity which in some recension of the Pentateuch-text was almost consistently followed, but was afterwards very properly rejected by the Masoretes. The orthography was, however, peculiar to the Pentateuch-text alone, since it is unnecessary to follow the Masora in writing הִיא for הוּא in 1 K 17<sup>16</sup>, Is 30<sup>33</sup>, Jb 31<sup>11</sup>, or הוּא for הִיא in ψ 73<sup>16</sup>, Ec 5<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>16</sup>. The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch has the correct form in the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* throughout. Levy's explanation of this strange practice of the Masoretes is evidently right, viz. that originally אִי was written for both forms (see *k*, note), and was almost everywhere, irrespective of gender, expanded into הוּא. On the whole question see Driver, *Leviticus* (in *Haupt's Bible*), p. 25 f. In the text Driver always reads אִי.

7. The plural forms הֵם (הִמָּה) and הֵנָּה (after *prefixes* הֵן, הֵן) are of doubtful origin, but הֵם, הִמָּה, have probably been assimilated to הֵנָּה which goes back to a form *hinnā*. In Western Aram. הֵמון, הֵמוֹ (הֵמון), Syr. *hemūn*

<sup>1</sup> In the inscription of King Mēša' (see § 2 *d*), lines 6 and 27, we find אִי for הוּא, and in the inscription of 'Ešmun'azar, line 22, for הִיא, but in the Zenzirli inscriptions (see § 1 *m*) both אִי and הוּ occur (Hadad i, l. 29).

<sup>2</sup> Also in twelve places in the Babylonian Codex (Prophets) of 916 A. D.; cf. Baer, *Ezekiel*, p. 108 f.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (Edinb. 1892), p. 240.

(*'enûn*), Arab. *himû* (archaic form of *hum*), and Ethiop. *hômû*, an *ô* or *û* is appended, which in Hebrew seems to reappear in the poetical suffixes מֹנֶה, מֹנֶה, מֹנֶה (§ 91 l, 3).

- n In some passages הִנֵּה stands for the feminine (Zc 5<sup>10</sup>, Ct 6<sup>8</sup>, Ru 1<sup>22</sup>; cf. the use of the suffix of the 3rd masc. for the 3rd fem., § 135 o and § 145 t). For the quite anomalous עֲרִיכֶם 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> read עֲרִיכֶם (Jb 32<sup>12</sup>).
- O 8. The pronouns of the 3rd person may refer to *things* as well as persons. On their meaning as *demonstratives* see § 136.

### § 33. Pronominal Suffixes.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 100 f.; *Grundriss*, i. 306 ff. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsemit.', in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1901, p. 193 ff.

- a 1. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronoun*), given in the preceding section, express only the nominative.<sup>1</sup> The accusative and genitive are expressed by forms, usually shorter, joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*pronominal suffixes* or simply *suffixes*); e. g. הוּ (toneless) and י (from *āhû*) *eum* and *eius*, קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him* (also קָטַלְתִּיו, קָטַלְתָּהוּ or (with *āhû* contracted into *ô*) קָטַלְתָּו *thou hast killed him*; אֹרְי (also אֹרְי) *lux eius*.

The same method is employed in all the other Semitic languages, as well as in the Egyptian, Persian, Finnish, Tartar, and others; in Greek, Latin, and German we find only slight traces of the kind, e. g. German, *er gab's* for *er gab es*; Greek, *πατήρ μου* for *πατὴρ ἐμοῦ*; Latin, *ecce eum*, *ecce eos*, &c., in Plautus and Terence for *ecce eum*, *ecce eos*.

- b 2. The case which these suffixes represent is—

(a) When joined to verbs, the accusative (cf., however, § 117 x), e. g. קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him*.

- c (b) When affixed to substantives, the genitive (like *πατήρ μου*, *pater eius*). They then serve as *possessive pronouns*, e. g. אָבִי (*'ābh-i*) *my father*, סוּסִי *his horse*, which may be either *equus eius* or *equus suus*.

- d (c) When joined to particles, either the genitive or accusative, according as the particles originally expressed the idea of a noun or a verb, e. g. בֵּינִי, literally *interstitium mei*, *between me* (cf. *mea causa*); but הִנֵּנִי *behold me*, *ecce me*.

- e (d) Where, according to the Indo-Germanic case-system, the dative or ablative of the pronoun is required, the suffixes in Hebrew are joined to prepositions expressing those cases (ל sign of the dative, בּ *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), e. g. לוֹ *to him (ei)* and *to himself (sibi)*, בוֹ *in him*, מִנִּי (usually מִמֶּנִּי) *from me*.

<sup>1</sup> On apparent exceptions see § 135 d.

3. The suffixes of the 2nd person (ךָ, &c.) are all formed with *f* a *k*-sound, not, like the *separate* pronouns of the 2nd person, with a *t*-sound.

So in all the Semitic languages, in Ethiopic even in the verbal form (*gatalka, thou hast killed* = Hebr. הָלַכְתָּ).

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative) and the *suffix of the noun* (the *g* genitive) coincide in most forms, but some differ, e. g. יָ— *me*, מִ— *my*.

Paradigm A at the end of the Grammar gives a table of all the forms of the *separate pronoun* and the *suffixes*; a fuller treatment of the *verbal suffix* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in § 58 ff., of the *noun-suffix* in § 91, of the *prepositions with suffixes* in § 103, of *adverbs with suffixes* § 100 o.

### § 34. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

1. Sing. { *m.* הַזֶּה <sup>1</sup> } *Plur. com.* אֵלֶּה (rarely אֵלָּה) *these. a*  
           { *f.* הַזֹּאת (הִיא, הִיא) <sup>2</sup> } *this.*

Rem. 1. The feminine form הַזֹּאת has undoubtedly arisen from הַזֹּאת, by *b* obscuring of an original *ā* to *ô* (for הִיא = הִיא cf. the Arab. *hā-dā, this, masc.*; for *ת* as the feminine ending, § 80), and the forms הִיא, הִיא, both of which are rare,<sup>3</sup> are shortened from הַזֹּאת. In ψ 132<sup>12</sup> הִיא is used as a *relative*, cf. הִיא below. In Jer 26<sup>6</sup>, *Kethibh*, הַזֹּאתָ (with the article and the demonstrative termination הַ) is found for הַזֹּאת. The forms אֵלֶּה and אֵלָּה are the plurals of הִיא and הַזֹּאת by usage, though not etymologically. The form אֵלָּה occurs only in the Pentateuch (but not in the Samaritan text), Gn 19<sup>8,25</sup>, 26<sup>8,4</sup>, &c. (8 times), always with the article, הָאֵלֶּה [as well as הָאֵלָּה, הָאֵלָּה frequently], and in 1 Ch 26<sup>8</sup> without the article [cf. Driver on Dt 4<sup>42</sup>].<sup>4</sup> Both the singular and the plural may refer to things as well as persons.

2. In combination with prepositions to denote the oblique case we find הִיא <sup>c</sup> to *this* (cf. for הִיא, § 102 g), לְהַזֹּאת, לְהַזֹּאת to *this* (fem.), לְהַזֹּאת, לְהַזֹּאת to *these*; הִיא, הִיא hunc, הִיא, הִיא hanc, הִיא, הִיא hos, also without הִיא, even before the verb ψ 75<sup>8</sup>, &c. Note also הִיא מִיָּהּ pretium huius (1 K 21<sup>2</sup>), &c.

<sup>1</sup> In many languages the demonstratives begin with a *d*-sound (hence called the *demonstrative sound*) which, however, sometimes interchanges with a sibilant. Cf. Aram. הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה masc., הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה fem. (this); Sansk. *sa, sā, tat*; Gothic *sa, sô, thata*; Germ. *da, der, die, das*; and Eng. *the, this, that*, &c. Cf. J. Barth, 'Zum semit. Demonstr. d.', in ZDMG. 59, 159 ff., and 633 ff.; Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen zum Semit., Lpz. 1907, p. 30 ff. [See the Lexicon, s. v. הִיא, and Aram. הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה.]

<sup>2</sup> That הִיא may stand for the feminine, cannot be proved either from Ju 16<sup>28</sup> or from the certainly corrupt passage in Jos 2<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> הִיא 2 K 6<sup>18</sup>, and in seven other places; הִיא only in Hos 7<sup>16</sup>, ψ 132<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> According to Kuenen (cf. above, § 2 n) and Driver, on Lev 18<sup>27</sup> in Haupt's Bible, this אֵלָּה is due to an error of the punctuators. It goes back to a time when the vowel of the second syllable was not yet indicated by a vowel letter, and later copyists wrongly omitted the addition of the ה. In Phoenician also it was written אֵלָּה, but pronounced *ily* according to Plautus, *Poen.* v, 1, 9.

*d* 2. The secondary form וי occurs only in poetic style, and mostly for the relative, like our *that* for *who* [see Lexicon, s. v.]. Like אֲשֶׁר (§ 36), it serves for all numbers and genders.

*e* Rem. 1. This pronoun takes the article (הַ) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126 u; e. g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*, but הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this is the man*.

*f* 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are הֵלֵךְ Gn 24<sup>65</sup>, 37<sup>19</sup>; הֵלֵךְ *fem.* Ez 36<sup>36</sup>; and shortened הֵלֵךְ, sometimes *masc.*, as in Ju 6<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>76</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>17</sup>, Zc 2<sup>8</sup>, Dn 8<sup>16</sup>, sometimes *fem.*, 2 K 4<sup>25</sup>: cf. 1 S 14<sup>1</sup> [and 20<sup>19</sup> LXX; see Commentaries and Kittel].

*g* 3. The personal pronouns of the 3rd person also often have a demonstrative sense, see § 136.

### § 35. The Article.

J. Barth, 'Der heb. u. der aram. Artikel,' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuch. zum Semit.*, Lpz. 1907, p. 47 ff.

*a* 1. The article, which is by nature a kind of demonstrative pronoun, never appears in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connexion with the word which is defined by it. It usually takes the form ה־, with *ā* and a strengthening of the next consonant, e. g. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הַיָּאֵר *the river*, הַלְוִיִּים *the Levites* (according to § 20 m for הַיָּאֵר, הַלְוִיִּים).

*b* Rem. With regard to the *Dageš* in ה־ after the article, the rule is, that it is inserted when a ה or ו follows the ה־, e. g. הַיְהוּדִים *the Jews*, הַיְעִיפִים *the weary* (פְּיִינִים La 4<sup>3</sup> *Qerē* is an exception), but הַיָּאֵר, הַיְלָדִים, הַיְסוּד, &c. *Dageš forte* also stands after the article in the prefix ה־ in certain nouns and in the participles *Piel* and *Pual* (see § 52 c) before ה, ו and ר, except when the guttural (or ר) has under it a short vowel in a sharpened syllable; thus הַמְּהוּמָה Ez 22<sup>6</sup>, הַמְּעֵרָה *the cave*, הַמְּרַעִים ψ 37<sup>1</sup> (cf. Jb 38<sup>40</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>11</sup>); but הַמְּהוּלָה ψ 104<sup>3</sup> (Ec 4<sup>15</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>12</sup>; before ו ψ 103<sup>4</sup>); הַמְּעֵטָה Is 23<sup>12</sup>; הַמְּרַנְּלִים Jos 6<sup>22</sup>. Before letters other than gutturals this ה־ remains without *Dageš*, according to § 20 m.

*c* 2. When the article stands before a guttural, which (according to § 22 b) cannot properly be strengthened, the following cases arise, according to the character of the guttural (cf. § 27 g).

(1) In the case of the weakest guttural, א, and also with ר (§ 22 c and g), the strengthening is altogether omitted. Consequently, the *Pathah* of the article (since it stands in an open syllable) is always lengthened to *Qames*; e. g. הָאָב *the father*, הָאֲחֵר *the other*, הָאִם *the mother*, הָאִישׁ *the man*, הָאוֹר *the light*, הָאֱלֹהִים ὁ θεός, הָרֵגֶל *the foot*, הָרֹאשׁ *the head*, הָרָשָׁע *the wicked*.

*d* So also הַשְּׂפֹת Neh 3<sup>18</sup>, because syncopated from הַשְּׂפֹת (cf. verse 14 and Baer on the passage); הָאֲנָקִים (as in Nu 11<sup>4</sup>, Ju 9<sup>41</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>33</sup>, with the א

orthographically retained), for הָאֵל Jer 40<sup>4</sup> (cf. בְּאֵל verse 1); הַסִּירִים Ec 4<sup>14</sup> for הָאֵסִים; הַרְמִיִּים 2 Ch 22<sup>5</sup> for הָאֲרִי (cf. 2 K 8<sup>28</sup>).

(2) In the case of the other gutturals either the virtual strengthening-*e* ing takes place (§ 22 c)—especially with the stronger sounds ה and ה, less often with ע—or the strengthening is wholly omitted. In the former case, the *Pathah* of the article remains, because the syllable is still regarded as closed; in the second case, the *Pathah* is either modified to *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* or fully lengthened to *Qames*. That is to say:—

A. When the guttural has any other vowel than *ā* (ֶ) or *ô* (ֹ). *f* then

(1) before the stronger sounds ה and ה the article regularly remains ה; e.g. הָהוּא *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֵיל *the force*, הַחֲכָמָה *the wisdom*. Before ה, *ā* occurs only in הָיִי Gn 6<sup>19</sup> [not elsewhere], הַחֲרִיטִים Is 3<sup>22</sup>, הַחֲפָנִים Is 17<sup>8</sup> [not elsewhere]; before ה, always in הָהֵמָּה הֵם.

(2) before ע the *Pathah* is generally lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. הָעַיִן *the eye*, הָעִיר *the city*, הָעֶבֶר *the servant*, plur. הָעֶבְרִים; 1 K 12<sup>32</sup>; also in Gn 10<sup>17</sup> הָעֵרֶקִי is the better reading. Exceptions are פְּעוֹפֹרֶת Ex 15<sup>10</sup>, הָעוֹרִים 2 S 5<sup>6,8</sup>, Is 42<sup>18</sup>, בְּעֶבֶר Is 24<sup>2</sup>, הָעֶרְבִים Is 65<sup>11</sup>, בְּעֶשֶׂק Ez 22<sup>7</sup>, הָעוֹרִים Pr 2<sup>13</sup> and הָעֶבֶת Pr 2<sup>17</sup>, לְעִינִים 1 S 16<sup>7</sup>, Ec 11<sup>7</sup>; but לְעִיִּי Gn 3<sup>6</sup>, Pr 10<sup>26</sup>. Cf. Baer on Is 42<sup>18</sup>.

B. When the guttural has *ā* (ֶ) then

*h*

(1) immediately before a tone-bearing ה or ע the article is always ה, otherwise it is ה; e.g. הָעָם *the people*, הַהָר *the mountain*, הָעַיִן (in pause) *the eye*, הָהָר towards the mountain; but (according to § 22 c) הָהָרִים *the mountains*, הָעַוִּן *the iniquity*.

(2) before ה the article is invariably ה without regard to the tone; *i* e.g. הָחָכֵם *the wise man*, הַחֲגִיגָה *the festival*.

C. When the guttural has ֹ the article is ה before ה; e.g. הַחֲרָשִׁים *the months*; בְּחֲרָבוֹת in the waste places (without the article בְּחָרָב *bôh<sup>o</sup>rābhôth*) Ez 33<sup>27</sup>, הַחֲרָבוֹת Ez 36<sup>35,38</sup>, cf. 2 Ch 27<sup>4</sup>; but ה before ע, as הָעֵמֶרֶם *the sheaves* Ru 2<sup>15</sup>.

The gender and number of the noun have no influence on the form of the article.

Rem. 1. The original form of the Hebrew (and the Phoenician) article הֵּ is generally considered to have been הֵּל, the ל of which (owing to the proclitic nature of the article) has been invariably assimilated to the following consonant, as in יֵלָה from *yilqah*, § 19 d. This view was supported by the form of the Arabic article هَل (pronounced *hal* by some modern Beduin), the ل of which is also assimilated at least before all letters like *s* and *t* and before *l*, *n*, and *r*, e.g. 'al-Qur'ân but 'as-sânâ (Beduin *has-sana*) = Hebr. הַשָּׁנָה *the year*.

But Barth (*Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1896, p. 7 ff.), following Hupfeld and Stade, has shown that the Hebrew article is to be connected rather with the original Semitic demonstrative *hā*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Arab. *hāda*, Aram. *hādēn*, &c. The sharpening of the following consonant is to be explained exactly like the sharpening after ׀ consecutive (§ 49 f; cf. also cases like בָּמֶה, בָּמָה, &c., § 102 k), from the close connexion of the *ha* with the following word, and the sharpening necessarily involved the shortening of the vowel.<sup>2</sup>

*m* The Arabic article is supposed to occur in the Old Testament in אֱלֹהִים 1 K 10<sup>11,12</sup> (also אֱלֹהִים 2 Ch 27, 9<sup>10,11</sup>), sandal-wood (?), and in אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּם hail, ice = נֶבִישׁ (Arab. *gibs*) Ez 13<sup>11,13</sup>, 38<sup>22</sup>, but this explanation can hardly be correct. On the other hand, in the proper name אֱלֹהֵי מִדְבָּר Gn 10<sup>26</sup> the first syllable is probably אֱלֹ God, as suggested by D. H. Müller (see *Lexicon*, s. v.) and Nöldeke, *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1882, p. 1186. אֱלֹקִים Pr 30<sup>31</sup>, commonly explained as = Arab. *al-qaum*, the militia, is also quite uncertain.

*n* 2. When the prefixes ה, ל, ב ( § 102) come before the article, the ה is elided, and its vowel is thrown back to the prefix, in the place of the Š-wā (§ 19 k, and § 23 k), e. g. בַּשָּׁמַיִם in the heaven for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם (so ψ 36<sup>6</sup>); לָעָם for לְהָעָם to the people, בְּהָרִים on the mountains, בְּחֻדָּשִׁים in the months; also in Is 41<sup>2</sup>, read בְּעֶפֶר instead of the impossible בְּעָפֶר. Exceptions to this rule occur almost exclusively in the later Books: Ez 40<sup>25</sup>, 47<sup>22</sup>, Ec 8<sup>1</sup>, Dn 8<sup>16</sup>, Neh 9<sup>19</sup>, 12<sup>31</sup>, 2 Ch 10<sup>7</sup>, 25<sup>10</sup>, 29<sup>27</sup>; cf., however, 1 S 13<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>20</sup>. Elsewhere, e. g. 2 K 7<sup>12</sup>, the Masora requires the elision in the Q<sup>re</sup>. A distinction in meaning is observed between בְּהִיּוֹם about this time (Gn 39<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>13</sup>, &c.) and בְּיוֹם first of all (Gn 25<sup>31</sup>, &c.). After the copula ו (and) elision of the ה does not take place, e. g. וְהָעָם.

*o* 3. The words אֶרֶץ earth, הָר mountain, חַג feast, עַם people, פָּר bull, always appear after the article with a long vowel (as in pause); הָאָרֶץ, הָהָר, הַחַג, הָעָם, הָפָר; cf. also אֶרֶן ark (so in the absol. st. in 2 K 12<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 24<sup>8</sup>, but to be read אֶרֶן), with the article always הָאֶרֶן.

### § 36. The Relative Pronoun.

The relative pronoun (cf. § 138) is usually the indeclinable אֲשֶׁר (*who, which, &c.*), originally a demonstrative pronoun; see further §§ 138 and 155. In the later books, especially Eccles. and the late Psalms, also Lam. (4 times), Jon. (1<sup>7</sup>), Chron. (twice), Ezra (once),—and always in the Canticle (cf. also Ju 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>11</sup>), אֲשֶׁ is used instead; more rarely אֲשֶׁ Ju 5<sup>7</sup>, Ct 1<sup>7</sup> (Jb 19<sup>29</sup>?); once אֲשֶׁ before א Ju 6<sup>17</sup> (elsewhere אֲשֶׁ before a guttural), before ה even אֲשֶׁ Ec 3<sup>18</sup>, and according to some (e. g. Qimhi) also in Ec 2<sup>22</sup>.<sup>3</sup> [See *Lexicon*, s. v.]

<sup>1</sup> An original form *han*, proposed by Ungnad, 'Der hebr. Art.' in *OLZ.* x (1907), col. 210 f., and *ZDMG.* 1908, p. 80 ff., is open to grave objections.

<sup>2</sup> In the Libyanitic inscriptions collected by Euting (ed. by D. H. Müller in *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, Wien, 1889) the article is ה, and also in a North Arabian dialect, according to E. Littmann, *Safa-inschriften*, p. 2, Rem., and p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> The full form אֲשֶׁר does not occur in Phoenician, but only אֲשֶׁ (= אֲשֶׁ?), pronounced *asse, esse* (also *as, es, is, ys, us*), or—especially in the later Punic

§ 37. *The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.*

1. The interrogative pronoun is **מִי** *who?* (of persons, even before *a* plurals, Gn 33<sup>5</sup>, Is 60<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 18<sup>35</sup>, and sometimes also of things Gn 33<sup>8</sup>, Ju 13<sup>17</sup>, Mi 1<sup>5</sup>; cf. also **בִּתְּמִי** *whose daughter?* Gn 24<sup>23</sup>; **לְמִי** *to whom?* **מִי־אֵת** *whom?*)—**מָה**, **מַה** (see *b*) *what?* (of things).—**מַה־זֶּה** *which? what?*

The form **מָה**, **מַה**, &c. (followed by *Dageš forte conjunct.*: even in **י**, Hb 2<sup>1</sup>, &c., *b* against § 20 *m*) may be explained (like the art. **הַ** § 35 *l*, and **וְ** in the *imperf. consec.*) from the rapid utterance of the interrogative in connexion with the following word. Most probably, however, the *Dageš forte* is rather due to the assimilation of an originally audible **מ** (**מָה**, as Olshausen), which goes back through the intermediate forms *math*, *mat* to an original *mant*: so W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 124, partly following Böttcher, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 261. A ground-form *mant* would most easily explain **מִן** (*what?*), used in Ex 16<sup>15</sup> in explanation of **מִן** *manna*, while **מִן** is the regular Aramaic for *who*. Socin calls attention to the Arabic *mah* (in pause with an audible *h*: *Mufaṣṣal*, 193, 8). Observe further that—

(*a*) In the closest connexion, by means of *Maqqeph*, **מָה־** takes a following *c* *Dageš* (§ 20 *d*), e.g. **מָה־לָּךְ** *what is it to thee?* and even in one word, as **מִלְכֶּם** *what is it to you?* Is 3<sup>15</sup>; cf. Ex 4<sup>2</sup>, Mal 1<sup>13</sup>, and even before a guttural, **מָה־ם** Ez 8<sup>6</sup> *Kethibh*.

(*b*) Before gutturals in close connexion, by means of *Maqqeph* or (e.g. Ju 14<sup>14</sup>, *d* 1 S 20<sup>1</sup>) a conjunctive accent, either **מָה** is used with a virtual strengthening of the guttural (§ 22 *c*), so especially before **הַ**, and, in Gn 31<sup>36</sup>, Jb 21<sup>21</sup>, before **וְ**—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either (cf. § 35 *e-k*) *ā* is fully lengthened to *Qames* (so always before the **הַ** of the article, except in Ec 2<sup>12</sup>; also before **הָמָה**, **הֵמָּה**, and so **הַ** (Hb 2<sup>18</sup>), **אֵ** (2 S 18<sup>22</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>14</sup>), **עַ** (Gn 31<sup>22</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>13</sup>), or modified to *Séghôl*, especially before **עַ**, **הַ**, and generally before **הַ**. The omission of the strengthening also takes place as a rule with **הַ**, **וְ**, **עַ**, when they have not *Qames*, and then the form is either **מָה** or **מַה**, the latter especially before **הַ** or **עַ**, if *Maqqeph* follows.

The longer forms **מָה־** and **מַה־** are also used (**מָה־** even before letters which *e* are not gutturals) when not connected by *Maqqeph* but only by a conjunctive accent. As a rule **מָה־** is then used, but sometimes **מַה־** when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, Is 1<sup>5</sup>, **מַה־** 4<sup>3</sup>. (On **מָה־** in the combinations **בְּמָה**, **בְּמָה־**, and even **לְמָה־**, 1 S 1<sup>8</sup>, cf. § 102 *k* and *l*.)

(*c*) In the principal pause **מָה** is used without exception; also as a rule *f* with the smaller *disjunctives*, and almost always before gutturals (**מָה־** only in very few cases). On the other hand, **מַה־** more often stands before letters which are not gutturals, when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, e.g. 1 S 4<sup>9</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 2 K 1<sup>7</sup>, Hag 1<sup>9</sup> (see Köhler on the passage), **מַה־** 10<sup>13</sup>, Jb 7<sup>21</sup>; cf., however, Pr 31<sup>2</sup>, and Delitzsch on the passage.

2. On **מִי** and **מַה** as indefinite pronouns in the sense of *quicumque*, *g quodcunque*, and as relatives, *is qui, id quod*, &c., see § 137 *c*.

and in the *Poenulus* of Plautus—**ש** (*sa, si, sy, su*). Also in New Hebrew **שׁ** has become the common form. Cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 162 ff. and below, § 155; also Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix שׁ,' in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.

## CHAPTER II

### THE VERB

#### § 38. General View.

*a* Verbal stems are either original or derived. They are usually divided into—

(*a*) Verbal stems proper (*primitive verbs*), which exhibit the stem without any addition, e.g. מָלַךְ *he has reigned*.

*b* (*b*) Verbal derivatives, i.e. secondary verbal stems, derived from the pure stem (letter *a*), e.g. קִדְּשׁ *to sanctify*, הִתְקַדְּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*, from קָדַשׁ *to be holy*. These are usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).

*c* (*c*) Denominatives,<sup>1</sup> i.e. verbs derived from nouns (like the Latin *causari*, *praedari*, and Eng. *to skin*, *to stone*), or even from particles (see *d*, end) either in a primitive or derivative form, e.g. אָהַל, *Qal* and *Pi'el*, *to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ and שָׁרֵשׁ *to take root*, and שִׁרַּשׁ *to root out*, from שָׁרַשׁ *root* (§ 52 *h*).

*d* This does not exclude the possibility that, for nouns, from which denominative verbs are derived, the corresponding (original) verbal stem may still be found either in Hebrew or in the dialects. The meaning, however, is sufficient to show that the denominatives have come from the noun, not from the verbal stem, e.g. לָבַנָה *a brick* (verbal stem לָבַן *to be white*), denomin. לָבַן *to make bricks*; דָּג *a fish* (verbal stem דָּגַה *to be prolific*), denomin. דָּגַג *to fish*; חָרַף *to winter* (from חֹרֶף *autumn, winter*, stem חָרַף *to pluck*); קָיַן *to pass the summer* (from קֵיץ *summer*, stem קָיַץ *to be hot*).

On 'Semitic verbs derived from particles' see P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxii (1906), 257 ff.

#### § 39. Ground-form and Derived Stems.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 119 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 504 ff.

*a* 1. The 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect* in the form of the pure stem (i.e. in *Qal*, see *e*) is generally regarded, lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form of the verb (§ 30 *a*), e.g. קָטַל *he has killed*, כָּבֵד *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*.<sup>2</sup> From this form the other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denom.*, insbes. im theol. Sprachgebr. des A. T., Lpz. 1896.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of brevity, however, the meaning in Hebrew-English Lexicons is usually given in the Infinitive, e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, properly *he has learnt*.

persons of the *Perfect* are derived, and the *Participle* also is connected with it. קָטַל or קָטַל, like the Imperative and Infinitive construct in sound, may also be regarded as an alternative ground-form, with which the Imperfect (see § 47) is connected.

In verbs שָׁׁל (i.e. with ש for their second radical) the stem-form, given both *b* in Lexicon and Grammar, is not the 3rd sing. masc. Perfect (consisting of two consonants), but the form with medial ש, which appears in the Imperative and Infinitive; e. g. שׁוּב to return (3rd pers. perf. שָׁב): the same is the case in most stems with medial ש, e. g. דִּין to judge.

2. From the pure stem, or *Qal*, the derivative stems are formed *c* according to an unvarying analogy, in which the idea of the stem assumes the most varied shades of meaning, according to the changes in its form (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative, reflexive, reciprocal; some of them with corresponding passive forms), e. g. לָמַד to learn, לִמַּד to teach; שָׁב to lie, הִשָּׁב to lay; שָׁפַט to judge, נִשְׁפַּט to contend. In other languages such formations are regarded as new or *derivative verbs*, e. g. Germ. *fallen* (to fall), *fällen* (to fell); *trinken* (to drink), *tränken* (to drench); Lat. *lactere* (to suck, Germ. *saugen*), *lactare* (to suckle, Germ. *säugen*); *iacere* (to throw), *iacere* (to lie down); γίνομαι, γεννάω. In Hebrew, however, these formations are incomparably more regular and systematic than (e. g.) in Greek, Latin, or English; and, since the time of Reuchlin, they have usually been called *conjugations* of the primitive form (among the Jewish grammarians בְּנִינִים, i. e. *formations*, or more correctly *species*), and are always treated together in the grammar and lexicon.<sup>1</sup>

3. The changes in the primitive form consist either in internal *d* modification by means of vowel-change and strengthening of the middle consonant (קָטַל, קָטַל; קִיטַל, קִיטַל; cf. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell*), or in the repetition of one or two of the stem-consonants (קָטַל, קָטַטַל), or finally in the introduction of formative additions (נִקְטַל), which may also be accompanied by internal change (הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל). Cf. § 31 b.

In Aramaic the formation of the conjugations is effected more by formative additions than by vowel-change. The vocalic distinctions have mostly become obsolete, so that, e. g. the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, אִתְ, אִתְ have entirely usurped the place of the passives. On the other hand, Arabic has preserved great wealth in both methods of formation, while Hebrew in this, as in other respects, holds the middle place (§ 1 m).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these *c* conjugations. The common practice, however, of calling them by the

<sup>1</sup> The term *Conjugation* thus has an entirely different meaning in Hebrew and Greek or Latin grammar.

old grammatical terms, prevents any misunderstanding. The simple form is called *Qal* (קָל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (כִּבְדִּים *heavy*, being weighted, as it were, with the strengthening of consonants or with formative additions) take their names from the paradigm of פָּעַל *he has done*,<sup>1</sup> which was used in the earliest Jewish grammatical works. Several of these have passives which are distinguished from their actives by more obscure vowels. The common conjugations (including *Qal* and the passives) are the seven following, but very few verbs exhibit them all:

	Active.	Passive.
f	1. <i>Qal</i> קָטַל <i>to kill</i> .	(Cf. § 52 e.)
	2. <i>Niph'al</i> נִקְטַל <i>to kill oneself</i> (rarely passive).	
	3. <i>Pi'el</i> פָּקַל <i>to kill many, to massacre</i> .	4. <i>Pu'al</i> פֻּקַּל.
	5. <i>Hiph'il</i> הִקְטִיל <i>to cause to kill</i> .	6. <i>Hoph'al</i> הִקְטַל.
	7. <i>Hithpa'el</i> הִתְקַטַּל <i>to kill oneself</i> . [Very rare, <i>Hothpa'al</i> הֹתְקַטַּל.]	

g There are besides several less frequent conjugations, some of which, however, are more common in the kindred languages, and even in Hebrew (in the weak verb) regularly take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of conjugations, and their arrangement is more appropriate. According to the Arabic method, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus: 1. *Qal*; 2. *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*; 3. *Pö'el* and *Pö'al* (see § 55 b); 4. *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*; 5. *Hithpa'el* and *Hothpa'al*; 6. *Hithpö'el* (see § 55 b); 7. *Niph'al*; 8. *Hithpa'el* (see § 54 l); 9. *Pi'el* (see § 55 d). A more satisfactory division would be into three classes: (1) The intensive *Pi'el* with the derived and analogous forms *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*. (2) The causative *Hiph'il* with its passive *Hoph'al*, and the analogous forms (*Šaph'el* and *Tiph'el*). (3) The reflexive or passive *Niph'al*.

<sup>1</sup> This paradigm was borrowed from the Arabic grammarians, and, according to Bacher, probably first adopted throughout by Abulwalid. It was, however, unsuitable on account of the guttural, and was, therefore, usually exchanged in later times for פָּקַד, after the example of Moses Qimhi. This verb has the advantage, that all its conjugations are actually found in the Old Testament. On the other hand, it has the disadvantage of indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, e. g. פָּקַדָּם, פָּקַדְתָּם, פָּקַדְתָּ. The paradigm of קָטַל, commonly used since the time of Danz, avoids this defect, and is especially adapted for the comparative treatment of the Semitic dialects, inasmuch as it is found with slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קָתַל) in all of them. It is true that in Hebrew it occurs only three times in *Qal*, and even then only in poetic style (ψ 139<sup>19</sup>, Jb 13<sup>15</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>); yet it is worth retaining as a model which has been sanctioned by usage. More serious is the defect, that a number of forms of the paradigm of קָטַל leave the beginner in doubt as to whether or not there should be a *Dageš* in the *B'gadkephath* letters, and consequently as to the correct division of the syllables.

## § 40. Tenses. Moods. Flexion.

A. Ungnad, 'Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen der Verbalformen im Grundstamm des semit. Verbs,' in *ZDMG.* 59 (1905), 766 ff., and his 'Zum hebr. Verbsystem', in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* ed. by Fr. Delitzsch and P. Haupt, 1907, p. 55 ff.

1. While the Hebrew verb, owing to these derivative forms or *α* conjugations, possesses a certain richness and copiousness, it is, on the other hand, poor in the matter of *tenses* and *moods*. The verb has only two *tense*-forms (*Perfect* and *Imperfect*, see the note on § 47 a), besides an *Imperative* (but only in the active), two *Infinitives* and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms (hence a certain diversity in their meaning, § 106 ff.) or by syntactical combinations. Of moods properly so called (besides the *Imperfect Indicative* and *Imperative*), only the *Jussive* and *Optative* are sometimes indicated by express modifications of the Imperfect-form (§ 48).

2. The *inflexion* of the *Perfect*, *Imperfect*, and *Imperative* as to *b* persons, differs from that of the Western languages in having, to a great extent, distinct forms for the two genders, which correspond to the different forms of the *personal pronoun*. It is from the union of the pronoun with the verbal stem that the personal inflexions of these *tenses* arise.

The following table will serve for the beginner as a provisional C scheme of the formative syllables (*afformatives* and *preformatives*) of the two *tenses*. The three stem-consonants of the strong verb are denoted by dots. Cf. § 44 ff. and the Paradigms.

## PERFECT.

Singular.				Plural.			
3. m.	.	.	.	3. c.	יָ	.	.
3. f.	הָ	.	.				
2. m.	הָ	.	.	2. m.	הֵם	.	.
2. f.	הָ	.	.	2. f.	הֵנָּה	.	.
1. c.	הִיא	.	.	1. c.	הֵנָּה	.	.

## IMPERFECT.

Singular.				Plural.			
3. m.	.	.	.	3. m.	יָ	.	.
3. f.	.	.	תָּ	3. f.	נָהָ	.	תָּ
2. m.	.	.	תָּ	2. m.	יָ	.	תָּ
2. f.	יָ	.	תָּ	2. f.	נָהָ	.	תָּ
1. c.	.	.	נָ	1. c.	.	.	נָ

§ 41. *Variations from the Ordinary Form of the Strong Verb.*

*a* The same laws which are normally exhibited in stems with strong (unchangeable) consonants, hold good for all other verbs. Deviations from the model of the strong verb are only modifications due to the special character or weakness of certain consonants, viz. :—

(*a*) When one of the stem-consonants (or *radicals*) is a guttural. In this case, however, the variations only occur in the vocalization (according to § 22), not in the consonants. The *guttural verbs* (§§ 62–65) are, therefore, only a variety of the *strong verb*.

*b* (*b*) When a stem-consonant (*radical*) disappears by assimilation (§ 19 *b-f*), or when the stem originally consisted of only two consonants (*verbs* י"ד, ע"ע, and ו"ע, as שָׁנָה, עָלָה, קָם, §§ 66, 67, 72).

*c* (*c*) When one of the stem-consonants (*radicals*) is a weak letter. In this case, through aphaeresis, elision, &c., of the weak consonant, various important deviations from the regular form occur. Cf. § 68 ff. for these verbs, such as יָשַׁב, מָצַץ, נָלַח.

*d* Taking the old paradigm לָעַד as a model, it is usual, following the example of the Jewish grammarians, to call the first radical of any stem ד, the second ע, and the third ל. Hence the expressions, *verb* נ"ד for a verb whose first radical is נ (*primae radicalis* [sc. *literae*] נ); ו"ע for *mediae radicalis* ו; ע"ע for a verb whose second radical is repeated to form a third.

## I. The Strong Verb.

### § 42.

As the formation of the strong verb is the model also for the weak verb, a statement of the general formative laws should precede the treatment of special cases.

Paradigm B, together with the Table of the personal preformatives and affirmatives given in § 40 *c*, offers a complete survey of the normal forms. A full explanation of them is given in the following sections (§§ 43–55), where each point is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus e.g. the inflexion of the Perfect, the Imperfect and its modifications, will be found under Qal, &c.

### A. THE PURE STEM, OR QAL.

#### § 43. *Its Form and Meaning.*

*a* The common form of the 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect Qal* is קָטַל, with *ā* (*Pathah*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive* verbs (but see § 44 *c*). There is also a form with *ē* (*Sere*, originally *i*), and another with *ō* (*Holem*, originally *ū*) in the second syllable, both of which, however, have almost always an *intransitive*<sup>1</sup> meaning,

<sup>1</sup> But cf. such instances as Jer 48<sup>6</sup>. In Arabic also, transitive verbs are found with middle *i*, corresponding to Hebrew verbs with *ē* in the second

and serve to express states and qualities, e.g. קָבֵר *to be heavy*, קָטַן *to be small*.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle a*, a verb *middle ē*, and a verb *middle ō* are accordingly given side by side. The second example קָבֵר is chosen as showing, at the same time, when the *Dageš lene* is to be inserted or omitted.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal vowel, and hence *b* on it depends the distinction between the transitive and intransitive meaning. The *Qameš* of the first syllable is lengthened from an original *ā* (cf. Arabic *qātālā*), but it can be retained in Hebrew only immediately before the tone, or at the most (with an open ultima) in the counter-tone with *Metheg*; otherwise, like all the pretonic vowels (*ā, ē*), it becomes *Šwā*, e.g. קָטַלְתָּם 2nd plur. masc. In the Aramaic dialects the vowel of the first syllable is always reduced to *Šwā*, as קָטַל = Hebr. קָטַל. The intransitive forms in Arabic are *qātūlā, qātūlā*; in Hebrew (after the rejection of the final vowel) *ī* being in the tone-syllable has been regularly lengthened to *ē*, and *ū* to *ō*.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in Qal are: קָטַר *to cover with pitch*, from חָמֹר *C pitch*; קָלַח *to salt*, from מָלַח *salt*; נָשַׁבַר (usually *Hiph.*) *to buy or sell corn*, from שָׁבַר *corn*; see above, § 38 c.

#### § 44. Flexion of the Perfect of Qal.<sup>1</sup>

1. The formation of the persons of the Perfect is effected by the *a* addition of certain forms of the personal pronoun, and marks of the 3rd fem. sing. and 3rd pl. (as *affirmatives*) to the *end* of the verbal-stem, which contains the idea of a predicate, and may be regarded, in meaning if not in form, as a *Participle* or *verbal adjective*. For the 3rd pers. sing. masc. Perfect, the pronominal or subject idea inherent in the finite verb is sufficient: thus, קָטַל *he has killed*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou hast killed* (as it were, *killing thou*, or a *killer thou*), a *killer wast thou* = קָטַל אָתָּה; יָרָא *he was fearing*, יָרָא־תֶּם *ye were fearing* = יָרָא אַתֶּם. The ending of the 1st pers. plur. (נִי—) is also certainly connected with the termination of אֲנִי־נִי *we* (§ 32 b, d). The affirmative of the 1st pers. sing. (תִּי) is to be referred, by an interchange of כ and ח (cf. § 33 f), to that form of the pronoun which also underlies אֲנִי־י, I.<sup>2</sup> In the *third* person הִיא (originally חִיא, cf. below, f) is the mark of the feminine, as in a great number of nouns (§ 80 c), and י is the termination of the plural; cf., for the latter, the termination of the 3rd and 2nd pers. plur. Imperf. *ūna* in Arabic and *ū* (often also *ī*)

syllable. Hence P. Haupt (*Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1894, p. ci f.) prefers to distinguish them as *verba voluntaria* (actions which depend on the will of the subject) and *involuntaria* (actions or states independent of the will of the subject).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, 'Die Endungen des Perfects' (*Untersuchungen zur semit. Gramm.* ii.), in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 407 ff., and more fully in *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to Nöldeke, *l.c.*, p. 419, the original Semitic termination of the 1st sing. Perf. was most probably *kū*; cf. the Ethiopic *qatalku*, Arabic *qataltu*.

in Hebrew, also *āna* (in the construct state *ā*) as the plural termination of masc. nouns in literary Arabic.

- b** 2. The characteristic *Pathah* of the second syllable becomes *Ṣewā* before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, where it would otherwise stand in an open syllable (as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; but in *pause* קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ). Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant the *Pathah* remains, whether in the tone-syllable (קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; in *pause* קָטְלוּ &c.) or *before* it. In the latter case, however, the *Qameṣ* of the first syllable, being no longer a pretonic vowel, becomes vocal *Ṣewā*; as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; cf. § 27 *i* and § 43 *b*. On the retention of *ā* with *Meheg* of the counter-tone in the *Perf. consecutive*, cf. § 49 *i*.

- c** Rem. 1. Verbs *middle ē* in Hebrew (as in Ethiopic, but not in Arabic or Aramaic) generally change the *E*-sound in their inflexion into *Pathah* (frequently so even in the 3rd sing. masc. *Perf.*). This tendency to assimilate to the more common verbs *middle a* may also be explained from the laws of vocalization of the tone-bearing closed penultima, which does not readily admit of *Ṣere*, and never of *Hireq*, of which the *Ṣere* is a lengthening (cf. § 26 *p*). On the other hand, *Ṣere* is retained in an open syllable; regularly so in the weak stems לָ (§ 74 *g*), before suffixes (§ 59 *i*), and in the pausal forms of the strong stem in an open tone-syllable, e.g. יִצְּרֶה it cleaveth, Jb 29<sup>10</sup> (not יִצְּרֶה, cf. 2 S 1<sup>23</sup>, Jb 41<sup>15</sup>; even (contrary to § 29 *q*) in a closed pausal syllable, e.g. יִצְּרֶה Dt 33<sup>12</sup> (out of pause יִצְּרֶה, Is 32<sup>16</sup>); but יִצְּרֶה Is 33<sup>9</sup>, &c., according to § 29 *q*).

- d** 2. In some weak stems *middle a*, the *Pathah* under the second radical sometimes, in a closed toneless syllable, becomes —, and, in one example, —. Thus from יִרְשָׁתָּהּ and thou shalt possess it, Dt 17<sup>14</sup>; יִרְשָׁתָּהּ Dt 19<sup>1</sup>; יִרְשָׁתָּהּ Dt 4<sup>1</sup>, and frequently; from יִלְדָּהּ to bring forth, to beget; יִלְדָּתִיךָ ψ 27 (cf. Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>); from פָּוֶשׂתָּם Mal 3<sup>20</sup>; from שָׁאַל וְשָׁאַלְתִּי I have asked him, 1 S 1<sup>20</sup> (Ju 13<sup>6</sup>), and three times שָׁאַלְתָּם 1 S 12<sup>13</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>, Jb 21<sup>29</sup>. Qimḥi already suggests the explanation, that the *i* (ē) of these forms of שָׁאַל and יִרְשָׁ is the original vowel, since along with שָׁאַל and יִרְשָׁ are also found שָׁאַל and יִרְשָׁ (see the *Lexicon*). The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied (especially in the case of יִרְשָׁ, see § 69 *s*); the *i* in these forms might, however, equally well have arisen from an attenuation of *ā* (§ 27 *s*), such as must in any case be assumed in the other instances. Moreover, it is worthy of notice that in all the above cases the *i* is favoured by the character of the following consonant (a sibilant or dental), and in most of them also by the tendency towards assimilation of the vowels (cf. § 54 *k* and § 64 *f*).

- e** 3. In verbs *middle ō*, the *Holem* is retained in the tone-syllable, e.g. יִרְדָּהּ thou didst tremble; יִבְּלוּ in *pause* for יִבְּלוּ they were able; but in a toneless closed syllable the original short vowel appears in the form of a *Qameṣ haṭuph*; יִבְּלֵי I have prevailed against him, ψ 13<sup>5</sup>; וְיִבְּלֵי (see § 49 *h*) then shalt thou be able, Ex 18<sup>23</sup>; in a toneless open syllable it becomes vocal *Ṣewā*, e.g. יִבְּלוּ, יִבְּלוּ.

- f** 4. Rarer forms<sup>1</sup> are: *Sing. 3rd fem.* in חָ (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and

<sup>1</sup> Many of these forms, which are uncommon in Hebrew, are usual in the

Aramaic), e.g. אִלָּל *it is gone*, Dt 32<sup>36</sup>; וְנִשְׁכַּחַת Is 23<sup>15</sup> (in the Aramaic form, for וְנִשְׁכַּחַתָּ); from a verb וְשָׁכַח, cf. § 72 o. This original feminine ending *-ath* is regularly retained before suffixes, see § 59 a; and similarly in stems הִלָּ, either in the form *āth* (which is frequent also in stems אִלָּ § 74 g), or with the *Pathah* weakened to vocal *Ṣwā* before the pleonastic ending הָ, e.g. גִּלָּתָה § 75 i. In Ez 31<sup>5</sup> the Aramaic form גִּלָּתָה occurs instead of גִּלָּתָהּ.

2nd *masc.* תָּהּ for תָּ (differing only orthographically), e.g. תִּנְדָּרְתָּהּ *thou hast dealt treacherously*, Mal 2<sup>14</sup>; cf. 1 S 15<sup>3</sup>, Gn 3<sup>12</sup> (נִתְּתָהּ which is twice as common as נִתְּתָה, cf. § 66 h); Gn 21<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>3</sup>, Is 2<sup>9</sup>, ψ 56<sup>9</sup> (so also in *Hiph'il*; 2 K 9<sup>7</sup>, Is 37<sup>23</sup>, ψ 60<sup>4</sup>).

2nd *fem.* has sometimes a Yodh at the end, as in הִלָּכְתִּי *thou wentest*, Jer 31<sup>21</sup>; *h* cf. 2<sup>33</sup>, 3<sup>4.5</sup>, 4<sup>19</sup> (but read the ptp. שָׁמַעַת, with the LXX, instead of the 2nd fem.), 4<sup>6.11</sup>, and so commonly in Jeremiah, and Ez (16<sup>18</sup>, &c.); see also Mi 4<sup>13</sup>, Ru 3<sup>3.4</sup>. הִלָּכְתִּי, &c., is really intended, for the vowel signs in the text belong to the marginal reading הִלָּכְתָּ (without י) <sup>1</sup> as in the corresponding pronoun אֲנִי (אֲנִי) § 32 h. The ordinary form has rejected the final *i*, but it regularly reappears when pronominal suffixes are added (§ 59 a, c).

1st *pers. comm.* sometimes without Yodh, as יִרְעָתָה ψ 140<sup>13</sup>, Jb 42<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>48</sup>, *i* Ez 16<sup>59</sup> (all in K<sup>o</sup>thibh), ψ 16<sup>2</sup>, without a Q<sup>eré</sup>; in 2 K 18<sup>20</sup> also אֲמַרְתָּ is really intended, as appears from Is 36<sup>5</sup>. The Q<sup>eré</sup> requires the ordinary form, to which the vowels of the text properly belong, whilst the K<sup>o</sup>thibh is probably to be regarded as the remains of an earlier orthography, which omitted vowel-letters even at the end of the word.

תָּ as the termination of the 2nd *plur. m.* for תָּהּ Ez 33<sup>26</sup>, might just possibly *h* be due to the following תָּ (cf., for an analogous case, Mi 3<sup>12</sup>, § 87 e), but is probably a copyist's error. *Plur. 2nd fem.* in תִּנְדָּרְתִּי (according to others תִּנְדָּרְתִּי) Am 4<sup>3</sup>, but the reading is very doubtful; since ה follows, it is perhaps merely due to dittography; cf., however, אֲתִנְהָ § 32 f.

3rd *plur. comm.* has three times the very strange termination תָּ; יִרְעָתָה Dt 8<sup>3.16</sup> (both before א, and hence, no doubt, if the text is correct, to avoid a hiatus), and in the still more doubtful form יִרְעָתָה Is 26<sup>16</sup>; on תָּ in the Imperf. see § 47 m; on the affixed א in Jos 10<sup>24</sup>, Is 28<sup>19</sup>, see § 23 i.

It is very doubtful whether, as in most Semitic languages (see § 47 c, note), *m* the 3rd *fem. plur.* in Hebrew was originally distinguished from the 3rd *masc.*

other Semitic dialects, and may, therefore, be called Aramaisms (Syriasms) or Arabisms. They must not, however, be regarded as cases of borrowing, but as a return to original forms.

<sup>1</sup> Where the Masora apparently regards the תָּ as the termination of the 2nd *sing. fem.*, e.g. in Jer 2<sup>20</sup> (twice), Mi 4<sup>13</sup>, it has rather taken the form as 1st *pers. sing.* (cf. Stade, *Gramm.*, p. 253); so in Ju 5<sup>7</sup>, where אֲמַרְתִּי, on account of verse 12, must either have originally been intended as 2nd *sing. fem.*, or is due to an erroneous pronunciation of the form אֲמַרְתָּ as אֲמַרְתִּי instead of 3rd *sing. fem.* אֲמַרְתָּ (as LXX).

<sup>2</sup> That these examples can hardly be referred to a primitive Semitic ending *ūn* in the 3rd *plur. Perf.*, has been shown by Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 409 ff.; cf. also *ZDMG.* vol. 32, p. 757 f., where G. Hoffmann proves that the terminations in *Nūn* of the 3rd *plur.* in Aramaic, formerly adduced by us, are secondary forms. [See also Driver, *Heb. Tenses*<sup>3</sup>, p. 6 note.]

*plur.* by the termination הַ, as in Biblical Aramaic. Nöldeke (ZDMG. 38 [1884], p. 411) referred doubtfully to the textual readings in Dt 21<sup>7</sup>, Jos 15<sup>4</sup>, 18<sup>12, 14, 19</sup>, Jer 2<sup>15</sup>, 22<sup>9</sup>, where the Masora uniformly inserts the termination ו, and to Gn 48<sup>10</sup> in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Gn 49<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>15</sup>, ψ 18<sup>33</sup>, Neh 13<sup>10</sup>. In his *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 19, however, he observes that the construction of a fem. plural with the 3rd sing. fem. is not unexampled, and also that ה is often found as a mistake for ו. On the other hand Mayer Lambert (*Une série de Qeré ketib*, Paris, 1891, p. 6 ff.) explains all these K<sup>e</sup>thibh, as well as ψ 73<sup>2</sup>, Jer 50<sup>6</sup> (?), and (against Nöldeke) 1 K 22<sup>49</sup> (where ה is undoubtedly the article belonging to the next word), Jb 16<sup>16</sup> (where the *masc.* בְּנֵי requires the marginal reading), also Jer 48<sup>41</sup>, 51<sup>56</sup>, Ez 26<sup>2</sup>, ψ 68<sup>14</sup>, as remains of the 3rd fem. *plur.* in הַ. The form was abandoned as being indistinguishable from the (later) form of the 3rd fem. *sing.*, but tended to be retained in the perfect of verbs הַל, as היה K<sup>e</sup>thibh six times in the above examples.

n 5. The affirmatives הַ, (הַ), הִי, הֵי are generally toneless, and the forms with these inflexions are consequently *Mil'el* (מִלְעַל, &c.); with all the other affirmatives they are *Milra'* (§ 15 c). The place of the tone may, however, be shifted: (a) by the *pause* (§ 29 i-v), whenever a vowel which has become vocal Šewâ under the second stem-consonant is restored by the *pause*; as קָטַלָהּ for קָטַלָהּ (דָּבָרָהּ for דָּבָרָהּ), and קָטַלִּי for קָטַלִּי (מָלְאִי for מָלְאִי); (b) in certain cases after *wāw* consecutive of the *Perfect* (see § 49 h).

O 6. Contraction of a final ה with the ה of the affirmative occurs e.g. in בְּרַחֲמֵי Hag 2<sup>5</sup>, &c.; cf. Is 14<sup>20</sup>, &c., in the *Perf.* Po'el; Dt 4<sup>25</sup> in the *Hiph'il* of שָׁחַת; Is 21<sup>2</sup>, &c., in the *Hiph'il* of שָׁבַת. Contraction of a final ה with the affirmative הֵי occurs in נִתְּנֵי Gn 34<sup>18</sup>; in *Niph.* Ezr 9<sup>7</sup>, cf. 2 Ch 14<sup>10</sup>; in *Hiph.* 2 Ch 29<sup>19</sup>; with the affirmative הַה in the *Imperfect Qal* Ez 17<sup>23</sup>; Pī'el ψ 71<sup>23</sup>, where with Baer and Ginsburg הַרְגֵנָה is to be read, according to others הַרְגֵנָה (cf. in *Po'el* הַקּוֹנֵנָה Ez 32<sup>16</sup>), but certainly not הַרְגֵנָה with the Mantua ed., Opatius and Hahn; with הַה in the *Imperat. Hiph.* Gn 4<sup>23</sup>, Is 32<sup>9</sup>.

### § 45. The Infinitive.

F. Prätorius, 'Ueber den sog. Inf. absol. des Hebr.,' in ZDMG. 1902, p. 546 ff.

u 1. The Infinitive is represented in Hebrew by two forms, a shorter and a longer; both are, however, strictly speaking, independent *nouns* (*verbal substantives*). The shorter form, the *Infinitive construct* (in Qal קָטַל, sometimes incorrectly קָטַל), is used in very various ways, sometimes in connexion with pronominal suffixes, or governing a substantive in the genitive, or with an accusative of the object (§ 115), sometimes in connexion with prepositions (לְקָטַל to kill, § 114 f), and sometimes in dependence upon substantives as genitive, or upon verbs as accusative of the object. On the other hand, the use of the longer form, the *Infinitive absolute* (in Qal קָטַל, sometimes also קָטַל, obscured from original qāṭal), is restricted to those cases in which it emphasizes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the analogous forms of the noun, § 93 i.

the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently as an adverbial accusative with a finite verb of the same stem (§ 113 h-s).<sup>1</sup>

The flexibility and versatility of the Infin. constr. and the rigidity *b* and inflexibility of the Infin. absol. are reflected in their vocalization. The latter has unchangeable vowels, while the *o* of the Infin. constr. may be lost. For קטל, according to § 84<sup>a</sup>, *e*, goes back to the ground-form *qāṭāl*.

Other forms of the Infin. constr. Qal of the strong verb are—

c

(a) קטל, e.g. שָׁכַב to lie, Gn 34<sup>7</sup>; שָׁפַל to sink, Ec 12<sup>4</sup>; especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the Imperf.: hence sometimes also with those, whose second or third radical is a guttural (frequently besides the ordinary form). All the examples (except שָׁכַב, see above) occur in the closest connexion with the following word, or with suffixes (see § 61 c). In Ez 21<sup>33</sup> the Masora seems to treat לְטַבֵּחַ (verse 20, in pause לְטַבֵּחַ) as an Infinitive = לְטַבֵּחַ; probably לְטַבֵּחַ should be read.

(b) קטלה and, attenuated from it, קטלה; קטלה and קטלה (which are *d* feminine forms<sup>2</sup> of קטל and קטל, mostly from intransitive verbs, and sometimes found along with forms having no feminine ending in use), e.g. לְאַשְׁמָה to be guilty, Lv 5<sup>26</sup>; לְאַהֲבָה to love, שְׂנֵאָה to hate; לְיִרְאָה, often in Dt., to fear; לְזָקֵנָה to be old; לְקָרָא to meet (in לְקִרְאָתָה § 19 k); לְרִבְעָה to lie down, Lv 20<sup>16</sup>; לְמִשְׁחָה to anoint, Ex 29<sup>29</sup>; לְרַחֵץ to wash, Ex 30<sup>18</sup>, &c.; לְטִמְאָה (also a subst. = uncleanness, like טִמְאָה) to be unclean, Lv 15<sup>32</sup>; לְקִרְבָּה to approach, Ex 36<sup>2</sup>, &c.; cf. Lv 12<sup>4-5</sup>, Dt 11<sup>22</sup>, Is 30<sup>19</sup>, Ez 21<sup>16</sup>, Hag 1<sup>6</sup>; also לְרַחֵק to be far off, Ez 8<sup>6</sup>; קטלה to pity, Ez 16<sup>5</sup>; cf. Ho 7<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand in קטלה Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, the original *ā* has been modified to *e*; cf. חִזְקָה Is 8<sup>11</sup>, &c.

(c) In the Aramaic manner מקטל but cf. also Arab. *maḡtal*) there occur as Infin. Qal: מְשַׁלֵּחַ to send, Est 9<sup>19</sup>; מְקַרָּא to call and מְפַע to depart, Nu 10<sup>2</sup> (Dt 10<sup>11</sup>); מְקַח to take, 2 Ch 19<sup>7</sup>, &c.; מְשָׂא to carry, Nu 4<sup>24</sup>, &c. (cf. even מְשַׁאוֹת Ez 17<sup>9</sup>); also with a feminine ending מְעֵלָה to go up, Ezr 7<sup>9</sup>, &c.; cf. for these forms (almost all very late) Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, p. 50, and Strack on Nu 4<sup>24</sup>.

(d) קטלה in יִבְשֶׁתָּה Gn 8<sup>7</sup>; יִבְלָה Nu 14<sup>16</sup>; probably also חִרְשֶׁתָּה Ex 31<sup>5</sup>, 35<sup>33</sup>.

2. A kind of *Gerund* is formed by the Infin. constr. with the preposition ל; as לקטל *ad interficiendum*, לגל *ad cadendum* (see § 28 a).

<sup>1</sup> The terms *absolute* and *construct* are of course not to be understood as implying that the Infin. constr. קטל forms the *construct state* (see § 89) of the Infin. absol. (קטול ground-form *qāṭāl*). In the Paradigms the *Inf. constr.*, as the principal form, is placed before the other, under the name of Infinitive simply.

<sup>2</sup> According to the remark of Elias Levita on Qimhi's *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb., 14 a, these feminine forms occur almost exclusively in connexion with the preposition ל.

*g* The blending of the ל with the *Infin. constr.* into a single grammatical form seems to be indicated by the firmly closed syllable, cf. לִשְׁבֹּב Gn 34<sup>7</sup>; לִנְפֹל ψ 118<sup>13</sup>, with *Dageš lene* in the פ = *lin pōl*; hence, also *liq-fōl*, &c.; but בִּנְפֹל *bin<sup>e</sup>pōl*, Jb 4<sup>13</sup>; בִּנְפֹל 2 S 3<sup>34</sup>. Exceptions לִצְבֹּא Nu 4<sup>23</sup>, 8<sup>24</sup>; לִנְתוֹשׁ וְלִנְתוֹץ Jer 1<sup>10</sup>, 18<sup>7</sup>, 31<sup>28</sup>; לִשְׁדוֹר Jer 47<sup>4</sup>; לִטְבוֹחַ Jer 11<sup>19</sup>, &c., ψ 37<sup>14</sup>; לִבְרוֹק 2 Ch 34<sup>10</sup>; according to some also לִסְבֹּב Nu 21<sup>4</sup> and לִכְבֹּשׁ 2 Ch 28<sup>10</sup> (Baer לִכְבֹּשׁ); on the other hand בִּשְׁכַּן Gn 35<sup>22</sup>; כְּזָכַר Jer 17<sup>2</sup>. For the meaningless לִרְיֹשׁ Ezr 10<sup>16</sup> read לִרְשׁ.

### § 46. The Imperative.

- a* 1. The ground-forms of the Imperative, קָטַל (properly *qēṭūl*, which is for an original *qūṭūl*), and קָטַל (see below, *c*), the same in pronunciation as the forms of the *Infin. constr.* (§ 45), are also the basis for the formation of the Imperfect (§ 47).<sup>1</sup> They represent the *second* person, and have both *fem.* and *plur.* forms. The third person is supplied by the Imperfect in the Jussive (§ 109 *b*); and even the second person must always be expressed by the Jussive, if it be used with a negative, e. g. אַל-תִּקְטַל *ne occidas* (not אַל-קָטַל). The passives have no Imperative, but it occurs in the reflexives, as *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*.<sup>2</sup>
- b* 2. The Affirmatives of the *2nd sing. fem.* and the *2nd plur. masc.* and *fem.* are identical in every case with those of the Imperfect (§ 47 *c*). In the same way, the Imperative of the *2nd sing. masc.*, in common with the Imperfect, admits of the lengthening by the הַ— *paragogicum* (§ 48 *i*), as, on the other hand, there are certain shortened forms of this person analogous to the Jussive (§ 48. 5).
- c* Rem. 1. Instead of the form קָטַל (sometimes also *plene*, e. g. שָׁמֹר Ec 12<sup>13</sup>; before *Maqqeph* קָטַל with *Qameṣ haṭuph*), those verbs which have an *a* in the final syllable of the *Imperf.* (i. e. especially verbs middle *ē*) make their Imperative of the form קָטַל, e. g. לָבַשׁ *dress!* (Perf. לָבַשׁ and לָבַשׁ); לָיַט *lie down!* in *pause* לָיַט 1 S 3<sup>5.6.9</sup>.
- d* 2. The first syllable of the *sing. fem.* and *plur. masc.* are usually to be pronounced with *Šwā mobile* (*qūṭāli*, *qūṭālu*, and so שָׁפְכִי, &c., without *Dageš lene*, and even מְשַׁכְּנִי with *Metheg*, Ex 12<sup>21</sup>; but cf. אֶסְפִּי Jer 10<sup>17</sup>, and with the same phonetic combination חֲשַׁבִּי Is 47<sup>2</sup>; see analogous cases in § 93 *m*); less frequently we find an *ō* instead of the *i*, e. g. מְלִכִי *rule*, Ju 9<sup>10</sup>; מְשַׁכְּנִי *draw*, Ez 32<sup>20</sup>; חֲרַבִּי Jer 2<sup>12</sup> (cf. חֲרַבִּי Is 44<sup>27</sup>); on קֶסֶם 1 S 28<sup>8</sup> *qéré*, צַעֲקִי Jer. 22<sup>20</sup> (cf. 1 K 13<sup>7</sup>), see § 10 *h*. This *ō* arises (see above, *a*) from a singular ground-form *qūṭūl*, not from a retraction of the original *ū* of the second syllable. We must abandon the view that the forms with *i* in the first syllable (cf. also

<sup>1</sup> The *Infin. absol.*, like the Greek *Infin.*, is also sometimes used for the Imperative (§ 113 *bb*). Cf. in general, Koch, *Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffhausen, 1874).

<sup>2</sup> In *Hoph'al* an Imperative is found only twice (Ez 32<sup>19</sup>, Jer. 49<sup>8</sup>), and closely approximating in meaning to the reflexive.

אֶמְרִי, חֲנִרִי, מְכַרִי, עֲבָרִי arise from a weakening of the characteristic vowel *ā*. They, or at least some of them, must rather be regarded with Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 182) as analogous to the original *i*-imperfects. See further analogies in §§ 47 *i* and 48 *i*; 61 *b*, 63 *n*.

The *pausal* form of the 2nd plur. masc. is חֲנִירִי 1 K 3<sup>26</sup>; from שָׁמְעוּ, שָׁמְעִי, *e* &c.; similarly the 2nd sing. fem. in *pause* is עֲבָרִי Is 23<sup>12</sup>; even without the *pause* מְלוֹכִי Ju 9<sup>10,12</sup>, K<sup>eth.</sup>; קְסוֹמִי 1 S 28<sup>8</sup>, K<sup>eth.</sup> (cf. with this also מְלוֹכָה, &c., § 48 *i*); from שָׁמַח, שָׁמְחִי Jo 2<sup>21</sup>.

3. In the 2nd plur. fem. שָׁמְעוּ occurs once, in Gn 4<sup>23</sup> (for שָׁמְעֶנָּה) with loss of the הֿ and insertion of a helping vowel, unless it is simply to be pointed שָׁמְעֶנָּה. Also instead of the abnormal קְרָאָן Ex 2<sup>20</sup> (for קְרָאֵנָה) we should perhaps read as in Ru 1<sup>20</sup> קְרָאָן (cf. מְצָאוֹ, 1<sup>9</sup> and לָכֵן, 1<sup>13</sup>).

On the examples of a 2nd plur. fem. in הֿ, Is 32<sup>11</sup>, see § 48 *i*.

### § 47. The Imperfect and its Inflection.

1. The persons of the Imperfect,<sup>1</sup> in contradistinction to those of *a* the Perfect, are formed by placing abbreviated forms of the personal pronoun (preformatives) *before* the stem, or rather before the abstract form of the stem (קָטַל). As, however, the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the Stem-form, or even (as in the 2nd sing. fem. and the 3rd and 2nd plur. masc.) passes over to the affirmatives, the preformatives of the Imperfect appear in a much more abbreviated form than the affirmatives of the Perfect, only *one* consonant (י, ה, א, נ) remaining in each form. But as this preformative combined with the

<sup>1</sup> On the use of the Semitic Perfect and Imperfect cf. § 106 ff. and the literature cited in § 106. For our present purpose the following account will suffice:—The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct contrast to the Perfect, and is to be taken in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Hebrew (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes in general that which is *concluded*, *completed*, and *past*, that which has happened and has come into effect; but at the same time, also that which is *represented* as accomplished, even though it be continued into present time or even be actually still future. The *Imperf.* denotes, on the other hand, the *beginning*, the *unfinished*, and the *continuing*, that which is just happening, which is conceived as in process of coming to pass, and hence, also, that which is yet future; likewise also that which occurs repeatedly or in a continuous sequence in the past (Latin *Imperf.*). It follows from the above that the once common designation of the Imperf. as a *Future* emphasizes only *one* side of its meaning. In fact, the use of Indo-Germanic tense-names for the Semitic tenses, which was adopted by the Syrians under the influence of the Greek grammarians, and after their example by the Arabs, and finally by Jewish scholars, has involved many misconceptions. The Indo-Germanic scheme of three periods of time (past, present, and future) is entirely foreign to the Semitic tense-idea, which regards an occurrence only from the point of view of completed or incomplete action.—In the formation of the two tenses the chief distinction is that in the Perfect the verbal stem precedes and the indication of the person is added afterwards for precision, while in the Imperf. the subject, from which the action proceeds or about which a condition is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun.

stem-form was not always sufficient to express at the same time differences both of gender and number, the distinction had to be further indicated, in several cases, by special *affirmatives*. Cf. the table, § 40 c.

- b** 2. The derivation and meaning, both of the preformatives and the affirmatives, can still, in most cases, be recognized.

In the *first* pers. **אָקטל**, plur. **אָקטלן**, א is probably connected with **אָי**, and ל with **לִינִי**; here no indication of gender or number by a special ending was necessary. As regards the vocalization, the Arabic points to the ground-forms *ʾāqtūl* and *nāqtūl*: the *i* of the 1st plur. is, therefore, as in the other preformatives, attenuated from *a*. The *Seghōl* of the 1st sing. is probably to be explained by the preference of the א for this sound (cf. § 22 o, but also § 51 p); according to Qimḥi, it arises from an endeavour to avoid the similarity of sound between **אָקטל** (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and **אָקטל**, which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iqṭōl*.<sup>1</sup>

- c** The preformative **ת** of the *second* persons (**תָּקטל**, ground-form *tāqtūl*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the **ת** of **אָתָּה**, **אַתָּה**, &c., and the *affirmative* **י**— of the 2nd fem. sing. **יָתָּקטל** with the *i* of the original feminine form **אָתָּי** (see § 32 h). The *affirmative* **י** of the 2nd masc. plur. **תָּקטלן** (in its more complete form, **יָתָּקטלן**, see *m*) is the sign of the plural, as in the 3rd pers., and also in the Perfect (§ 44 a). In the Imperfect, however, it is restricted in both persons to the masculine,<sup>2</sup> while the affirmative **יָה** (also **י**) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with **הָיָה** *eae* and **אָתָּה** *vos* (fem.).

- d** The preformatives of the *third* persons (**י** in the masc. **יָקטל**, ground-form *yāqtūl*, plur. **יָקטלן**, ground-form *yāqtūlū*; **ת** in the fem. **תָּקטל**, plur. **תָּקטלן**) have not yet met with any satisfactory explanation. With **ת** might most obviously be compared the original feminine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 24 e. In favour of the above view of Qimḥi may be urged the phonetic orthography **אָש** (in Pr 18<sup>24</sup> **אָש**), 2 S 14<sup>19</sup> (unless, with Perles, **אָש** is to be read), Mi 6<sup>10</sup>, for **יָש**, and **אָש** 1 Ch 2<sup>13</sup> for **יָש** (as verse 12). Also **הָאָהָה** Mi 6<sup>11</sup> is probably for **הָאָהָה** = **הָאָהָה**, **אָהָה** Is 10<sup>12</sup> for **יָהָה**; **אָהָה** Is 51<sup>19</sup> for **יָהָה**; and conversely **יָשָׁבֵר** is for **אָשָׁבֵר** = **אָשָׁבֵר**. Similarly, **יָשׁוּי** 1 S 14<sup>40</sup> is probably for **אָשׁוּי** or **אָשָׁי**; in 2 S 23<sup>8</sup> **יָשָׁבֵר** is, according to the LXX, an error for **יָשָׁבֵר** = **אָשָׁבֵר**. In Assyrian also the simple *i* corresponds to the Hebrew *y* as the preformative of the Impf. Qal.

<sup>2</sup> This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *ū, ūn*. In Hebrew, indeed, it is used in the 3rd plur. *Perfect* for both genders, but in the kindred languages even there only for the masculine, e.g. in Syriac *qʾātūū*, *qʾātūūn*, with the feminine form *qʾātūn*, in Western Aram. *qʾātūū*, fem. *qʾātūā*; in Arab. *qātūū*, fem. *qātūnā*, Eth. *qātūū*, *qātūā*.

ending ה־ of nouns, and of the 3rd fem. sing. perfect. For the affirmatives וְ (וְ) and הִנֵּה, see c.

3. The characteristic vowel of the second syllable becomes *Šwā* *e* before tone-bearing affirmatives which begin with a vowel, but is retained (as being in the tone-syllable) before the toneless affirmative הִנֵּה. Thus: הִקְטַלְתָּ, יִקְטַלְתָּ, הִקְטַלְתָּ (but in *pause* הִקְטַלְתָּ, &c.), הִקְטַלְתָּ.

Rem. 1. The *ō* of the second syllable (as in the inf. constr. and imperat.), being lengthened from an original *ū* in the tone-syllable, is only tone-long (§ 9 r). Hence it follows that: (a) it is incorrectly, although somewhat frequently, written *plene*; (b) before *Maqqeph* the short vowel appears as *Qames* *ḥaṭuṭh*, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּב שָׁם and he wrote there, Jos 8<sup>32</sup> (but cf. also Ex 21<sup>37</sup>, Jos 18<sup>20</sup>); (c) it becomes *Šwā* before the tone-bearing affirmatives וְ and הִ (see above, e; but Jerome still heard e.g. *iezbuleni* for וַיִּבְלֵנוּ; cf. ZAW. iv. 83).

Quite anomalous are the three examples which, instead of a shortening to *Šwā*, exhibit a long *ū*: הִם יִשְׁפּוּטוּ Ex 18<sup>26</sup>, immediately before the principal pause, but according to Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb. p. 18<sup>b</sup>), ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel against the other editions, with the tone on the ultima; likewise לֹא-תַעֲבֹרִי מֵזֶה Ru 2<sup>8</sup>; הַשְׁמִירִים (in principal pause) Pr 14<sup>8</sup>. In the first two cases perhaps יִשְׁפּוּטוּ and תַּעֲבֹרִי (for יִשְׁפּוּטוּ, &c.) are intended, in virtue of a retrogressive effect of the pause; in Pr 14<sup>8</sup> הַשְׁמִירִים is to be read, with August Müller.

2. The *ō* of the second syllable is to be found almost exclusively with transitive verbs middle *a*, like קָטַל. Intransitives middle *a* and *e* almost always take *ā* (*Pathah*)<sup>1</sup> in the impf., e.g. יָרַבֵּן, יָרַבֵּן to couch, שָׁכַב, יִשְׁכַּב to lie down (לָמַד, יִלְמַד to learn is also originally intransitive = to accustom oneself); יָדָר, יִדְרַל to become great (but cf. שָׁבַן and שָׁבַן imperf. יִשְׁבֹּן to dwell and to inhabit, נָבַל imperf. יִבֹּל to wither); also from verbs middle *ō*, as קָטַן to be small, the imperf. has the form יִקְטַן.

Sometimes both forms occur together; those with *ō* having a transitive, *i* and those with *ā* an intransitive meaning, e.g. יָקַצַר he cuts off, יִקְצַר he is cut off, i.e. is short; הָלַשׁ impf. *ō*, to overcome, Ex 17<sup>13</sup>; impf. *ā*, to be overcome, Jb 14<sup>10</sup>. More rarely both forms are used without any distinction, e.g. יִשְׁחַד and יִשְׁחַד he bites, יִחַפֵּץ and יִחַפֵּץ he is inclined (but only the latter with a transitive meaning = he bends, in Jb 40<sup>17</sup>). On the *a* of the impf. of verbs middle and third guttural, cf. § 64 b; § 65 b. In some verbs first guttural (§ 63 n), עָלַע (§ 67 p), פָּ"י (§ 69 b), and פָּ"ח (§ 68 c), and in יָתַן for *yintēn* from יָתַן to give, instead of *ā* or *ō* a movable *Sere* (originally *i*) is found in the second syllable. A trace of these *i*-imperfects<sup>2</sup> in the ordinary strong verb is probably to be found in וַיִּטְּלֵנוּ 2 K 7<sup>8</sup>, since טָטַן otherwise only occurs in Qal. We call these three forms of the imperfect after their characteristic vowel impf. *o*, impf. *a*, impf. *e*.

3. For the 3rd sing. fem. הִקְטַלְתָּ (= *tiq-tāl*), Baer requires in 1 S 25<sup>20</sup> הִתְפַּנֵּשׁ *k* (but read with ed. Mant., &c. הִתְפַּנֵּשׁ). For the 2nd sing. fem. (הִקְטַלְתְּ) the form

<sup>1</sup> This *ā* is, however, by no means restricted to intransitive strong verbs; apart from verbs third guttural (§ 65 b), it is to be found in פָּ"ן and עָ"ע, and in many verbs פָּ"ח and פָּ"י (§§ 69-71).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barth, 'Das *i*-Imperfekt im Nordsemitischen,' ZDMG. 1889, p. 177 ff.

תִּקְטֹל is found in Is 57<sup>8</sup>, Jer 3<sup>5</sup>, Ez 22<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup>, in every case after the regular form; but cf. also Ez 26<sup>14</sup>. In Is 17<sup>10</sup>, where the 2nd fem. precedes and follows, probably תִּקְרַעַן is to be read with Marti for תִּקְרַעַנִי.—For the 3rd plur. fem. תִּקְטֹלְנָה we find in Jer 49<sup>11</sup>, in pause תִּבְטְחָה (for תִּבְטְחֶנָּה), and thrice (as if to distinguish it from the 2nd pers.) the form יִקְטֹלְנָה with the preformative י (as always in Western Aram., Arab., Eth., and Assyr.), in Gn 30<sup>38</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>, Dn 8<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, תִּקְטֹלְנָה appears in some cases to be incorrectly used even for the fem. of the 3rd pers. or for the masc. of the 2nd pers. sing. as תִּשְׁלַחְנָה Ju 5<sup>26</sup> (where, however, perhaps תִּשְׁלַחְנָה is to be read), and Ob<sup>13</sup>, for 2nd sing. masc., according to Olshausen a corruption of יִשְׁלַח; in Pr 1<sup>20</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup> for תִּרְנָה read תִּרְנָה as in Jb 39<sup>23</sup>; in Ex 1<sup>10</sup> read תִּקְרַעַנִי with the Samaritan.—In Is 27<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>3</sup>, as also in Jb 17<sup>16</sup> (if we read מִוִּבְחֵי with LXX for the 2nd תִּקְוֵי), it is equally possible to explain the form as a plural. This small number of examples hardly justifies our finding in the above-mentioned passages the remains of an emphatic form of the Impf., analogous to the Arab. *Modus energicus I*, with the termination *annā*.

l For נָה we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw consecutivæ*, simply נָ, e.g. Gn 19<sup>33,36</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, Ex 1<sup>18,19</sup>, 15<sup>20</sup>, Nu 2<sup>5,2</sup>, Ez 3<sup>20</sup>, 16<sup>66</sup>; in Arab. always *nā*. According to Elias Levita תִּלְבֵּשׁ (2 S 13<sup>18</sup>) is the only example of this kind in the strong verb. The form וְתִנְבְּהֶינָה (so also Qimhī and ed. Mant.; but Baer, Ginsb. וְתִנְבְּהֶנָּה) for וְתִנְבְּהֶנָּה they were high, Ez 16<sup>60</sup>, is irregular, with נָ inserted after the manner of verbs עָנָה and עָנָה, § 67 d; § 72 i; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

m 4. Instead of the plural forms in נָ there are, especially in the older books, over 300 forms<sup>1</sup> with the fuller ending נִי (with *Nūn paragogicū*), always bearing the tone; cf. § 29 m and § 44 l; on its retention before suffixes, see § 60 e; also defectively יִרְיֶנָּה Ex 21<sup>18</sup>, 22<sup>8</sup>, &c. This usually expresses marked emphasis, and consequently occurs most commonly at the end of sentences (in the principal pause), in which case also the (pausal) vowel of the second syllable is generally retained. Thus there arise full-sounding forms such as יִלְקָטֶינָה they collect, ψ 104<sup>28</sup>; יִרְגָּזֶינָה they tremble, Ex 15<sup>14</sup>; יִשְׁמַעְנָה ye shall hear, Dt 1<sup>17</sup>; cf. Ex 34<sup>13</sup>, with Zaqeph qatōn, Athnah, and Silluq; Jos 24<sup>15</sup>, with Segolta; Is 13<sup>8</sup> and 17<sup>13</sup> with Zaqeph qatōn, 17<sup>12</sup> with Athnah and Silluq, 41<sup>5</sup> after *wāw consec.* Without the pause, e.g. ψ 111<sup>2</sup> יִרְכָּבֶינָה, cf. 4<sup>3</sup>, Gn 18<sup>28,29,30</sup> יִשְׁאַלֶינָה; Is 8<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>13</sup>, Ru 2<sup>9</sup> יִקְצֹרֶינָה; Ju 11<sup>18</sup> after *wāw consec.*

Some of these examples may be partly due to euphonic reasons, e.g. certainly Ex 17<sup>2</sup>, Nu 16<sup>29</sup>, 32<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>13</sup>, 1 K 9<sup>8</sup>, and often, to avoid a hiatus before נ or ל. It was, however, the pause especially which exerted an influence on the restoration of this older and fuller termination (cf. § 159 c, note), as is manifest from Is 26<sup>11</sup>: יִרְאוּ וְיִבְשׁוּ בְּלִי-יִחוּזִין they see not; may they see and become

<sup>1</sup> [See details in F. Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 930; and cf. Driver on 1 S 2<sup>15</sup>.]

*ashamed*. All this applies also to the corresponding forms in the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.<sup>1</sup> In Aramaic and Arabic this earlier *ā* (old Arabic *ūnā*) is the regular termination; but in some dialects of vulgar Arabic it has also become *ū*.

With an affixed *ā* we find (in the imperf. Niph'al) יִנְשֹׂא Jer 10<sup>5</sup>, evidently *n* an error for יִנְשֹׂא, caused by the preceding יִנְשֹׂא. In יִשְׁשׁוּם Is 35<sup>1</sup>, since *n* follows, the *n* is no doubt only due to dittography.

5. Corresponding to the use of *ā* for *i* there occurs in the 2nd sing. fem., *o* although much less frequently, the fuller ending *ī* (as in Aram. and Arab.; old Arab. *inā*), also always with the tone, for *ī*, generally again in the principal pause, and almost in all cases with retention of the vowel of the penultima; thus יִתְּבַקֵּי Ru 2<sup>8,21</sup>, cf. 3<sup>4,18</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>14</sup> (יִתְּבַקֵּי), Jer 31<sup>22</sup>, Is 45<sup>10</sup>.

6. On the reappearance in pause of the *ō* which had become *šwā* in the *p* forms תִּקְטֹל, &c., see above, *e*; similarly, the imperfects with *ā* restore this vowel in pause and at the same time lengthen it (as a tone-vowel) to *ā*, hence, e.g. יִנְדֹּל, תִּנְדֹּל. This influence of the pause extends even to the forms without affirmatives, e.g. יִנְדֹּל, in pause יִנְדֹּל. But the fuller forms in *ūn* and *in* have the tone always on the ultima, since the vowels *ū* and *i* in a closed final syllable never allow of the retraction of the tone.

7. On the numerous instances of passive forms in the imperfect, mostly *q* treated as Hoph'al, see § 53 *u*.

#### § 48. Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative. The Jussive and Cohortative.

1. Certain modifications which take place in the form of the *a* imperfect, and express invariably, or nearly so, a distinct shade of meaning, serve to some extent as a compensation for the want of special forms for the *Tempora relativa* and for certain *moods* of the verb.

2. Along with the usual form of the imperfect, there exists also *b* a lengthened form of it (the *cohortative*), and a shortened form (the *jussive*).<sup>2</sup> The former occurs (with few exceptions) only in the 1st person, while the latter is mostly found in the 2nd and 3rd persons, and less frequently in the 1st person. The laws of the tone, however, and of the formation of syllables in Hebrew, not infrequently precluded the indication of the jussive by an actual shortening of the form; consequently it often—and, in the imperfect forms with affirmatives, always—coincides with the ordinary imperfect (*indicative*) form.

In classical Arabic the difference is almost always evident. That language distinguishes, besides the indicative *yāqtūlū*, (a) a subjunctive, *yāqtūlū*; (b) a

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that the Chronicles often omit the *Nūn*, where it is found in the parallel passage in the Books of Kings; cf. 1 K 8<sup>58,43</sup> with 2 Ch 6<sup>29,33</sup>; 1 K 12<sup>24</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>5</sup> with 2 Ch 11<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The perfect has only one form, since it cannot be used, like the imperfect, to express mood-relations (see § 106 *p*).

jussive, *yāqtūl*; (c) a double 'energetic' mood of the impf., *yāqtūlānnā* and *yāqtūlān*, in pause *yāqtūlā*, the last form thus corresponding to the Hebrew cohortative.

- c 3. The characteristic of the cohortative form is an *ā* (הַ) affixed to the 1st pers. sing. or plur., e.g. אֶקְטֹל from אֶקְטֹל. <sup>1</sup> It occurs in almost all conjugations and classes of the strong and weak verb (except of course in the passives), and this final הַ has the tone wherever the affirmatives אֶ and אַ would have it. As before these endings, so also before the הַ cohortative, the movable vowel of the last syllable of the verbal form becomes *Šewā*, e.g. in Qal אֶשְׁמְרָה *I will observe*, in Pi'el נִנְתָּקָה *let us break asunder*, ψ 2<sup>3</sup>; on אֶשְׁקָטָה Is 18<sup>4</sup> *Qerē* (cf. also 27<sup>4</sup>, Ezr 8<sup>25</sup>, &c.), see § 10 h; with the *Kethibh* of these passages, compare the analogous cases יִשְׁפּוּטוּ, &c., § 47 g.—On the other hand, an unchangeable vowel in the final syllable is retained as tone-vowel before the הַ, as (e.g.) in Hiph. אֶזְבְּרָה *I will praise*. In pause (as before *ā* and *i*), the vowel which became *Šewā* is restored as tone-vowel; thus for the cohortative אֶשְׁמְרָה the pausal form is אֶשְׁמְרָה ψ 59<sup>10</sup>; cf. Gn 18<sup>21</sup>, Is 41<sup>26</sup>.

- d The change of הַ into the obtuse הַ seems to occur in 1 S 28<sup>15</sup>, unless, with Nestle, we are to assume a conflate reading, וְאֶקְרָא and וְאֶקְרָה; and with the 3rd pers. ψ 20<sup>4</sup>, in a syllable sharpened by a following *Dageš forte conjunct.*; cf. similar cases of the change of הַ into the obtuse הַ in *l* and in §§ 73 *ā*, 80 *i*, 90 *i*. In ψ 20<sup>4</sup>, however, יִרְשָׁנָה—with suffix—is probably intended. An הַ cohort. is also found with the 3rd pers. in Is 5<sup>19</sup> (twice); Ez 23<sup>20</sup>, and again in verse 16 according to the *Qerē*, but in both these cases without any effect on the meaning. Probably another instance occurs in Jb 11<sup>17</sup>, although there תִּעָפֶה might also, with Qimḥi, be regarded as 2nd masc. For the doubly irregular form תִּבְּרֹאתָ Dt 33<sup>16</sup> (explained by Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תִּבְּרֹאת in verse 14), read תִּבְּרֹאתָ. For תִּבְּרֹאתָ Jb 22<sup>21</sup> the noun תִּבְּרֹאתָ *thine increase*, might be meant, but the Masora has evidently intended an imperfect with the ending *ath*, instead of הַ, before the suffix, on the analogy of the 3rd sing. fem. perfect, see § 59 a; on ותבאתי 1 S 25<sup>34</sup>, see § 76 h.

- e The cohortative expresses the direction of the will to an action and thus denotes especially self-encouragement (in the 1st plur. an exhortation to others at the same time), a resolution or a wish, as an optative, &c., see § 108.

- f 4. The general characteristic of the jussive form of the imperfect is rapidity of pronunciation, combined with a tendency to retract

<sup>1</sup> Probably this *ā* goes back to the syllable *an*, which in Arabic (see above, Rem. to b) is used for the formation of the 'energetic' mood, and in Hebrew (see the footnote to § 58 i) often stands before suffixes.

the tone from the final syllable, in order by that means to express the urgency of the command in the very first syllable. This tendency has, in certain forms, even caused a material shortening of the termination of the word, so that the expression of the command appears to be concentrated on a single syllable. In other cases, however, the jussive is simply marked by a shortening of the vowel of the second syllable, without its losing the tone, and very frequently (see above, *b*) the nature of the form does not admit of any alteration. It is not impossible, however, that even in such cases the jussive in the living language was distinguished from the indicative by a change in the place of the tone.

In the strong verb the jussive differs in *form* from the indicative *g* only in *Hiph'ul* (juss. יִקְטִיל, ind. יִקְטִיל), and similarly in the weak verb, wherever the imperfect indicative has *i* in the second syllable, e. g. from יִשָּׁב impf. *Hiph.* יוֹשִׁיב, juss. יוֹשִׁב; from יָמַת and יָמִית, also in *Qal* of the verbs עָוִי and עָוִי, as יָמַת, ind. יָמִית; יָגַל, ind. יָגִיל; in all conjugations of verbs לָה, so that the rejection (*apocope*) of the ending ה־ in *Qal* and *Hiph.* gives rise to monosyllabic forms, with or without a helping vowel under the second radical, e. g. *Qal* ind. יִגְלֶה, juss. יִגְלֶה; *Hiph.* ind. יִגְלֶה, juss. יִגְלֶה; and in the *Pēl* יָצָא from the indic. יִצְיָה (called apocopated imperfections). But almost all<sup>1</sup> the plural forms of the jussive coincide with those of the indicative, except that the jussive excludes the fuller ending ה־. Neither do the forms of the 2nd sing. fem., as תִּקְטְלִי, תִּמְוִתִּי, תִּגְלִי, &c., admit of any change in the jussive, nor any forms, whether singular or plural, to which suffixes are attached, e. g. תִּמְוִתִּי as ind. Jer 38<sup>15</sup>, as jussive Jer 41<sup>8</sup>.

The meaning of the jussive is similar to that of the cohortative, *h* except that in the jussive the command or wish is limited almost exclusively to the 2nd or 3rd pers. On special uses of the jussive, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the 1st pers.), see § 109 *h*.

5. The imperative, in accordance with its other points of connexion *i* with the imperfect in form and meaning, admits of a similar lengthening (by ה־, Arab. *imper. energicus*, with the ending -ānnā or -ān, in pause -ā) and shortening. Thus in *Qal* of the strong verb, the lengthened form of שָׁמַר *guard* is שָׁמְרָה<sup>2</sup> (*šōm'ra*, cf. קָטַל *qit'il*, § 46 *d*); עֹבֵד, עֹבְדָה Jer 49<sup>11</sup>; שָׁכַב, שָׁכְבָה *lie down*; שָׁמַע, שָׁמְעָה *hear*, in lesser pause שָׁמְעָה

<sup>1</sup> Only in 1st plur. do we find a few shortened forms, as נִשְׁאָר I S 14<sup>36</sup>, parallel with cohortatives; and נָרָא Is 41<sup>23</sup> *Keth.*

<sup>2</sup> On the reading שָׁמְרָה (i. e. *šām'ra*, according to the Jewish grammarians), required by the Masora in ψ 86<sup>2</sup>, 119<sup>167</sup> (cf. also Is 38<sup>14</sup>, and נִשְׁמְרָנִי ψ 16<sup>1</sup>), see § 9 *v*; on מְלוּכָה, Ju 9<sup>8</sup> *Keth.*, see § 46 *e*.

Dn 9<sup>10</sup>; in Niph'al הִשְׁבַּעַה Gn 21<sup>23</sup>. Cf., however, also מָכַר *sell*, Gn 25<sup>31</sup>, notwithstanding the impf. יִמְכֹּר עֲרֵכָה; יִמְכֹּר Jer 46<sup>3</sup>), but impf. יַעֲרֹךְ; אֶסְפָּה *collect*, Nu 11<sup>16</sup> (for אֶסְ cf. § 63 l and the plural אֶסְפוּ), but 2nd masc. אֶסֶף; נִצֵּרָה ψ 141<sup>3</sup>. Barth (see above, § 47 i note) finds in these forms a trace of old imperfects in *i*, cf. § 63 n. On the other hand, קָרָה ψ 69<sup>19</sup> (also Imperat. קָרַב Lv 9<sup>7</sup>, &c.), but impf. יִקְרַב. Without ה, we have the form לֵךְ *go*, Nu 23<sup>13</sup>, Ju 19<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17</sup>. The form קָטַל in pause becomes קָטְלָה, the form קָטַל becomes קָטְלָה, e. g. יִרְשָׁה Dt 33<sup>23</sup>. But also without the pause we find מְלוֹכָה Ju 9<sup>8</sup> *Keth.* and צְרוּפָה ψ 26<sup>2</sup> *Keth.*, on which see § 46 c. On the other hand רָגְזָה, פָּשְׁטָה, עָרָה, חֲגֹרָה Is 32<sup>11</sup> are to be explained as aramaizing forms of the 2nd plur. fem.; also for חָרְדִי v. 11 read חָרְדָה, and for כְּפָרִים v. 12 read כְּפָרָה.

k The shortened imperative is found only in verbs ל"ה, e. g. in *Pi'el* נָל from נָלָה. The shade of meaning conveyed by the imperatives with הָ is not always so perceptible as in the cohortative forms of the imperfect, but the longer form is frequently emphatic, e. g. קוּם *rise up*, קוּמָה *up* / הֵן *give*, הֵנָּה *give up*!

l Rem. The form דָּעָה for דַּעָה, best attested in Pr 24<sup>14</sup> (where it is taken by the Masora as imperat., not as infin., דַּעָה) is evidently due to the influence of the ה which follows it in close connexion (so Strack, on the analogy of Jb 31<sup>2</sup>); for other examples of this change of *a* to *ē*ghol, see above, under d, § 73 d, and § 80 i. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether רָבָה Ju 9<sup>29</sup> (from רָבָה) is intended for רָבָה, and not rather for the common form of the imperative *Pi'el* רַבֵּה. In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the imperative יִצָּא (from יָצָא) follows immediately after; in favour of the latter, that the ending הָ, with imperatives of verbs ל"ה, is not found elsewhere, and also that here no guttural follows (as in Pr 24<sup>14</sup>).

### § 49. The Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

a 1. The use of the two tense-forms, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 106, 107, cf. above, § 47, note on a), is by no means restricted to the expression of the past or future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Hebrew *consecution* of tenses<sup>1</sup> is the phenomenon that, in representing a series of past events, only the first

<sup>1</sup> The other Semitic languages do not exhibit this peculiarity, excepting the Phoenician, the most closely related to Hebrew, and of course the Moabitish dialect of the *Mēša'* inscription, which is practically identical with Old Hebrew. It also appears in the inscription of זכר of Hamāth (cf. Nöldeke, *ZA.* 1908, p. 379) where we find וַאֲשֵׁן יָדִי and *I lifted up my hand*, וַיַּעֲנֵנִי and *he answered me*, after a perfect of narration.

verb stands in the perfect, and the narration is continued in the imperfect. Conversely, the representation of a series of future events begins with the imperfect, and is continued in the perfect. Thus in 2 K 20<sup>1</sup>, *In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death* (perf.), and *Isaiah . . . came* (imperf.) *to him, and said* (imperf.) *to him, &c.* On the other hand, Is 7<sup>17</sup>, *the Lord shall bring* (imperf.) *upon thee . . . days, &c.,* 7<sup>18</sup>, *and it shall come to pass* (perf. הָיָה) *in that day . . .*

This progress in the sequence of time, is regularly indicated by *b* a pregnant and (called *wāw consecutive*<sup>1</sup>), which in itself is really only a variety of the ordinary *wāw copulative*, but which sometimes (in the imperf.) appears with a different vocalization. Further, the tenses connected by *wāw consecutive* sometimes undergo a change in the tone and consequently are liable also to other variations.

2. The *wāw consecutive* of the imperfect is (*a*) pronounced with *c* *Pathah* and a *Dageš forte* in the next letter, as וַיִּקְטֹל and *he killed*; before *נ* of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22 c) with *Qameṣ*, as וַיִּקְטֹל and *I killed*. Exceptions are, וַיִּבְרַח Ez 16<sup>10</sup> according to the *Dikduke ha-ṭ'amim*, § 71; also וַיִּשְׁמַחְהוּ 2 S 1<sup>10</sup> according to Qimḥi; but in Ju 6<sup>9</sup> וַיִּגְדַּשׁ should be read according to Baer, and וַיִּנָּח in both places in Ju 20<sup>6</sup>. *Dageš forte* is always omitted in the preformative י, in accordance with § 20 m.

(*b*) When a shortening of the imperfect form is possible (cf. § 48 g), *d* it takes effect, as a rule (but cf. § 51 n), after *wāw consec.*, e.g. in Hiphil וַיִּקְטֹל (§ 53 n). The tendency to retract the tone from the final syllable is even stronger after *wāw consec.* than in the jussive. The throwing back of the tone on to the penultima (conditional upon its being an open syllable with a long vowel, § 29 a), further involves the greatest possible shortening of the vowel of the ultima, since the vowel then comes to stand in a toneless closed syllable, e.g. וַיִּקֵּץ, juss.

<sup>1</sup> This name best expresses the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *wāw consecutive* an action is always represented as the direct, or at least temporal consequence of a preceding action. Moreover, it is clear from the above examples, that the *wāw consecutive* can only be thus used in immediate conjunction with the verb. As soon as *wāw*, owing to an insertion (e.g. a negative), is separated from the verb, the imperfect follows instead of the perfect *consecutive*, the perfect instead of the imperfect *consecutive*. The fact that whole Books (Lev., Num., Josh., Jud., Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with the imperfect *consecutive*, and others (Exod., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *wāw copulative*, is taken as a sign of their close connexion with the historical Books now or originally preceding them. Cf., on the other hand, the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. It is a merely superficial description to call the *wāw consecutive* by the old-fashioned name *wāw conversive*, on the ground that it always converts the meaning of the respective tenses into its opposite, i.e. according to the old view, the future into the preterite, and vice versa.

קָם, with *wāw consec.* קָם and he arose (§ 67 n and x, § 68 d, § 69 p, § 71, § 72 t and aa, § 73 e).<sup>1</sup>

- c In the *first* pers. sing. alone the retraction of the tone and even the reducing of the long vowel in the final syllable (*ū* to *ō*, *î* to *ē*, and then to *ō* and *ē*) are not usual,<sup>2</sup> at least according to the Masoretic punctuation, and the apocope in verbs קָם occurs more rarely; e.g. always קָם (or קָם, a merely orthographic difference) and I arose; Hiph. קָם (but generally written קָם, implying the pronunciation *wā'āqem*, as קָם implies *wā'āqom*); קָם and I saw, more frequently than קָם, § 75 t. On the other hand, the form with final קָ is often used in the 1st pers. both sing. and plur., especially in the later books, e.g. קָם and I sent, Gn 32<sup>6</sup>, 41<sup>11</sup>, 43<sup>21</sup>, Nu 8<sup>19</sup> (קָם, as in Ju 6<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>28</sup>, and often, probably a sort of compensation for the lost ק); Ju 6<sup>10</sup>, 12<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>24</sup>, ψ 3<sup>6</sup>, 7<sup>5</sup>, 90<sup>10</sup>, 119<sup>55</sup>, Jb 1<sup>15ff.</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>, Ez 7<sup>23</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 9<sup>3</sup>, Neh 2<sup>13</sup>, 5<sup>7.8.13</sup>, 6<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>1-11.21</sup>, &c.—Sometimes, as in ψ 3<sup>6</sup>, with a certain emphasis of expression, and probably often, as in Ju 10<sup>12</sup>, קָם before נ, for euphonic reasons. In Is 8<sup>2</sup> קָם may have been originally intended; in ψ 73<sup>16</sup> קָם and in Jb 30<sup>26</sup> קָם. In Ez 3<sup>3</sup> read קָם or קָם.

- f This ק is in meaning a strengthened *wāw copulative*, and resembles in pronunciation the form which is retained in Arabic as the ordinary copula (*wā*).<sup>3</sup> The close connexion of this *wā* with the following consonant, caused the latter in Hebrew to take Dageš, especially as *ā* could not have been retained in an open syllable. Cf. קָם, קָם, קָם (for קָם, where the prepositions ק and ל, and the particle ק, are closely connected with ק in the same way (§ 102 k).

- g The retraction of the tone also occurs in such combinations, as in קָם (for קָם § 102 l).—The identity of many consecutive forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not mislead us into supposing an intimate relation between the moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (and the retraction of the tone) seems rather to be occasioned solely by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, while in the jussives the shortening (and retraction) belongs to the character of the form.

- h 3. The counterpart of *wāw consecutive* of the imperfect is *wāw consecutive* of the perfect, by means of which perfects are placed as

<sup>1</sup> The plural forms in ק also occur less frequently after *wāw consecutive*; cf., however, קָם Ju 8<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>18</sup>, Am 6<sup>8</sup>, Ez 44<sup>8</sup>, Dt 4<sup>11</sup>, 5<sup>20</sup>. The 2nd fem. sing. in ק never occurs after *wāw consecutive*.

<sup>2</sup> In the 1st plur. קָם Neh 4<sup>3</sup> is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (cf. קָם, i. e. קָם, 4<sup>9</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>; קָם). On the treatment of the tone in the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive *Niph'al*, see § 51 n.

<sup>3</sup> In usage the Hebrew *wāw* does duty for the Arabic *fā* (*wāw apodosis*, see § 143 d) as well as *wā*.

the sequels in the future to preceding actions or events regarded as incomplete at the time of speaking, and therefore in the imperfect, imperative, or even participle. This *wāw* is in form an ordinary *wāw copulative*, and therefore shares its various vocalization (וְ, וֹ, וּ, as 2 K 7<sup>4</sup>, and וְ); e. g. וְהָיָה, after an imperfect, &c., and so it happens = and it will happen. It has, however, the effect, in certain verbal forms, of shifting the tone from the penultima, generally on to the ultima, e. g. וָלַכְתִּי *I went*, consecutive form וְלַכְתִּי and *I will go*, Ju 1<sup>3</sup>, where it is co-ordinated with another *perfect consecutive*, which again is the consecutive to an *imperative*. See further on this usage in § 112.

As innumerable examples show, the *Qameṣ* of the first syllable is retained *i* in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now in the secondary tone, and therefore necessarily takes *Metheg*. On the other hand, the *ō* of the second syllable in verbs *middle* *ō* upon losing the tone necessarily becomes *ö*, e. g. וְיִכְלֹתָ Ex 18<sup>23</sup>.

The shifting forward of the tone after the *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect* is, *k* however, not consistently carried out. It is omitted—(a) always in the 1st pers. pl., e. g. וְיִשְׁכְּנוּ Gn 34<sup>16</sup>; (b) regularly in Hiph'il before the affirmatives הָ— and וְ, see § 53 *r*; and (c) in many cases in verbs אָל and אָל, almost always in the 1st sing. of אָל (Jer 29<sup>14</sup>), and in אָל if the vowel of the 2nd syllable is *i*, Ex 17<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>4.6.7.10</sup> π, Ju 6<sup>26</sup>, &c., except in Qal (only Lv 24<sup>5</sup>, before א) and the 2nd sing. masc. of Hiph'il-forms before א, Nu 20<sup>8</sup>, Dt 20<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>3</sup>, 2 K 13<sup>17</sup>; similarly in Pi'el before א, Ex 25<sup>24</sup>, Jer 27<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand the tone is generally moved forward if the second syllable has *e* (in אָל Gn 27<sup>10</sup> &c., in אָל Ex 40<sup>4</sup>, Jer 33<sup>6</sup>, Ez 32<sup>7</sup>); but cf. also וְיִרְאֶה Lv 19<sup>14.32</sup> and frequently, always before the counter-tone, Jo 4<sup>21</sup>, ψ 19<sup>14.1</sup>. With *a* in the penultima the form is וְנִשְׁאָת Is 14<sup>4</sup>, and probably also וְקִרְאֶה Jer 2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>2</sup> with little T'liṣā, a postpositive accent.

But before a following א the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic *l* grounds, e. g. וְבִאֲתָ אֶל־ Gn 6<sup>14</sup>, Ex 3<sup>18</sup>, Zc 6<sup>10</sup> (by the side of וְבִאֲתָ, &c. (cf., however, וְקִרְאֶה, before א, Gn 17<sup>19</sup>, Jer 7<sup>27</sup>, Ez 36<sup>29</sup>); וְהִכִּיתָ Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, cf. Ex 25<sup>11</sup>, Lv 24<sup>5</sup> (but also וְצִוִּיתִי אֶת־ Lv 25<sup>21</sup>). Likewise, before ה, Am 8<sup>9</sup>, and ע, e. g. Gn 26<sup>10</sup>, 27<sup>12</sup>, Lv 26<sup>25</sup> (cf., however, וְקִרְאֶה עָלָיו, Ez 38<sup>21</sup>); on verbs ע"ע, see § 67 *k* and *es*.

(d) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, *m* e. g. וְשָׁבַע Dt 6<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>15</sup>; וְאָמַר Is 14<sup>4</sup>, Ju 4<sup>8</sup>; sometimes even in the lesser pause, as Dt 2<sup>28</sup>, Ez 3<sup>26</sup>, 1 S 29<sup>8</sup> (where see Driver), with *Zaqeph qaton*; and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29 *e*), as in וְשָׁבַתָּה Dt 17<sup>14</sup>, Ez 14<sup>13</sup>, 17<sup>22</sup>, Am 1<sup>4.7.10.12</sup>—but also וְשָׁקַתָּ Dt 21<sup>11</sup>, 23<sup>14</sup>, 24<sup>19</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The irregularity in the tone of these perfects manifestly results from following conflicting theories, not that of Ben Asher alone.

## § 50. The Participle.

- a** 1. Qal has both an active participle, called *Pō'ēl* from its form (פֹּעֵל), and a passive, *Pā'ūl* (פָּעֹל).<sup>1</sup>

*Pā'ūl* is generally regarded as a survival of a passive of Qal, which still exists throughout in Arabic, but has been lost in Hebrew (see, however, § 52 e., just as in Aramaic the passives of *Pi'ēl* and *Hiph'il* are lost, except in the participles. But instances of the form *qūfāl* are better regarded as remnants of the passive participle Qal (see § 52 s), so that פָּעֹל must be considered as an original verbal noun; cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 173 ff.

- b** 2. In the intransitive verbs *mid. e* and *mid. o*, the form of the participle active of Qal coincides in form with the 3rd sing. of the perfect, e. g. יָשָׁן *sleeping*, from יָשַׁן; יָנֵר (only orthographically different from the perf. יָנַר) *fearing*; cf. the formation of the participle in *Niph'al*, § 51 a. On the other hand, the participle of verbs *mid. a* takes the form קָטַל (so even from the transitive שָׂנֵא *to hate*, part. שֹׂנֵא). The *ō* of these forms has arisen through an obscuring of the *ā*, and is therefore unchangeable, cf. § 9 g. The form קָטַל (with a changeable *Qames* in both syllables), which would correspond to the forms יָשָׁן and יָנַר, is only in use as a noun, cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> f. The formation of the participle in *Pi'ēl*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hithpa'ēl* follows a different method.

- c** 3. Participles form their feminine (קָטְלָה or קָטַלְתָּ) and their plural like other nouns (§ 80 e, § 84<sup>a</sup> r, s, § 94).

- d** Rem. 1. From the above it follows, that the *ā* of the form יָשָׁן is lengthened from *ā*, and consequently changeable (e. g. fem. יָשְׁנָה); and that the *ō* of קָטַל on the other hand is obscured from an unchangeable *ā*.<sup>1</sup> In Arabic the verbal adjective of the form *qātil* corresponds to the form *qātil*, and the part. *qātil* to *qōfēl*. In both cases, therefore, the *ē* of the second syllable is lengthened from *i*, and is consequently changeable (e. g. קָטַל, plur. קָטְלִים, constr. pl. קָטְלֵי).

- e** תּוֹמִיךְ ψ 16<sup>b</sup>, instead of the form *qōfēl*, is an anomaly; it is possible, however, that תּוֹמִיךְ (incorrectly written fully) is intended (cf. סִבִּיב 2 K 8<sup>21</sup>), or even the imperfect *Hiph'il* of יָמַךְ. The form יָסַךְ in Is 29<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup> appears to stand for יָסַךְ, but most probably the Masora here (as certainly in יָסִיף Ec 1<sup>18</sup>) intends the 3rd sing. imperf. Hiph., for which the better form would be יוֹסֶף; יוֹסֶף 1 Ch 27<sup>30</sup>, being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אָבַר (constr. state of אָבֵר), with *ā* in the second syllable, occurs in Dt 32<sup>28</sup> (cf. moreover, § 65 d). On הוֹלֵם Is 41<sup>7</sup> (for הוֹלֵם), see § 29 f.

- f** 2. A form like the pass. ptep. *Pā'ūl*, but not to be confused with it, is sometimes found from intransitive verbs, to denote an inherent quality, e. g. אֱמוּנָה faithful, אֲנָשׁ desperate, Jer 15<sup>18</sup>, &c.; בְּטוּחַ trustful, Is 26<sup>3</sup>, ψ 112<sup>7</sup>; עָצוּם strong, Is 51<sup>21</sup>; and even from transitive verbs, אֲחֻזָּה handling, Ct 3<sup>8</sup>; זָכוּר mindful, ψ 103<sup>14</sup>; יָדוּעַ knowing, Is 53<sup>3</sup>; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> m.

<sup>1</sup> The constr. st. נָאֵם in the formula נָאֵם יְהוָה, the word (properly the whispering) of the Lord, &c., is always written defectively.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vollers, 'Das Qātil-partizipium,' in ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff.

## B. VERBA DERIVATIVA, OR DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51. *Niph'al*.<sup>1</sup>

1. The essential characteristic of this conjugation consists in a *a* prefix<sup>2</sup> to the stem. This exists in two forms: (*a*) the (probably original) prepositive *nā*, as in the Hebrew perfect and participle, although in the strong verb the *ā* is always attenuated to *ī*: נִקְטַל for original *nā-qātāl*, participle נִקְטֵל, infinitive absolute sometimes נִקְטֹל; (*b*) the (later) proclitic *in* (as in all the forms of the corresponding Arabic conjugation VII. *'inqātālā*), found in the imperfect יִקְטֹל for *yinqātēl*, in the imperative and infinitive construct, with a secondary ה added, הִקְטֹל (for *hinqātēl*), and in the infinitive absolute הִקְטֹל. The inflexion of *Niph'al* is perfectly analogous to that of *Qal*.

The features of *Niph'al* are accordingly in the perfect and participle the prefixed *Nūn*, in the imperative, infinitive, and imperfect, the *Dageš* in the first radical. These characteristics hold good also for the weak verb. In the case of an initial guttural, which, according to § 22 *b*, cannot take *Dageš forte*, the omission of the strengthening invariably causes the lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 63 *h*).

2. As regards its meaning, *Niph'al* bears some resemblance to the *c* Greek *middle voice*, in being—(*a*) primarily *reflexive* of *Qal*, e.g. נִלְחַם to thrust oneself (against), נִשְׁמַר to take heed to oneself, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּר to hide oneself, נִגְאֵל to redeem oneself; cf. also נִעֲנֶה to answer for oneself. Equally characteristic of *Niph'al* is its frequent use to express emotions which react upon the mind; נִחַם to trouble oneself, נִנָּח to sigh (to bemoan oneself, cf. ὀδύρεσθαι, lamentari, contristari); as well as to express actions which the subject allows to happen to himself, or to have an effect upon himself (*Niph'al tolerativum*), e.g. דִּרַשׁ to search, to inquire, Niph. to allow oneself to be inquired of, Is 65<sup>1</sup>, Ez 14<sup>3</sup>, &c.; so the Niph. of מָצָא to find, יָסַר to warn, to correct, Jer 6<sup>8</sup>, 31<sup>18</sup>, &c.

(*b*) It expresses *reciprocal* or mutual action. e.g. דִּבֶּר to speak, Niph. *d* to speak to one another; שָׁפַט to judge, Niph. to go to law with one another; יָעַץ to counsel, Niph. to take counsel, cf. the middle and deponent verbs βουλευέσθαι (יָעַץ), μάχεσθαι (נִלְחַם), altercari, luctari (נִצָּח) to strive with one another) *proeliari*.

(*c*) It has also, like *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 *f*) and the Greek *middle*, the *c* meaning of the active, with the addition of *to oneself (sibi)*, for one-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Rieder, *De linguae Hebr. verbis, quae vocantur derivata nifal et hitpacl*, Gumbinnen (Progr. des Gymn.), 1884, a list of all the strong *Niph'al* forms (81) and *Hithpa'el* forms (36) in the Old Testament; and especially M. Lambert, 'L'emploi du Nifal en Hébreu,' *REJ.* 41, 196 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Philippi in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 650, and Barth, *ibid.* 1894, p. 8 f.

self, e. g. **שָׁאַל** to ask (something) for oneself (1 S 20<sup>6,28</sup>, Neh 13<sup>6</sup>), cf. αἰτοῦμαι σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα, to put on (oneself) a tunic.

f (d) In consequence of a looseness of thought at an early period of the language, *Niph'al* comes finally in many cases to represent the passive<sup>1</sup> of *Qal*, e. g. **יָלַד** to bear, *Niph.* to be born; **קָבַר** to bury, *Niph.* to be buried. In cases where *Qal* is intransitive in meaning, or is not used, *Niph'al* appears also as the passive of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, e. g. **כָּבַד** to be in honour, *Pi'el* to honour, *Niph.* to be honoured (as well as *Pu'al* **כָּבַד**); **פָּחַד** *Pi'el* to conceal, *Hiph.* to destroy, *Niph.* passive of either. In such cases *Niph'al* may again coincide in meaning with *Qal* (**חָלַה** *Qal* and *Niph.* to be ill) and even take an accusative.

g Examples of denominatives are, **נָזַר** to be born a male, Ex 34<sup>19</sup> (from **זָרַר**; but probably **הָזַר** should here be read); **נָלַב** *cordatum fieri*, Jb 11<sup>12</sup> (from **לָבַב** *cor*); doubtless also **נָבְנָה** to obtain children, Gn 16<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>3</sup>.

h The older grammarians were decidedly wrong in representing *Niph'al* simply as the passive of *Qal*; for *Niph'al* has (as the frequent use of its imperat. shows), in no respect the character of the other passives, and in Arabic a special conjugation (*ingātālā*) corresponds to it with a passive of its own. Moreover, the forms mentioned in § 52 e point to a differently formed passive of *Qal*.—The form **נָנְאֵלוּ** Is 59<sup>3</sup>, La 4<sup>14</sup>, is not to be regarded as a passive of *Niph'al*, but with König and Cheyne as a *forma mixta*, in the sense that the punctuators intended to combine two optional readings, **נָנְאֵלוּ**, perf. *Niph.*, and **נָנְאֵלוּ**, perf. *Pu'al* [cf. also Wright, *Compar. Gramm.*, p. 224]. Although the passive use of *Niph'al* was introduced at an early period, and became tolerably common, it is nevertheless quite secondary to the reflexive use.

i Rem. 1. The *infin. absol.* **נִקְטֹל** is connected in form with the perfect, to which it bears the same relation as **קָטַל** to **קָטַל** in *Qal*, the *o* in the second syllable being obscured from an original *ā*. Examples are, **נִבְטֹף** Gn 31<sup>30</sup>; **נִלְחֹם** Ju 11<sup>25</sup>; **נִשְׁאֵל** 1 S 20<sup>6,28</sup>, all in connexion with the perfect.

k Examples of the form **הִקְטִיל** (in connexion with imperfects) are, **הִנָּחַן** Jer 32<sup>4</sup>; **הִאָּכַל** Lv 7<sup>18</sup>; once **אִדְרֹשׁ** Ez 14<sup>3</sup>, where, perhaps, the subsequent **אִדְרֹשׁ** has led to the substitution of **ק** for **ה**.—Moreover, the form **הִקְטִיל** is not infrequently used also for the *infin. absol.*,<sup>2</sup> e. g. Ex 22<sup>3</sup>, Nu 15<sup>31</sup>, Dt 4<sup>26</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand, **בְּהִנָּדָה** should simply be read for the wholly abnormal **בְּהִנָּדָה** ψ 68<sup>3</sup> (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent **הִנָּדָה**, but probably a 'forma mixta', combining the readings **בְּהִנָּדָה** and **בְּנָדָה**).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Halfmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, 1. Stück, Wittenb., 1888, 2. St. 1892 (Gymn.-Programm), statistics of the *Niph'al* (*Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and *qātūl*) forms at different periods of the language, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of *Niph.* and its relation to the passive; the selection of periods is, however, very questionable from the standpoint of literary criticism.

<sup>2</sup> But, like **הִקְטִיל**, only in connexion with imperfects, except Jer 7<sup>9</sup>. Barth is therefore right in describing (*Nominalbildung*, p. 74) both forms as later analogous formations (in addition to the original Semitic **נִקְטֹל**), intended to assimilate the infinitive to the imperfect which it strengthens.

Elision of the ה after prepositions is required by the Masora in פָּקֵשׁ לְ Pr l 24<sup>17</sup> (for פָּהֶכְ), בָּהֶרֶג Ez 26<sup>15</sup> and בָּעֵטָף La 2<sup>11</sup>; also in verbs לָהֶ Ex 10<sup>3</sup> (לַעֲנוֹת); 34<sup>24</sup>, Dt 31<sup>11</sup>, Is 1<sup>12</sup> (לְרִאוֹת); in verbs עָוָה Jb 33<sup>30</sup> (לְאֹר). It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the *infin. Qal* of the *Kēlhibh* is not rather intended in all these examples; it certainly is so in La 2<sup>11</sup>, cf. ψ 61<sup>3</sup>.

2. Instead of the *Sere* in the ultima of the imperfect, *Pathah* often occurs *m* in pause, e.g. וַיִּנָּמַל Gn 21<sup>8</sup>; cf. Ex 31<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>15</sup> (with final שׁ); 17<sup>23</sup> (with ק); Jon 1<sup>5</sup> (with מ); see § 29 q. In the 2nd and 3rd plur. fem. *Pathah* predominates, e.g. תִּפְרְנָה Is 65<sup>17</sup>; *Sere* occurs only in תִּפְרְנָה Ru 1<sup>18</sup>, from עָנָה, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for תִּפְרְנָה; cf. even תִּפְרְנָה Is 60<sup>4</sup>.—With *Nūn paragodicum* (see § 47 m) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. are found, וַיִּכְרֹנוּ, תִּלְחֲמוּ, &c., in pause וַיִּכְרֹנוּ, תִּלְחֲמוּ, &c.; but Jb 19<sup>21</sup> (cf. 24<sup>24</sup>) וַיִּחַצְבוּ.

3. When the imperfect, the infinitive (in *ē*), or the imperative is followed *n* in close connexion by a monosyllable, or by a word with the tone on the first syllable, the tone is, as a rule (but cf. וַיִּאֲבֹק אִישׁ Gn 32<sup>25</sup>), shifted back from the ultima to the penultima, while the ultima, which thus loses the tone, takes *Sēghōl* instead of *Sere*; e.g. וַיִּשָּׁל בָּהּ Ez 33<sup>12</sup>; וַיַּעֲמֵר לוֹ Gn 25<sup>21</sup>; in the imperative, 13<sup>9</sup>.—So always הִשְׁמֵר לָהּ (since לָהּ counts as *one* syllable) Gn 24<sup>6</sup>, &c., cf. 1 S 19<sup>2</sup>; and even with *Pathah* in the ultima, וַיַּעֲבֹר אֲרָץ Jb 18<sup>4</sup> (but cf. וַיַּעֲתֵר אֱלֹהִים 2 S 21<sup>14</sup>). Although in isolated cases (e.g. Gn 32<sup>25</sup>, Ezr 8<sup>23</sup>) the tone is not thrown back, in spite of a tone-syllable following, the retraction has become usual in certain forms, even when the next word begins with a toneless syllable; especially after *consec.*, e.g. וַיִּשְׁאָר Gn 7<sup>23</sup>; וַיִּלָּחֶם Nu 21<sup>1</sup> and frequently, וַיַּעֲמֵד 25<sup>3</sup>; and always so in the imperative הִשְׁמֵר Ex 23<sup>21</sup>, Jb 36<sup>21</sup>, and (before *Metheg* of the counter-tone) Dt 24<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>9</sup>. On the avoidance of pausal-forms in the imperative (Am 2<sup>12</sup> with *Sillug*, Zc 2<sup>11</sup> with *Athnah*), and imperfect (Pr 24<sup>4</sup>, &c.), see § 29 o, and note; on the other hand, always הִפְלִיט, וַיִּפְלִט, &c.

In the *imperative*, נִקְבְּצוּ, for הִקְבְּצוּ, with the rejection of the initial ה, *O* occurs in Is 43<sup>9</sup>, and in Joel 4<sup>11</sup> in pause נִקְבְּצוּ (cf. נִלְוֶה Jer 50<sup>5</sup>); but in these examples either the reading or the explanation is doubtful. The 2nd sing. imperat. of נִשְׁבַּע is always (with ה *paragodicum*) לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה swear to me, Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, &c. (also לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה Gn 47<sup>31</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>15</sup>).

4. For the 1st sing. of the *imperfect*, the form אֶשְׁמַל is as frequent as אֶשְׁמַל, *p* e.g. אֶדְרֹשׁ I shall be inquired of, Ez 14<sup>3</sup>; אֶשְׁבַּע I will swear, Gn 21<sup>24</sup>; cf. 16<sup>2</sup>, Nu 23<sup>15</sup>, Ez 20<sup>36</sup>, and so always in the cohortative, e.g. אֶנְקָמָה I will avenge me, Is 1<sup>24</sup>; cf. 1 S 12<sup>7</sup>, Ez 26<sup>2</sup>, and in the impf. Niph. of פָּוָה (§ 69 t). The Babylonian punctuation admits only י under the preformative of the 1st person.

## § 52. Pi'el and Pu'al.

1. The *characteristic* of this conjugation consists in the strengthening *a* of the middle radical. From the simple stem *qatal* (cf. § 43 b) the form קָטַל (cf. the Arabic conj. II. *qattālā*) would naturally follow as

the *perfect* of the active (*Pi'el*). The *Pathah* of the first syllable is, however, with one exception (see *m*), always attenuated to *i* in the *perfect*. In the second syllable, *ā* has been retained in the majority of cases, so that the conjugation should more correctly be called *Pi'al*; but very frequently<sup>1</sup> this *ā* also is attenuated to *i*, which is then regularly lengthened to *ē*, under the influence of the tone. Cf. in Aram. קָטַל; but in Biblical Aramaic almost always קָטַל. On the three cases in which *ā* before a final ר or ס has passed into *S'ghôl*, see below, *l*.—Hence, for the 3rd sing. masc. *perfect*, there arise forms like אָבַד, קָדַשׁ, לָפַד, כָּבַד, &c.—Before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, however, *ā* is always retained, thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתֶּם, קָטַלְנוּ, &c. In the *infinitives* (*absol.* קָטַל, obscured from *qattāl*; *constr.* קָטַל), *imperfect* (קָטַלְתָּ), *imperative* (קָטַל), and *participle* (קָטַלְתָּ) the original *ā* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *S'wā* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; cf. the Arabic imperfect *yūqāttīl*, participle *mūqāttīl*.

**b** The *passive* (*Pu'al*) is distinguished by the obscure vowel *ū*, or very rarely *ō*, in the first syllable, and *ā* (in pause *ā*) always in the second. In Arabic, also, the passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the first syllable. The inflexion of both these conjugations is analogous to that of *Qal*.

**c** Rem. 1. The preformative ה, which in the remaining conjugations also is the prefix of the participle, is probably connected with the interrogative or indefinite (cf. § 37) pronoun הִי *quis? quicunque* (fem. i. e. neuter, הִיא); cf. § 85 e.

**d** 2. The Dages forte, which according to the above is characteristic of the whole of *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*, is often omitted (independently of verbs middle guttural, § 64 d) when the middle radical has *S'wā* under it (cf. § 20 m), e. g. שָׁלַח for שָׁלַח Ez 17<sup>17</sup>; בָּקַשׁוּ 2 Ch 15<sup>16</sup> (but in the *imperative* always בָּקַשׁוּ 1 S 28<sup>7</sup>, &c.), and so always in הָלַל praise. The vocal character of the *S'wā* under the *litera dagessanda* is sometimes in such cases (according to § 10 h) expressly emphasized by its taking the form of a *Haṭeph*, as in הָלַח Gn 2<sup>28</sup>, with הָלַח owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, cf. פָּעַל for פָּעַל, &c.; Gn 9<sup>14</sup>, Ju 16<sup>16</sup>. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *S'wā* under the preformatives (*Haṭeph-Pathah* under נ in the 1st sing. *imperfect*) serves at the same time as a characteristic of both conjugations (Gn 26<sup>14 f.</sup>).

**e** 3. According to the convincing suggestion of Böttcher<sup>2</sup> (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 904 ff. and § 1022), many supposed perfects of *Pu'al* are in reality

<sup>1</sup> So in all verbs which end in *Nūn*, and in almost all which end in *Lamed* (Olsh. p. 538). Barth is probably right in supposing (ZDMG. 1894, p. 1 ff.) that the vowels of the strengthened perfects have been influenced by the *imperfect*.

<sup>2</sup> As Mayer Lambert observes, the same view was already expressed by Ibn Ġanālī (see above, § 3 d) in the *Kitāb el-luma'*, p. 161. Cf. especially Barth, 'Das passive Qal und seine Participien,' in the *Festschrift zum Jubiläum Hildesheimer* (Berlin, 1890), p. 145 ff.

passives of Qal. He reckons as such all those *perfects*, of which the *Pi'el* (which ought to express the corresponding active) is either not found at all, or only (as in the case of יָלַד) with a different meaning, and which form their *imperfect* from another conjugation, generally Niph'al. Such *perfects* are the *quṭṭal* form of the stems אָבַל (*imperfect* תִּאֲבֵלוּ Is 1<sup>20</sup>), חָפַשׁ, טָרַף, יָלַד, יָצַר, שָׁפַף, שָׁטַף, שָׁנַל, עָבַר, לָקַח, אָסַר, בָּוֹז, וָנָה, חָצַב, כָּרַת, נָפַח, עָוָה, עָשָׂה, רָאָה, and of verbs with middle ר (hence with *ū* of the first syllable lengthened to *ō*), הָרַג, הָרַה, Jb 3<sup>3</sup> [וָרַה, see § 67 m], וָרַע, וָרַק, מָרַט, מָרַף, קָרַא, שָׁרַף; also the infinitives absolute הָרַג וְהָרַה Is 59<sup>13</sup>. In these cases there is no need to assume any error on the part of the punctuators; the sharpening of the second radical may have taken place in order to retain the characteristic *ū* of the first syllable (cf. Arab. *gūtīlā* as passive of *gūtālā*), and the *a* of the second syllable is in accordance with the vocalization of all the other passives (see § 39 f). Cf. § 52 s and § 53 u.

2. The fundamental idea of *Pi'el*, to which all the various shades *f* of meaning in this conjugation may be referred, is to *busy oneself eagerly* with the action indicated by the stem. This intensifying of the idea of the stem, which is outwardly expressed by the strengthening of the second radical, appears in individual cases as—(a) a *strengthening* and *repetition* of the action (cf. the *intensive* and *iterative* nouns with the middle radical strengthened, § 84<sup>b</sup>),<sup>1</sup> e. g. צָחַק to *laugh*, *Pi'el* to *jest*, to *make sport* (to laugh repeatedly); שָׁאַל to *ask*, *Pi'el* to *beg*; hence when an action has reference to *many*, e. g. קָבַר to *bury* (a person) Gn 23<sup>4</sup>, *Pi'el* to *bury* (many) 1 K 11<sup>16</sup>, and often so in Syr. and Arab. Other varieties of the *intensive* and *iterative* meaning are, e. g. פָּתַח to *open*, *Pi'el* to *loose*; סָפַר to *count*, *Pi'el* to *recount*: [cf. הִלֵּךְ, חָשַׁב, בָּתַב, רָפָא, מָרַצָה, מָאֵהָב, חָפַשׁ, רָפָא].

The eager pursuit of an action may also consist in *urging* and *g* *causing* others to do the same. Hence *Pi'el* has also—(b) a *causative* sense (like *Hiph'il*), e. g. לָמַד to *learn*, *Pi'el* to *teach*. It may often be turned by such phrases as to *permit to*, to *declare or hold as* (the *declarative Pi'el*), to *help to*, e. g. הֵיָה to *cause to live*, צִדַק to *declare innocent*, יָלַד to *help in child-bearing*.

(c) *Denominatives* (see § 38 b) are frequently formed in this conju- *h* *gation*, and generally express a being occupied with the object expressed by the noun, either to form or to make use of it, e. g. קָנָה to *make a nest*, to *nest* (from קָן), עָפַר to *throw dust*, to *dust* (from עָפָר),

<sup>1</sup> Analogous examples, in which the strengthening of a letter has likewise an *intensive* force, are such German words as *reichen*, *rechen* (Eng. to *reach*, to *rack*); *streichen* (*stringo*), *strecken*: cf. *Strich* (a *stroke*), *Strecke* (a *stretch*); *wacker* from *wachen*; others, in which it has the *causative* sense, are *stechen*, *stecken*; *wachen* (*watch*), *wecken* (*wake*); τέλλω to *bring to an end* (cf. the stem τέλω to *end*, in τέλος, τελέω); γεννάω to *beget*, from the stem γένω to *come into being* (cf. γένος).

לָקַח *to gather the clouds together* (from לָקַח), שָׁלַשׁ *to divide in three parts*, or *to do a thing for the third time* (from שָׁלַשׁ); probably also דִּבֶּר *to speak*, from דִּבֶּר *a word*. Or again, the denominative may express taking away, injuring, &c., the object denoted by the noun (*privative Pi'el*, cf. our *to skin, to behead, to bone*), e.g. שָׁרַשׁ, from שָׁרַשׁ *to root out, to extirpate*, וָנֶבֶן prop. *to injure the tail* (וָנֶבֶן), hence *to rout the rear of an army, to attack it*; לָבַב *to ravish the heart*; דָּשָׁן *to remove the ashes* (דָּשָׁן), חָטָא *to free from sin* (חָטָא), עָצַם *to break any one's bones* (עָצַם; cf., in the same sense, גָּרַם from גָּרַם), סָעַף *to lop the boughs*, Is 10<sup>33</sup> (from סָעַף *a bough*). Some words are clearly denominatives, although the noun from which they are derived is no longer found, e.g. סָקַל *to stone, to pelt with stones* (also used in this sense in *Qal*), and *to remove stones* (from a field), *to clear away stones*; cf. our *to stone*, used also in the sense of *taking out the stones* from fruit.

The meaning of the *passive* (*Pu'al*) follows naturally from the above, e.g. בָּקַשׁ *Pi'el to seek*, *Pu'al to be sought*.

i In *Pi'el* the literal, concrete meaning of the verb has sometimes been retained, when *Qal* has acquired a figurative sense, e.g. נָלַח, *Pi'el to uncover, Qal to reveal, also to emigrate, i. e. to make the land bare*.

k Also with an intransitive sense *Pi'el* occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic language, e.g. חָתַת in *Pi'el to be broken in pieces*, Jer 51<sup>66</sup>; בָּחַר *to tremble*, Is 51<sup>13</sup>, Pr 28<sup>14</sup>; רָוָה *to be drunken*, Is 34<sup>6,7</sup>; מָעַט *to be few*, Ec 12<sup>9</sup>; but in Is 48<sup>8</sup>, 60<sup>11</sup> instead of the *Pi'el* of פָּתַח the *Niph'al* is certainly to be read, with Cheyne.

l Rem. 1. The (more frequent) form of the perfect with *Pathah* in the second syllable appears especially before *Maqqeph* (Ec 9<sup>15</sup>, 12<sup>9</sup> and in the middle of sentences in continuous discourse, but at the end of the sentence (in pause) the form with *Sere* is more common. Cf. נָדַל Is 49<sup>21</sup> with נָדַל Jos 4<sup>14</sup>, Est 3<sup>1</sup>; מָלַט Ez 33<sup>5</sup> with מָלַט Ec 9<sup>15</sup>; קָצַץ 2 K 8<sup>16</sup> with קָצַץ ψ 129<sup>4</sup>; but *Qames* never appears in this pausal form. The 3rd sing. fem. in pause is always of the form קָטְלָה, except קָטְצָה Mi 1<sup>7</sup>; the 3rd plur. always as קָטְלוּ; the 2nd and 1st sing. and 1st plur. of course as קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתִּים (but always דִּבַּרְתִּי and דִּבַּרְתָּ, לָפַדְתִּי and לָפַדְתָּ). In the 3rd sing. perf. דִּבֶּר *to speak*, כָּפַר *to pardon*, and כָּבַשׁ *to wash clothes* (also כָּבַשׁ Gn 49<sup>11</sup>) take *S'ghöl*, but become in pause דִּבֶּר, כָּפַשׁ, כָּבַשׁ (2 S 19<sup>25</sup>); the pausal form of כָּפַר does not occur.

m *Pathah* in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gn 41<sup>61</sup>, נָשַׁח he made me forget, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מִנְשָׁח.

n 2. In the imperfect (and jussive Ju 16<sup>25</sup>), infinitive, and imperative *Pi'el* (as also in *Hithpa'el*) the *Sere* in the final syllable, when followed by *Maqqeph*, is usually shortened into *S'ghöl*, e.g. יִבְקֹשׁ-לּוֹ he seeks for himself, Is 40<sup>20</sup>; קִדְּשִׁי-נִי sanctify unto me, Ex 13<sup>2</sup>. Pausal-forms with *S'ghöl* instead of *Sere*, as יִרְחֹק Dt 32<sup>11</sup>, אֶרְחַק Ho 2<sup>6</sup> (cf. Ex 32<sup>6</sup> in the infinitive, and Gn 21<sup>9</sup> in the participle), owe their origin to some particular school of Masoretes, and are wrongly accepted by Baer; cf. the analogous cases in § 75 n and hh. If the final syllable of the imperfect *Pi'el* has *Pathah* (before a guttural or ר), it remains

even in *pause*; cf. § 29 s and 65 e. In the 1st sing. imperfect the *e*-sound occurs in two words for *Hateph-Pathah*, under the preformative א; אִנְיָהּ Lv 26<sup>38</sup>, Ez 5<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup> and וְאִסְעָרֶם Zc 7<sup>14</sup> (in accordance with § 23 h).—Before the full plural ending ון (see § 47 m) the *Sere* is retained in *pause*, e.g. תִּרְבְּרוּן ψ 58<sup>2</sup> (but Gn 32<sup>20</sup> תִּרְבְּרָן, cf. 2 K 6<sup>19</sup>, Dt 12<sup>3</sup>; so before *Silluq* ψ 58<sup>3</sup>, Jb 21<sup>11</sup> and even before *Zaqeph gaṭon* Dt 7<sup>5</sup>. Instead of תִּקְטִילוּנָה, forms like תִּקְטִילוּנָה are also found, e.g. Is 3<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>18</sup>, in both cases before a sibilant and in *pause*. Also פִּלְלָה ψ 55<sup>10</sup> occurs as the 2nd sing. imperative (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding בִּלְעַ and קָרַב (for *qarrabh*) Ez 37<sup>17</sup>.

3. The *infinitive absolute* of Pi'el has sometimes the special form קָטַל given in *O* the paradigm, e.g. יָפַר *castigando*, ψ 118<sup>18</sup>; cf. Ex 21<sup>19</sup>, 1 K 19<sup>10</sup> (from a verb ל"א); ψ 40<sup>2</sup> (from a verb ל"ה); but much more frequently the form of the *infinitive construct* (קָטַל) is used instead. The latter has also, in exceptional cases, the form קָטַל (with *ā* attenuated to *i* as in the *perfect*), e.g. in 1 Ch 8<sup>8</sup> שָׁלְחוּ; perhaps also (if not a substantive) קָטַר Jer 44<sup>21</sup>; and for the sake of assonance even for *infinitive absolute* in 2 S 12<sup>14</sup> (נִינִין נִאֲצִי). On the other hand, שָׁלַח Dt 32<sup>35</sup> and דָּבַר Jer 5<sup>13</sup> are better regarded as substantives, while דָּבַר Ex 6<sup>28</sup>, Nu 3<sup>1</sup>, Dt 4<sup>15</sup> (in each case after בְּיוֹם), Ho 1<sup>2</sup> (after תִּתְחַלֵּת), in all of which places it is considered by König (after Qimḥi) to be *infinitive construct*, is really perfect of Pi'el.

The *infinitive construct* Pi'el, with the *fem.* ending (cf. § 45 d), occurs in *p* הִפְרָה Lv 26<sup>18</sup>; וְהִפְרָה ψ 147<sup>1</sup>; with ת of the *fem.* before a suffix צִדְקִיתָה Ez 16<sup>62</sup>. On the verbal nouns after the form of the Aram. inf. Pa'il (הִפְרָה), see § 84<sup>b</sup> e.

Instead of the abnormal מִאֲסִפִּי (so Baer, Is 62<sup>9</sup>) as ptep. Pi'el, read מִאֲסִי with ed. Mant. and Ginsburg.

4. In Pu'al *ō* is sometimes found instead of *ū* in the initial syllable, e.g. מִאֲדָם *died red*, Ex 25<sup>5</sup>, &c., Na 2<sup>4</sup>, cf. 3<sup>7</sup> שִׁדְרָה; Ez 16<sup>4</sup>, ψ 72<sup>20</sup>, 80<sup>11</sup>. According to Baer's reading also in תִּרְצָחוּ ψ 62<sup>4</sup>, and so also Ben Ašer, but Ben Naphtali תִּרְצָחוּ. It is merely an orthographic licence when *ū* is written fully, e.g. יִנְדָּר Ju 18<sup>29</sup>.

5. As *infinitive absolute* of Pu'al we find גָּלַב Gn 40<sup>15</sup>.—No instance of the *inf. p constr.* occurs in the strong verb in Pu'al; from ל"ה with suffix עָנֹתוּ ψ 132<sup>1</sup>.

6. A few examples occur of the *participle* Pu'al without the preformative (מְ), *S* e.g. אָבַל Ex 3<sup>2</sup>; יוֹלֵד (for מְיֹלֵד) Ju 13<sup>8</sup>; לָקַח 2 K 2<sup>10</sup>; סָעָרָה Is 54<sup>11</sup>. These *participles* are distinguished from the *perfect* (as in *Niph'al*) by the *ā* of the final syllable. For other examples, see Is 30<sup>24</sup>, Ec 9<sup>12</sup> (where יִתְקַשִּׁים, according to § 20 n, stands for יִתְקִי = 'מִיתָ'); but, according to the Masora, not Ez 26<sup>17</sup>, since הִתְהַלְּלָה as *Mit'el* can only be the *perfect*. The rejection of the מְ may be favoured by an initial מ, as in Is 18<sup>2.7</sup> (but also מְאֻשָּׁה); Pr 25<sup>19</sup> (where, however, read מְעֻרָת); so also in the participle Pi'el מֵאֵן Ex 7<sup>27</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup> (always after אֵם, but cf. also הַמֵּאֲנִים Jer 13<sup>10</sup>, where, however, הַמֵּאֲנִים = הַמֵּאֲנִים is to be read, with Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 264 f.) and מֵהָרַר Zp 1<sup>14</sup> (and Is 8<sup>1.3</sup> 9). Notice, however, Barth's suggestion (*Nominalbildung*, p. 273) that, as the active of forms like אָבַל only occurs in *Qal*, they are perfect participles of former *passives* of *Qal* (see e), and in Jer 13<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup>, perfect participles of Pi'el.—On מְרַבֵּעַ Ez 45<sup>2</sup>, see § 65 d.

§ 53. *Hiph'il and Hoph'al.*

**a** 1. The characteristic of the active (*Hiph'il*) is a prefixed ה (on its origin see § 55 i) in the perfect ה (with the *ā* attenuated to *ī*, as in *Pi'el*), which forms a closed syllable with the first consonant of the stem. The second syllable of the perfect had also originally an *ā*; cf. the Arabic conj. iv. 'aqālā, and in Hebrew the return of the *Pathah* in the 2nd and 1st pers. הִקְטִילָהּ, &c. After the attenuation of this *ā* to *ī*, it ought by rule to have been lengthened to *ē* in the tone-syllable, as in Aramaic אִקְטִיל, beside הִקְטִיל in Biblical Aramaic. Instead of this, however, it is always replaced in the strong verb by *i*,<sup>1</sup> —, but sometimes written defectively —; cf. § 9 g. Similarly in the infinitive construct הִקְטִיל, and in the imperfect and participle מִקְטִיל and מִקְטִיל, which are syncopated from הִקְטִיל and מִהִקְטִיל; § 23 k. The corresponding Arabic forms (*juqtīl* and *muqtīl*) point to an original *ī* in the second syllable of these forms. In Hebrew the regular lengthening of this *ī* to *ē* appears in the strong verb at least in the *jussive* and in the *imperfect consecutive* (see *n*), as also in the *imperative* of the 2nd sing. masc. (see *m*); on הִקְטִילָהּ, הִקְטִילָהּ cf. § 26 p. On the return of the original *ā* in the second syllable of the *Imperat.*, *Jussive*, &c, under the influence of a guttural, cf. § 65 f.

**b** In the *passive* (*Hoph'al*) the preformative is pronounced with an obscure vowel, whilst the second syllable has *ā* (in pause *ā*), as its characteristic, thus:—*Perf.* הִקְטִיל or הִקְטִיל, *Imperf.* יִקְטֹל (syncopated from יִהִקְטֹל) or יִקְטֹל, *Part.* מִקְטֹל or מִקְטֹל (from מִהִקְטֹל); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הִקְטִיל.

Thus the characteristics of both conjugations are the ה preformative in the *perfect*, *imperative*, and *infinitive*; in the *imperfect* and *participle* *Hiph'il*, *Pathah* under the preformatives, in the *Hoph'al* *ō* or *ū*.

**c** 2. The meaning of *Hiph'il* is primarily, and even more frequently than in *Pi'el* (§ 52 g), *causative* of *Qal*, e.g. הִצִּיץ to go forth, *Hiph.* to bring forth, to lead forth, to draw forth; הִקְדִּישׁ to be holy, *Hiph.* to sanctify. Under the *causative* is also included (as in *Pi'el*) the *declarative* sense, e.g. הִצִּדִיק to pronounce just; הִרְשִׁיעַ to make one an evil doer (to pronounce guilty); cf. עָשָׂה, in *Hiph'il*, Jb 9<sup>30</sup>, to represent as perverse. If *Qal* has already a transitive meaning, *Hiph'il* then takes two accusatives (see § 117 cc). In some verbs, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il* occur side by side in the same sense, e.g. אָבַד *perit*, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, *perdidit*; as a rule,

<sup>1</sup> This *i* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs *י"ו*, as a convenient means of distinction between the indicative and *jussive*, to the *imperfect* of the strong verb and afterwards to the whole of *Hiph'il*; so Stade, Philippi, Praetorius, *ZAW.* 1883, p. 52 f.

however, only one of these two conjugations is in use, or else they differ from one another in meaning, e.g. *פָּכַד* *gravem esse*, *Pi'el to honour*, *Hiph'il to bring to honour*, also *to make heavy*. Verbs which are intransitive in *Qal* simply become transitive in *Hiph'il*, e.g. *נָטָה* *to bow oneself*, *Hiph. to bow, to bend*.

Among the ideas expressed by the *causative* and *transitive* are included, *d* moreover, according to the *Hebrew* point of view (and that of the *Semitic languages* in general, especially *Arabic*), a series of actions and ideas, which we have to express by periphrasis, in order to understand their being represented by the *Hiph'il*-form. To these *inwardly transitive* or *intensive* *Hiph'is* belong: (a) *Hiph'il* stems which express the obtaining or receiving of a concrete or abstract quality. (In the following examples the *Qal* stems are given, for the sake of brevity, with the addition of the meaning which—often together with other meanings—belongs to the *Hiph'il*.) Thus *יָפַע*, *וָהָר*, *וָהָל* *to be bright, to shine* (to give forth brightness); opposed to *הִשְׁךָ* *to become dark*; *אָמַן*, *נָבַר*, *חָזַק* *to be strong* (to develop strength), *עָמַף* *to be weak*; *אָרַךְ* *to be long* (to acquire length); *גָּבַה* *to be high*; *הוּם* *to be in tumult*, *זָעַק* *to cry out*, *רָעַר* *to make a noise, to exult*; *חָלַף* *to sprout* (to put forth shoots), cf. *פָּרַח* *to bloom*, *עָרַף* *to overflow*; *חָרַשׁ*, *חָשָׂה*, *סָכַת*, *צָמַת* *to be silent* (*silentium facere*, *Pliny*); *מָתַק* *to be sweet*; *צָלַח* *to have success*; *שָׁפַל* *to be low*; *אָדַם* *to become red*, *לָבַן* *to become white*.

(b) Stems which express in *Hiph'il* the entering into a certain condition and, *e* further, the being in the same: *אָמַן* *to become firm, to trust in*; *בָּאֵשׁ* *to become stinking*; *זָוַר* *to become boiling, to boil over*; *חָלָה* *to become ill*; *הִסָּר* *to come to want*; *חָרָה* *to become hot*; *יָבֵשׁ* *to become dry, to become ashamed*; *יָתַר* *to attain superiority*; *סָכַן* *to become familiar*; *קוּץ*, *קוּץ* *to become awake*; *קָשָׂה* *to become hard*; *רָנַע*, *שָׁקַט* *to become quiet* (to keep quiet); *שָׁמַם* *to be astonished*. The *Hiph'il* forms of some verbs of motion constitute a variety of this class: *נָנַשׁ* *to draw near*; *קָרַב* *to come near*; *רָחַק* *to withdraw far off* (all these three are besides used as *causatives*); *קָדַם* *to come before*.

(c) Stems which express action in some particular direction: *חָטָא* *to err*; *חָלַק* *to flatter* (to act smoothly); *יָטַב* *to act well, to do good*; *סָכַל* *to act foolishly*, *שָׁכַל* *to act wisely*; *עָרַם* *to act craftily*; *צָנַע* *to act submissively*; *רָעַע*, *רָשַׁע* *to act wickedly, godlessly*; *שָׁחַת*, *תָּעַב* *to act corruptly, abominably*; *שָׁלַם* *to act peacefully, to be at peace, to be submissive*.

Further, there are in *Hiph'il* a considerable number of *denominatives* which express the bringing out, the producing of a thing, and so are properly regarded as *causatives*,<sup>1</sup> e.g. *אָצַר* *to set over the treasury*, *Neh 13<sup>13</sup>* (unless *וְאֶצְנִיָּה* is to be read, as in *Neh 7<sup>2</sup>*); *בָּכַר* *to bring forth a firstborn*; *גָּשַׁם* *to cause to rain*; *זָרַע* *to produce seed*; *יָמַן* (*Hiph'il* *הַיְמָן*) *to go to the right*, cf. *הַשְׂמָאֵל* *to go to the left*; *פָּרַם* *to get or to have hoofs*; *קָרַן* *to get or to have horns*; *שָׁכַל* *to produce abortion*; *שָׁלַן* *to become snow-white*; *שָׁמַן* *to grow fat*; *שָׁרַשׁ* *to put forth roots, &c.*; so also according to the ordinary acceptation *הִאֲנִיחָהּ* *Is 19<sup>8</sup>*, *they have become stinking*, from *אָנַח* *stinking or stench*, with retention of the *N* prosthetic, § 19 m (but see below, p).

<sup>1</sup> The same ideas are also paraphrased by the verb *עָשָׂה* (to make), e.g. *to make fat*, for, to produce fat upon his body, *Jb 15<sup>27</sup>*; *to make fruit*, to make branches, for, to put forth, to yield, *Jb 14<sup>9</sup>*, *Ho 8<sup>7</sup>*, cf. the *Lat. corpus, robur, sobolem, divitias facere*, and the *Ital. far corpo, far forze, far frutto*.

Of a different kind are the *denominatives* from: אָן (scarcely to prick up the ears, but) to act with the ears, to hear; cf. לָשׁן to move the tongue, to slander, and the German äugeln (to make eyes), füsseln, nüsseln, schwänzeln; שָׁבֵר to sell corn; שָׁכַם to set out early (to load the back [of the camel, &c.]?); opposed to העָרִיב.

h 3. The meaning of *Hoph'al* is (a) primarily that of a *passive* of *Hiph'il*, e.g. הִשְׁלַךְ *proiecit*, הִשְׁלָךְ or הִשְׁלָךְ *proiectus est*; (b) sometimes equivalent to a passive of *Qal*, as נָקַם *to avenge*, *Hoph. to be avenged* (but see below, u).

i Rem. 1. The *i* of the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Hiph'il* remains, without exception, in the 3rd fem. (in the tone-syllable). That it was, however, only lengthened from a short vowel, and consequently is changeable, is proved by the forms of the *imperative* and *imperfect* where *i* (or, under the influence of gutturals, *a*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *i* is retained almost throughout; only in very isolated instances has it been weakened to *ēwā* (see n and o).

k 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Sere* without *Yodh*, e.g. הִקְדֵּשׁ Ju 17<sup>3</sup>; less frequently it takes *ē*, e.g. הִשְׁמִיר Am 9<sup>8</sup>; cf. Dt 15<sup>14</sup>, Is 59<sup>4</sup>, Jer 31<sup>5</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup>, 44<sup>25</sup>, Jb 34<sup>35</sup>, Ec 10<sup>10</sup>. With *ā* instead of *i* (probably a mere scribal error, not an Aramaism) we find אֲשַׁבֵּים Jer 25<sup>3</sup>. Rare exceptions, where the form with *Sere* stands for the *infinitive construct*, are, e.g. Dt 32<sup>8</sup> (Sam. בְּהִנְחִיל; read perhaps בְּהִנְחָל, Jer 44<sup>19,25</sup>, Pr 25<sup>2</sup>, Jb 13<sup>3</sup> (?); on the other hand, for לַעֲשֹׂר Dt 26<sup>12</sup> (which looks like an infinitive *Hiph'il* with elision of the ה, for לְהַעֲשִׂיר) the right reading is simply לַעֲשֹׂר, since elsewhere the *Pi'el* alone occurs with the meaning *to tithe*; for בַּעֲשֹׂר Neh 10<sup>39</sup> perhaps the inf. *Qal* (בַּעֲשִׂר) was intended, as in 1 S 8<sup>15,17</sup> (= *to take the tithe*). At the same time it is doubtful whether the present punctuation does not arise from a conflation of two different readings, the *Qal* and the *Pi'el*.

l Instead of the ordinary form of the *infinitive construct* הִקְטִיל the form הִקְטִיל sometimes occurs, e.g. הִשְׁמִיר *to destroy*, Dt 7<sup>24</sup>, 28<sup>43</sup>; cf. Lv 14<sup>46</sup>, Jos 11<sup>14</sup>, Jer 50<sup>34</sup>, 51<sup>33</sup> and הִקְצֹחַ for הִקְצֹחַ Lv 14<sup>43</sup> from קָצַח; scarcely, however, Lv 7<sup>35</sup> (see § 155 l), 2 S 22<sup>1</sup> (ψ 18<sup>1</sup>), 1 K 11<sup>16</sup> (after עַד), and in the passages so explained by König (i. 276) where הִשְׁאִיר appears after prepositions<sup>1</sup>; [cf. Driver on Dt 3<sup>9</sup>, 4<sup>15</sup>, 7<sup>24</sup>, 28<sup>65</sup>].

With *ā* in the second syllable there occurs הִפְצֹרֶם Ez 21<sup>29</sup> (cf. the substantival infin. הִפְצֹר 1 S 15<sup>23</sup>).—In the Aram. manner לְהִשְׁמָעוֹת is found in Ez 24<sup>26</sup> (as a construct form) for the *infinitive Hiph'il* (cf. the *infinitive Hithpa'el*, Dn 11<sup>23</sup>). On the elision of the ה after prefixes, see q.

m 3. In the *imperative* the *i* is retained throughout in the open syllable, according to i, and consequently also before suffixes (see § 61 g) and ה—*paragogic*, e.g. הִקְשִׁיבָה *attend to*, נָא הִשְׁמָעָה ψ 118<sup>25</sup>, as in ed. Mant., Jabl., Baer, not נָא הִשְׁמָעָה as Ginsb. and Kittel; with the tone at the end only הִצְלִיחַ ibid. v. 25<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, in the 2nd sing. masc. the original *i* (cf. Arabic 'aqtīl) is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. הִשְׁמֵן *make fat*, and becomes *S'ghol* before *Maqqeph*, e.g. הִסְבִּיחַ Jb 22<sup>21</sup>.—The form הִקְטִיל for הִקְטִיל appears anomalously a few times: ψ 94<sup>1</sup>, Is 43<sup>8</sup>, Jer 17<sup>18</sup> (cf. § 69 v and § 72 y); elsewhere the Masora has preferred the punctuation הִקְטִיל, e.g. 2 K 8<sup>6</sup>; cf. ψ 142<sup>5</sup>.—In La 5<sup>1</sup> הִבְטִיחַ is required by the *Qéré* for הִבִּית.

<sup>1</sup> As to the doubtfulness, on general grounds, of this form of the Inf. *Hiph.*, see Robertson Smith in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xvi. p. 72 f.

4. In the *imperfect Hiph'il* the shorter form with *Sere* prevails for the jussive *n* in the 3rd masc. and fem. and 2nd masc. sing., e. g. אֶל-תַּגְדֵּל make not great, Ob 12; יַכְרֵת let Him cut off! ψ 12<sup>4</sup>; even incorrectly תַּיִד Ex 19<sup>3</sup> and יַיִד Ec 10<sup>20</sup>; cf. also יַכְעֵר Ex 22<sup>4</sup>, where the jussive form is to be explained according to § 109 *h*, and יַאֲבֵר Jb 39<sup>26</sup> before the principal pause. Similarly, after 1 consec., e. g. וַיִּבְדֵּל and He divided, Gn 1<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, *i* is almost always retained in the 1st sing., e. g. וְאֶשְׁמִיר Am 2<sup>9</sup> (but generally without *i*, as וְאֶסְתֵּר Ez 39<sup>23 f.</sup>, &c.); cf. § 49 *e* and § 74 *l*, but also § 72 *aa*; in 1st plur. only in Neh 4<sup>3</sup>; in the 3rd sing. ψ 105<sup>28</sup>. With *ā* in the principal pause וַתִּחַר Ru 2<sup>14</sup>, and in the lesser pause, Gn 49<sup>4</sup>; before a sibilant (see § 29 *g*) וַיִּנָּשׁ Ju 6<sup>19</sup>; in the lesser pause וַיִּקַּח La 3<sup>5</sup>. Before *Maqqeph* the *Sere* becomes *S'ghôl*, e. g. וַיִּחַקֵּב Ju 19<sup>4</sup>. In the plural again, and before suffixes, *i* remains in the forms יִקְטִילוּ, יִקְטִילוּ, even in the jussive and after 1 consecutive, e. g. וַיִּדְבְּקוּ Ju 18<sup>22</sup>. The only exceptions, where the *i* is weakened to *S'wā*, are וַיִּדְרְכוּ Jer 9<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּדְבְּקוּ 1 S 14<sup>22</sup>, 31<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 10<sup>2</sup>; וַיַּעֲבְדוּ Jer 11<sup>15</sup>; וַאֲזַרְהָ Neh 13<sup>13</sup>, if it is *Hiph'il* of אָצַר, but probably וַאֲזַרְהָ is to be read, as in <sup>2</sup>; perhaps also תַּהֲכִירוּ Jb 19<sup>3</sup> (according to others, *imperfect Qal*). The same weakening occurs also in the imperfect in 3rd and 2nd masc. sing. before suffixes, 1 S 17<sup>25</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>33</sup>, ψ 65<sup>10</sup>, and in Jb 9<sup>20</sup>, unless the form be *Pi'el*=וַיַּעֲשֵׂנִי, since the *Hiph'il* is not found elsewhere. It is hardly likely that in these isolated examples we have a trace of the ground-form, *yaqtîl*, or an Aranaism. More probably they are due partly to a misunderstanding of the defective writing, which is found, by a purely orthographic licence, in numerous other cases (even in 3rd sing. יִשְׁלַח Is 44<sup>28</sup>), and partly are intended, as *formae mixtae*, to combine the forms of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*. Instead of the firmly closed syllable, the Masora requires in Gn 11<sup>11</sup> תַּדְרִישָׁא, with euphonic Ga'ya (see § 16 *h*).

5. In the *participle*, מֹצֵא ψ 135<sup>7</sup> appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *O maqtîl*; yet the *Sere* may also possibly be explained by the retraction of the tone. The Masora appears to require the weakening of the vowel to *S'wā* (see above, *n*) in מַהֲלִיכִים Zc 3<sup>7</sup> (probably, however, מַהֲלִיכִים should be read), also in מַהֲלִימִים Jer 29<sup>8</sup>, מַעֲזִירִים 2 Ch 28<sup>23</sup> (but as *ם* precedes, and accordingly dittography may well have taken place, the participle *Qal* is probably to be read in both places; the reading of the text is perhaps again intended to combine *Qal* and *Hiph'il*, see above, *n*), and in the *Q'el* מַחְצִירִים 1 Ch 15<sup>24</sup> &c. (where the *K'elhibh* מַחְצִירִים is better).—The fem. is ordinarily pointed as מַפְרֵת Nu 5<sup>15</sup>, מַשְׁנֵת Lv 14<sup>21</sup>; in pause מַשְׁפֵּלַת Pr 19<sup>14</sup>.

6. In the *perfect* there occur occasionally such forms as הִכְלַמְנִי 1 S 25<sup>7</sup>; *p* cf. Gn 41<sup>28</sup>, 2 K 17<sup>11</sup>, Jer 29<sup>1</sup>, Mi 6<sup>3</sup>, Jb 16<sup>7</sup>; with the original *ā* in the first syllable וְהִרְאֵיתִי Na 3<sup>5</sup>.—In אֶנְאֵלְתִי <sup>1</sup> I have stained, Is 63<sup>3</sup>, א stands at the beginning instead of ה, cf. above, *k*, on אֶשְׁכִּים. On the other hand, וְהִאֲזַיְחֵהוּ

<sup>1</sup> Most probably, however, גִּאֲלֵתִי (*perfect Pi'el*) is to be read, and the א is only an indication of the change of the *perfect* into the *imperfect*, as also previously, by a change of punctuation, וְאֶדְרַכְכֶּם and וְיִזְן (instead of וְאֶדְרַכְכֶּם and וְיִזְן) are made future instead of past. Jewish exegesis applied these Edom-oracles to the Roman (i. e. Christian) empire. So G. Moore in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 292.

Is 19<sup>6</sup> (see above, *g*) is a mere error of the scribe, who had the Aramaic form in mind and corrected it by prefixing ה.

**q** 7. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the characteristic ה is regularly elided after the preformatives, thus יִקְטִיל, מִקְטִיל; but it is retained in the *infinitive* after prepositions, e.g. לְהִקְטִיל. The exceptions are in the imperfect, יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה; He will save for יִשְׁעוּ 1 S 17<sup>47</sup>, ψ 116<sup>6</sup> (in pause); יִהְיֶה; He will praise for יִדְהָה Neh 11<sup>17</sup>, ψ 287, 45<sup>18</sup> (cf. the proper name יִהְיֶה Jer 37<sup>3</sup>, for which יִבְל 38<sup>1</sup> [and יִהְיֶה ψ 81<sup>6</sup>]); [יִהְיֶה] (§ 70 *d*) Is 52<sup>6</sup>, יִהְיֶה Jer 9<sup>4</sup>, תִּהְיֶה Jb 13<sup>9</sup> and מִהֲקַצְעוֹת Ez 46<sup>22</sup>; in the *infinitive* (where, however, as in *Niph'al*, § 51 *l*, the *infinitive Qal* is generally to be read) לְהִתָּר Is 29<sup>15</sup> for לְהִתָּר; לְהִתָּר and לְהִתָּר Nu 5<sup>22</sup>; לְהִתָּר 2 S 19<sup>19</sup>; לְהִתָּר Jer 37<sup>12</sup>; לְהִתָּר Ec 5<sup>6</sup>; לְהִתָּר (doubly anomalous for לְהִתָּר) Dn 11<sup>36</sup>; לְהִתָּר ψ 267; לְהִתָּר 1 S 23<sup>33</sup>; לְהִתָּר Is 23<sup>11</sup>; לְהִתָּר Am 8<sup>4</sup> (certainly corrupt); לְהִתָּר for לְהִתָּר ψ 73<sup>20</sup> (but in the city is probably meant); לְהִתָּר Jer 39<sup>7</sup> (2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup>); לְהִתָּר Is 3<sup>8</sup>, ψ 78<sup>17</sup>; לְהִתָּר Ex 13<sup>21</sup>; לְהִתָּר (see, however, § 20 *k*) Is 33<sup>1</sup>; לְהִתָּר Dt 1<sup>33</sup>: cf. further, from verbs לְהִתָּר, Nu 5<sup>22</sup>, Jer 27<sup>20</sup>; on Dt 26<sup>12</sup> and Neh 10<sup>39</sup>, see above, *k*; for לְהִתָּר Pr 31<sup>3</sup> read לְהִתָּר or לְהִתָּר.

**r** 8. With regard to the tone it is to be observed that the affirmatives י and ה in Hiph'il have not the tone, even in the perfect with *reao consecutive* (except in Ex 26<sup>38</sup> before ה, Lv 15<sup>29</sup> before ה, to avoid a hiatus); but the plural ending ון (see § 47 *m*) always has the tone, e.g. הִתְקַרְבוּ Dt 17<sup>1</sup>.

**s** 9. The passive (Hoph'al) has *ä* instead of Qameṣ ḥaṭuph in the first syllable (הִקְטַל), in the strong verb less frequently in the perfect and infinitive, but generally in the participle, through the influence of the initial ח (but cf. מִשְׁחַת Pr 25<sup>26</sup>); e.g. הִשְׁבַּב Ez 32<sup>32</sup> (beside הִשְׁבַּב 32<sup>19</sup>); הִשְׁלַח *impf.* יִשְׁלַח, *part.* מִשְׁלַח 2 S 20<sup>21</sup> (beside הִשְׁלַח Is 14<sup>19</sup>); הִמְלַח Ez 16<sup>4</sup>; in the partic. Hoph. without elision of the ה: מִהֲקַצְעוֹת Ez 46<sup>22</sup>; on the other hand, verbs מִן always have *ä* (in a sharpened syllable): הִנֵּד (cf. § 9 *n*).

**t** 10. The *infinitive absolute* has in Hoph'al (as in Hiph'il) *Se* in the last syllable, e.g. הִתְחַל and הִמְלַח Ez 16<sup>4</sup>; הִנֵּד Jos 9<sup>24</sup>. An *infinitive construct* does not occur in the strong verb.

11. With regard to the *imperative Hoph'al*, see above, § 46 *a*, note.

**u** 12. According to Böttcher (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 906) and Barth (see above, § 52 *e*) a number of supposed imperfects Hoph'al are, in fact, imperfects of the passive of Qal. As in the case of the perfects passive of Qal (see above, § 52 *e*) the question is again of verbs of which neither the corresponding causative (i. e. here the Hiph'il), nor the other tense of the same conjugation (i. e. here the perfect Hoph'al) is found; so with יָקַם (for יָנַקַם, cf. *yugṭālū* as imperfect Qal in Arabic) and יָמַן, from נָקַם and נָתַן; יָקַח from לָקַח (cf. § 66 *g*) and יָאָר Nu 22<sup>6</sup> from אָרַר; יָחַן from חָנַן; יָשָׁר Ho 10<sup>14</sup> (cf. Is 33<sup>1</sup>) from שָׁדַר; Barth adds the verbs מִן: תִּתֵּשׁ Ez 19<sup>12</sup> from נָתַשׁ; יָמַן Lev 11<sup>35</sup> from נָחַץ; the verbs עָעַ: יָחַק Jb 19<sup>23</sup> from חָקַק; יָבַת &c. from פָּתַת; the verb עָעַ: יָדַשׁ from דָּוַשׁ; the verbs עָעַ: יָחַל, יָשָׁר, יָשַׁת from חָלַל; יָשַׁת, יָשַׁר, יָשַׁת. On יָשַׁת &c., § 73 *f*. In point of fact it would be very strange, especially in the case of יָמַן and יָקַח, that of these frequently used verbs,

amongst all the forms of Hiph'il and Hoph'al, only the *imperfect* Hoph'al should have been preserved. A passive of Qal is also indicated in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, according to Knudtzon, by a number of imperfect forms, which are undoubtedly due to Canaanite influence, cf. *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, iv. 410.

### § 54. *Hithpa'el*.

1. The *Hithpa'el*<sup>1</sup> is connected with *Pi'el*, being formed by prefixing *a* to the *Pi'el*-stem (*qattēl*, *qattal*) the syllable הִתְ (Western Aramaic הִתְ, but in Biblical Aramaic הִתְ; Syr. 'et<sup>2</sup>). Like the preformative נ (הִנֵּן) of *Niph'al*, הִתְ has also a reflexive force.

2. The ת of the prefix in this conjugation, as also in *Hothpa'al* *b* (see *h*), *Hithpā'el*, *Hithpa'tel* and *Hithpalpel* (§ 55), under certain circumstances, suffers the following changes:

(a) When the stem begins with one of the harder sibilants ט, צ, or ש, the ת and the sibilant change places (cf. on this *metathesis*, § 19 n), and at the same time the ת after a צ becomes the corresponding emphatic ט: thus הִשְׁתַּמֵּר to take heed to oneself, for הִתְשַׁמֵּר; הִתְחַבֵּל to become burdensome, for הִחְבַּל; הִצְטַדֵּק to justify oneself, from צִדֵּק. The only exception is in Jer 49<sup>3</sup>, הִתְשַׁטְטֵנָה, to avoid the cacophony of three successive *t*-sounds.

(b) When the stem begins with a *d*- or *t*-sound (ד, ט, ת), the ת of *c* the preformative is assimilated to it (§ 19 d), e.g. מְדַבֵּר speaking, conversing; הִדְבָּק to be crushed, הִפְיֵהר to purify oneself, הִטְמֵא to defile oneself, הִתְיַמֵּם to act uprightly. (An exception occurs in Ju 19<sup>22</sup>.) The assimilation of the ת occurs also with נ and כ, e.g. הִנְבֵּא to prophesy, as well as הִתְנַבֵּא (cf. Nu 24<sup>7</sup>, Ez 5<sup>13</sup>, Dn 11<sup>14</sup>); תְּבִינִי Nu 21<sup>27</sup> (cf. Is 54<sup>14</sup>, ψ 59<sup>5</sup>); תְּבַסֶּה Pr 26<sup>26</sup>; with ש Ec 7<sup>16</sup>; with ר Is 33<sup>10</sup>.

Rem. Metathesis would likewise be expected, as in the cases under *b*, *d* when ת and י come together, as well as a change of ת to ד. Instead of this, in the only instance of the kind (הִיָּבִי Is 1<sup>16</sup>) the ת is assimilated to the י, —unless indeed הִיָּבִי, imperative *Niph'al* of יָבַח, is intended.

3. As in form, so also in meaning, *Hithpa'el* is primarily (a) *reflexive* of *Pi'el*, e.g. הִתְאַזַּר to gird oneself, הִתְקַדֵּשׁ to sanctify oneself. Although in these examples the intensive meaning is not distinctly marked, it is so in other cases, e.g. הִתְנַקֵּם to show oneself revengeful (*Niph.* simply to take revenge), and in the numerous instances where the *Hithpa'el* expresses to make oneself that which is predicated by the stem, to conduct oneself as such, to show oneself, to imagine oneself, to

<sup>1</sup> A. Stein, *Der Stamm des Hithpa'el im Hebr.* pt. 1, Schwerin, 1893, gives alphabetical statistics of the 1151 forms.

<sup>2</sup> So also in Hebrew אִתְחַבֵּר 2 Ch 20<sup>35</sup>; cf. ψ 76<sup>6</sup> (אִשְׁתַּחֲוֶיֶה).

affect to be of a certain character. E.g. *התגדל* to make oneself great, to act proudly; *התחכם* to show oneself wise, crafty; *התחלה* to pretend to be ill; *התעשר* to make, i.e. to feign oneself rich; *השתרר* Nu 16<sup>13</sup>, to make oneself a prince; *התנבא* 1 S 18<sup>10</sup>, to act in an excited manner like a prophet, to rave. The meaning of *Hithpa'el* sometimes coincides with that of *Qal*, both forms being in use together, e.g. *אבל* to mourn, in *Qal* only in poetic style, in *Hithpa'el* in prose. On the accusative after *Hithpa'el* (regarded as a transitive verb), see § 117 w.

f (b) It expresses reciprocal action, like *Niph'al*, § 51 d, e.g. *התראו* to look upon one another, Gn 42<sup>1</sup>; cf. *ψ* 41<sup>8</sup>;—but

(c) It more often indicates an action less directly affecting the subject, and describes it as performed with regard to or for oneself, in one's own special interest (cf. *Niph'al*, § 51 e). *Hithpa'el* in such cases readily takes an accusative, e.g. *התפרק* Ex 32<sup>3</sup> and *התנצל* Ex 33<sup>6</sup> to tear off from oneself; *התפשט* *exuit sibi* (vestem), *התפתח* *solvit sibi* (vincula); *הצטייר* Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, to take (something) as one's provision; without an accusative, *התהלך* to walk about for oneself (*ambulare*); *התפלל* *sibi intercedere* (see Delitzsch on Is 1<sup>13</sup>); *התחקר* to draw a line for oneself, Job 13<sup>27</sup>; on Is 14<sup>2</sup>, see § 57, note.

g (d) Only seldom is it passive, e.g. *היא תהלל* Pr 31<sup>30</sup> she shall be praised; *השתכח* to be forgotten, Ec 8<sup>10</sup>, where the reflexive sense (to bring oneself into oblivion) has altogether disappeared. Cf. *Niph'al*, § 51 f.

h The passive form *Hothpa'al* is found only in the few following examples: *הטמא* to be defiled, Dt 24<sup>4</sup>; infinitive *הכבס* to be washed, Lv 13<sup>55,56</sup>; *הרשנה* (for *התדשנה*, the נה being treated as if it were the affirmative of the fem. plur.) it is made fat, Is 34<sup>6</sup>. On *התפקדו*, see l.

i Denominatives with a reflexive meaning are *התיהר* to embrace Judaism, from יהוד (יהודה) Judah; *הצטייר* to provision oneself for a journey, from צידה provision for a journey (see § 72 m).

k Rem. 1. As in *Pi'el*, so in *Hithpa'el*, the perfect very frequently (in stems ending in ל, ק, מ, פ) has retained the original *Pathah* in the final syllable (while in the ordinary form it is attenuated, as in *Pi'el*, to i and then lengthened to ē), e.g. *התאנף* Dt 4<sup>21</sup>, &c.; cf. 2 Ch 13<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>8</sup>; with י consecutive Is 8<sup>21</sup>; so also in the imperfect and imperative, e.g. *תתחכם* Ec 7<sup>16</sup>; cf. Dt 9<sup>8,18</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 10<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>9</sup>, Is 55<sup>2</sup>, 58<sup>14</sup>, 64<sup>11</sup>, *ψ* 55<sup>2</sup>; *התחזק* 1 K 20<sup>22</sup>, *ψ* 37<sup>4</sup>, Est 5<sup>10</sup>; *והתאפק* 1 S 13<sup>12</sup>.—In Lv 11<sup>44</sup>, 20<sup>7</sup> and Ez 38<sup>23</sup>, i takes the place of ā in the final syllable of the stem before ש (cf. § 44 d), and in the last passage before ל.

l. In the perfect, imperfect (with the exception of Ec 7<sup>16</sup>), and imperative of *Hithpa'el* (as well as of *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'el*, § 55) the original ā always returns in pause as *Qame*, e.g. *התאנף* *ψ* 93<sup>1</sup>; *התאפל* Ez 7<sup>27</sup>; *יתהלך* Jb 16<sup>8</sup>; *יתלכדו* 38<sup>31</sup>; *התקדשו* Jos 3<sup>5</sup>; cf. Jb 33<sup>5</sup> and § 74 b.—The ā also appears before the fuller ending ון in the plural of the imperfect (cf. § 47 m) in *ψ* 12<sup>9</sup>, Jb

9<sup>6</sup>, 16<sup>10</sup>.—Like the *Pi'el* הִתְקַלֵּה (§ 52 n), forms occur in *Hithpa'el* like הִתְהַלֵּכָה Zc 6<sup>7</sup>; cf. Am 8<sup>13</sup>, and so in *Hithpo'el*, Jer 49<sup>3</sup>, Am 9<sup>13</sup>; with *ē* only in La 4<sup>1</sup>.—In the Aramaic manner an *infinitive* *Hithpa'el* הִתְחַבְּרוֹת occurs in Dn 11<sup>23</sup> (cf. the *Hiph'il* inf. הִשְׁמַעוּת in Ez 24<sup>26</sup>).

2. As instances of the *reflexive* הִתְקַטַּל (connected with *Pi'el*) a few reflexive *l* forms of the verb פָּקַד (to examine) are also probably to be reckoned. Instead of a *Pathah* in a sharpened syllable after the first radical, these take *Qames* in an open syllable, e. g. הִתְפַּקְּדוּ Ju 20<sup>16,17</sup>, imperfect יִתְפַּקְּדוּ 20<sup>16</sup>, 21<sup>9</sup>. The corresponding passive form הִתְפַּקְּדוּ also occurs four times, Nu 14<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>3</sup>, 26<sup>62</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>27</sup>. According to others, these forms are rather reflexives of *Qal*, in the sense of to present oneself for review, to be reviewed, like the Aramaic *'Ithpe'el* (Western Aramaic אֲתַקְטַל, Syr. אֲתַקְטַל) and the Ethiopic *tagat'la*, Arab. *'igtatala*, the last with the *t* always placed after the first radical (cf. above, b); but they are more correctly explained, with König, as *Hithpa'el* forms, the doubling of the *p* being abnormally omitted.—Such a reflexive of *Qal*, with the *ת* transposed, occurs in הִלַּחֲחִי (on the analogy of O. T. Hebrew to be pronounced הִלַּחֲחִי) in the inscription of the Moabite king Mēša', with the meaning of the O. T. נִלְחַם הִלַּחֲחִי to fight, to wage war: see the inscription, lines 11, 15, 19, and 32; in the first two places in the *imperfect* with *wāw* consecutive וְנִלְחַחֲחִי; in line 19 in the *infinitive* with suffix, בְּהִלַּחֲחִי in his fighting against me.

## § 55. Less Common Conjugations.

Of the less common conjugations (§ 39 g) some may be classed with *a* *Pi'el*, others with *Hiph'il*. To the former belong those which arise from the lengthening of the vowel or the repetition of one or even two radicals, in fact, from an internal modification or development of the stem; to the latter belong those which are formed by prefixing a consonant, like the *ה* of *Hiph'il*. Amongst the conjugations analogous to *Pi'el* are included the *passive* forms distinguished by their vowels, as well as the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, on the analogy of *Hithpa'el*.

The following conjugations are related to *Pi'el*, as regards their *b* inflexion and partly in their meaning:

1. *Pô'el* קוּטַל, passive *Pô'al* קוּטַל, reflexive *Hithpô'el* הִתְקוּטַל, corresponding to the Arabic conj. III. *qâtālā*, pass. *qūtālā*, and conj. VI. reflexive *tāqātālā*; imperfect יִקוּטַל, participle מְקוּטַל, imperfect passive יִקוּטַל &c. Hence it appears that in Hebrew the *ô* of the first syllable is in all the forms obscured from *ā*, while the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a*-sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations are rather rare. Examples: participle מִשְׁפָּטִי mine adversary, who would contend with me, Jb 9<sup>15</sup>; מְלִשְׁנִי (denominative from לָשׁוֹן the tongue) slandering (as if intent on injuring with the tongue) ψ 101<sup>5</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>. (The *Qéré* requires מְלִשְׁנִי *mēlōšnī* as Na 1<sup>3</sup> - וַיִּגְדֹּל); וְזָרְמוּ they have poured out, ψ 77<sup>18</sup> (if not rather *Pu'al*); וַיִּרְעָתִי I have appointed, 1 S 21<sup>3</sup> (unless הוֹרְעָתִי should be read); וַיַּעֲרֵשׁ Ho 13<sup>3</sup>; וַיִּשְׁרֵשׁ to take root, passive

**שָׁרַשׁ**, denominative from שָׁרַשׁ root (but שָׁרַשׁ to root out); in Hithp'el הִתְשָׁרְשׁוּ they shall be moved, Jer 25<sup>16</sup>; imperf. 46<sup>8</sup>; from a verb לִישָׁרְתִּי Is 10<sup>13</sup>. The participle מְשָׁרֵץ Is 52<sup>5</sup> is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings מְשָׁרֵץ and מְהַרְשֵׁץ.

- C** *Po'el* proper (as distinguished from the corresponding conjugations of verbs ע"ע § 67 l and ע"ו § 72 m, which take the place of the ordinary causative *Pi'el*) expresses an aim or endeavour to perform the action, especially with hostile intent, and is hence called, by Ewald, the stem expressing *aim* (Ziel-stamm), *endeavour* (Suche-stamm) or *attack* (Angriffs-stamm); cf. the examples given above from Jb 9<sup>15</sup>, ψ 101<sup>5</sup>, and עוֹיֵן 1 S 18<sup>9</sup> Q<sup>re</sup> (probably for מְעוֹיֵן, cf. § 52 s; § 55 f: *seeking to cast an evil eye*).

With קוּטֵל is connected the formation of quadrilaterals by the insertion of a consonant between the first and second radicals (§ 30 p, § 56).

- d** 2. *Pa'el*, generally with the *ā* attenuated to *ī*=*Pi'el*<sup>1</sup> (*Pi'al*), קָטַל and קָטַלְל; the *ē* in the final syllable also arises from *ī*, and this again from *ā*; passive *Pu'al* קָטַלְל, reflexive *Hithpa'el* הִתְקַטַּלְל, like the Arabic conjugations ix. 'igtāllā and xi. 'igtāllā, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e.g. of colours; cf. שָׁאֵן to be at rest, רֵעֵן to be green, passive אֶמָּל to be withered, all of them found only in the *perfect* and with no corresponding *Qal* form. (For the barbarous form צִמְחָיוֹנִי ψ 88<sup>17</sup> read צִמְחָתִנִּי; for נָפַל Ez 28<sup>28</sup>, which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חָלַל, read נָפַל). These forms are more common in verbs ע"ו, where they take the place of *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* (§ 72 m). Cf. also § 75 kk.

- e** 3. *P<sup>e</sup>al'al*: קָטַלְטַל with repetition of the last two radicals, used of movements repeated in quick succession; e.g. סָהַרְהַר to go about quickly, to palpitate (of the heart) ψ 38<sup>11</sup>, from סָהַר to go about; passive הִמְרַמֵּר to be in a ferment, to be heated, to be red, Jb 16<sup>18</sup>, La 1<sup>20</sup>, 2<sup>11</sup>. Probably this is also the explanation of חֲצוֹצֵר (denom. from חֲצוֹצֶרֶת a trumpet, but only in the participle, 1 Ch 15<sup>24</sup> &c. K<sup>eth.</sup>) for חֲצִרְצֵר, by absorption of the first ר, lengthening of *ā* in the open syllable, and subsequent obscuring of *ā* to *ō*. On the other hand, for the meaningless אֶהְבֵּה הֶבֶר Ho 4<sup>18</sup> (which could only be referred to this conjugation if it stood for אֶהְבֵּה הֶבֶר) read אֶהְבֵּה, and for the equally meaningless יִפְיֹתִי ψ 45<sup>3</sup> read יִפְיֹתִי. In both these cases a scribal error (*ditlography*) has been perpetuated by the punctuation, which did not venture to alter the K<sup>ethibh</sup>. On the employment of *P<sup>e</sup>al'al* in the formation of nouns, cf. § 84<sup>b</sup> n. Closely related to this form is—

- f** 4. *Pilpel* (pass. *Pölpal*), with a strengthening of the two essential radicals in stems ע"ע, ע"ו, and ע"ו, e.g. גָּלַל to roll, from גָּל=גָּל; reflexive הִתְגָּלַל to roll oneself down; פָּלַל from בּוּל, passive פָּלַל; cf. also טָאָטַט (so Baer and Ginsb. after Qimḥi; others טָאָטַט) Is 14<sup>23</sup>, and with *ā* in both syllables owing to the influence of ר, קָרַקַר from קָרַר Nu 24<sup>17</sup> (cf. however, in the parallel passage, Jer 48<sup>45</sup> קָרַקַר) and Is 22<sup>5</sup>, in the participle; and שָׁנְשָׁן Is 17<sup>11</sup> to hedge in, acc. to others make to grow. Probably to this form also belongs יִלְעָלְעִי, the emended reading of Jb 39<sup>30</sup> instead of the impossible יִעָלְעִי; also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wolfensohn, 'The *Pi'el* in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journ. of Or. Studies*, xxvii (1907), p. 303 ff.

מִשְׁמָע Is 27<sup>8</sup>, if that form is to be referred to an *infinitive* מִשְׁמָע; perhaps also מִשְׁמָע Ez 39<sup>2</sup> for מִשְׁמָע. This form also commonly expresses rapidly repeated movement, which all languages incline to indicate by a repetition of the sound,<sup>1</sup> e.g. צִפְצִף to chirp; cf. in the Lexicon the nouns derived from צָרַר, עָנָה, and צָלַל.

As *Hithpa'el* we find יִשְׁתַּקְשֹׁקֵן Na 2<sup>5</sup>; וַתִּתְחַלְחַל Est 4<sup>4</sup>; וַיִּתְמַרְמֶר Dn 8<sup>7</sup>, g 11<sup>11</sup>. Of the same form is אֲדַדְדָּה Is 38<sup>15</sup>, if contracted from אֲדַדְדִּיּוּדָה or אֲתַדְדִּירָה from the root דָּד or דִּי), and also הִתְמַהֲמַה tarry ye, Is 29<sup>9</sup> (but read probably הִתְמַהֲמָה, (in pause) Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, &c., if it is to be derived from מָהַה, and not *Hithpa'el* from מִהַה.

Only examples more or less doubtful can be adduced of—

h

5. *Tiph'el* (properly *Taph'el*<sup>2</sup>): תִּקְטֹל, with ת prefixed, cf. תִּרְגְּלֵנִי to teach to walk, to lead (denominative from רָגַל a foot?) Ho 11<sup>3</sup>; from a stem ל"ה, the imperfect יִרְחַרְחֶה to contend with, Jer 12<sup>5</sup>; participle, 22<sup>15</sup> (from חָרָה to be hot, eager). Similarly in Aramaic, תִּרְגֵּם to interpret, whence also in Hebrew the passive participle מִתְרַגֵּם Ezr 4<sup>7</sup>.

6. *Šaph'el*: שִׁקְטֹל, frequent in Syriac, e.g. שִׁלְהַב from להב to flame; whence יִשְׁלַח flame. Perhaps of the same form is שִׁבְלֹל a snail (unless it be from the stem שָׁבַל), and שִׁקְעֵרוֹת hollow strakes, cf. § 85, No. 50. This conjugation is perhaps the original of *Hiph'il*, in which case the ה, by a phonetic change which may be exemplified elsewhere, is weakened from a sibilant.

\* \* \*

Forms of which only isolated examples occur are:—

k

7. קִטְטֹל, passive קִטְטֵם; as מִחִסֵּם peeled off, like scales, Ex 16<sup>14</sup>, from חָסַף, חָשַׁף to peel, to scale.

8. קִטְטֹל, in וַיִּרְיֶה a rain-storm, from וָרָה.

9. נִתְקַטֵּל (regularly in Mishnic Hebrew<sup>3</sup>) a form compounded of *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*; as וַיִּנְתְּפוּרוּ for וַיִּנְתְּפוּרוּ that they may be taught, Ez 23<sup>48</sup>; נִבְכַּר probably an error for הִתְכַּפַּר to be forgiven, Dt 21<sup>8</sup>. On נִשְׁתַּוָּה Pr 27<sup>15</sup>, see § 75 x.

## § 56. Quadriliterals.

On the origin of these altogether secondary formations cf. § 30 p. While quadriliteral nouns are tolerably numerous, only the following examples of the verb occur:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lat. tinnio, tintinno, our tick-tack, ding-dong, and the German wirrwarr, kringklang. The repetition of the radical in verbs ו"ו also produces this effect; as in לָקַק to lick, דָּקַק to pound, טָפַף to trip along. The same thing is expressed also by diminutive forms, as in Latin by the termination -illo, e.g. cantillo, in German by -eln, -ern, e.g. flimmern, trillern, tröpfeln, to trickle.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of a *Taph'el* is contested on good grounds by Barth, Nominalbildung, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> [See Segal, Mishnaic Hebrew, Oxf. 1909, p. 30 ff.]

(a) On the analogy of *Pi'el*: יִכְרַסְמָנָה *imperfect* he doth ravage it, ψ 8c<sup>14</sup> from כָּרַס, cf. גָּוַם. *Passive* רָטַף to grow fresh again, Jb 33<sup>25</sup>. *Participle* מְכַרְבֵּל girt, clothed (cf. Aramaic כָּבַל to bind), 1 Ch 15<sup>27</sup>. It is usual also to include among the quadrilaterals פָּרַשׁ Jb 26<sup>9</sup>, as a *perfect* of Aramaic form with *Pathah* not attenuated. It is more correctly, however, regarded, with Delitzsch, as the *infinitive absolute* of a *Pi'el* formation, from פָּרַשׁ to spread out, with euphonic change of the first שׁ to שׁ, and the second to י. Moreover, the reading פָּרַשׁ also is very well attested, and is adopted by Baer in the text of Job; cf. the Rem. on p. 48 of his edition.

(b) On the analogy of *Hiph'il*: הִשְׁמָאִיל, by syncope הִשְׁמָאִיל and הִשְׁמָאִיל to turn to the left (denom. from שָׂמַל Gn 13<sup>9</sup>, Is 30<sup>21</sup>, &c. On הִשְׁמָאִיל cf. § 53 p.

### C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 57.

The accusative of the personal pronoun, depending on an active verb,<sup>2</sup> may be expressed (1) by a separate word, אֹת the accusative sign (before a suffix אָת, אַת) with the pronominal suffix, e. g. קָטַל אֹתוֹ he has killed him; or (2) by a mere suffix, קָטַלְהוּ or קָטַלוּ he has killed him. The latter is the usual method (§ 33), and we are here concerned with it alone.<sup>3</sup> Neither of these methods, however, is employed when the accusative of the pronoun is *reflexive*. In that case a reflexive verb is used, viz. *Niph'al* or *Hithpa'el* (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ he sanctified himself, not קִדְּשׁוּ, which could only mean he sanctified him.<sup>4</sup>

Two points must be specially considered here: the form of the suffix itself (§ 58), and the form which the verb takes when suffixes are added to it (§§ 59-61).

<sup>1</sup> This subject of the verbal suffixes is treated here in connexion with the strong verb, in order that both the forms of the suffixes and the general laws which regulate their union with verbal forms may be clearly seen. The rules which relate to the union of the suffixes with weak verbs will be given under the several classes of those verbs.

<sup>2</sup> An accusative suffix occurs in *Niph'al* in ψ 109<sup>3</sup> (since הִלַּחַם is used in the sense of to attack), and according to some, in Is 44<sup>21</sup>; with *Hithpa'el* Is 14<sup>2</sup> (הִתְנַחֵל to appropriate somebody to oneself as a possession); cf. above, § 54 f, and § 117 w.

<sup>3</sup> On the cases where אֹת is necessary, see § 117 e.

<sup>4</sup> The exceptions in Jer 7<sup>19</sup>, Ez 34<sup>2,8,10</sup> are only apparent. In all these instances the sharp antithesis between אֲתָם (themselves) and another object could only be expressed by retaining the same verb; also in Ex 5<sup>19</sup> אֲתָם after an active verb serves to emphasize the idea of themselves.

§ 58. *The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb.*

Cf. the statistics collected by H. Petri, *Das Verbum mit Suffixen im Hebr.*, part ii, in the נביאים ראשונים, Leipzig, 1890. W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . . des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsem.', *AJSL*. xvii (1901), p. 205 f. Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, i. 159 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 638 ff.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the *a* accusative of the *personal pronoun*. They are the following:—

A.	B.	C.
<i>To a form ending in a Vowel.</i>	<i>To a form in the Perf. ending in a Consonant.</i>	<i>To a form in the Imperf. ending in a Consonant.</i>
Sing. 1. com. אני	אני (in pause אני)	אני me.
2. m. את	את (in pause את, also את)	את thee.
f. ה	ה, rarely ה	ה
3. m. הו, ה	הו, ה (ה)	הו him.
f. ה	ה	ה her.
Plur. 1. com. נו	נו	נו us.
2. m. כם	כם	כם you (vos).
f. . . . . <sup>1</sup>		
3. m. הו, ה	ה (from הו), ה	ה (from הו) eos.
poet. מו	מו	מו
f. ה	ה, ה	. . . . . <sup>1</sup> eas.

2. That these suffixes are connected with the corresponding forms *b* of the *personal pronoun* (§ 32) is for the most part self-evident, and only a few of them require elucidation.

The suffixes אני, את, הו, ה (and ה, when a long vowel in an open *c* syllable precedes) never have the tone, which always rests on the preceding syllable; on the other hand, כם and הם always take the tone.

In the 3rd pers. masc. הו, by contraction of *a* and *u* after the *d* rejection of the weak ה, frequently gives rise to *ô* (§ 23 *k*), ordinarily written ה, much less frequently ה (see § 7 *c*). In the *feminine*, the suffix ה should be pronounced with a preceding *a* (cf. below, *f*, note), as ה or ה, on the analogy of *āhū*; instead of ה, however, it was simply pronounced ה, with the rejection of the final vowel,

<sup>1</sup> According to Diehl (see above), p. 61, הם occurs only once with the perfect (see § 59 *e*), 7 times with the imperfect, but never in pre-exilic passages, whereas the accus. הם occurs 40 times in Jer. and 36 times in Ezek.—ה occurs only once as a verbal suffix (Dt 32<sup>26</sup>, unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, הם from ה is to be read), while the forms ה (2nd f. pl.) and ה and ה (3rd f. pl.), added by Qimhi, never occur.

and with *Mappiq*, since the ה is consonantal; but the weakening to הֿ is also found, see below, *g*.

*e* 3. The *variety* of the suffix-forms is occasioned chiefly by the fact that they are modified differently according to the form and tense of the verb to which they are attached. For almost every suffix three forms may be distinguished:

(a) One beginning with a consonant, as וְיִ, וְהִ, וְ (only after *i*), וְנִ, (וְהִ) וְ, &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e.g. וְקָטְלוּ; וְקָטְלֵיהֶוּ, for which by absorption of the ה we also get וְקָטְלֵיהֶוּ, pronounced *qēṭaltū*; cf. § 8 *m*.

*f* (b) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*<sup>1</sup> (וְיִ, וְנִ), used with verbal forms ending with a consonant (for exceptions, see § 59 *g* and § 60 *e*). This *connecting vowel* is *a* with the forms of the perfect, e.g. וְקָטְלוּ, וְקָטְלֵנִי, וְקָטְלֵם (on וְקָטְלֵם, the ordinary form of the 3rd masc. perf. with the 2nd fem. suffix, cf. below, *g*); and *e* (less frequently *a*) with the forms of the imperfect and imperative, e.g. וְקָטְלֵהֶוּ, וְקָטְלֵם; also with the infinitive and participles, when these do not take noun-suffixes (cf. § 61 *a* and *h*). The form *i* also belongs to the suffixes of the perfect, since it has arisen from וְהִ (cf., however, § 60 *d*). With וְ, וְנִ, the connecting sound is only a vocal *Ṣēdā*, which has arisen from an original short vowel, thus וְיִ, וְנִ, e.g. וְקָטְלֵהֶוּ (*qēṭālēkhā*), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, וְיִ, e.g. וְשָׁחֲטֵהֶוּ. In *pause*, the original short vowel (*ā*) reappears as *Ṣēghôl* with the tone וְיִ (also וְנִ, see *g*). On the appending of suffixes to the final ה of the imperfect (§ 47 *m*), see § 60 *e*.

*g* Rem. 1. As rare forms may be mentioned *sing.* 2nd pers. *masc.* וְהִ Gn 27<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, &c., in *pause* also וְהִ (see below, *i*); *fem.* וְהִ, וְהִ ψ 103<sup>4</sup>, 137<sup>6</sup>. Instead of the form וְיִ, which is usual even in the perfect (e.g. Ju 4<sup>20</sup>, Ez 27<sup>26</sup>), וְיִ occurs as *fem.* Is 60<sup>9</sup> (as *masc.* Dt 6<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>43</sup>, Is 30<sup>19</sup>, 55<sup>6</sup> always in *pause*); with *Munah* Is 54<sup>8</sup>, Jer 23<sup>37</sup>.—In the 3rd *masc.* וְ Ex 32<sup>25</sup>, Nu 23<sup>8</sup>; in the 3rd *fem.* וְ without *Mappiq* (cf. § 91 *e*) Ex 2<sup>3</sup>, Jer 44<sup>19</sup>; Am 1<sup>11</sup>, with

<sup>1</sup> We have kept the term *connecting vowel*, although it is rather a superficial description, and moreover these vowels are of various origin. The connective *a* is most probably the remains of the old verbal termination, like the *i* in the 2nd pers. *fem.* *sing.* וְקָטְלֵיהֶוּ. Observe e.g. the Hebrew form *qēṭāl-ni* in connexion with the Arabic *qatala-ni*, contrasted with Hebrew *qēṭālat-ni* and Arabic *qatalat-ni*. König accordingly prefers the expression 'vocalic ending of the stem', instead of 'connecting syllable'. The connective *e*, *ā*, as Prätorius (*ZDMG.* 55, 267 ff.) and Barth (*ibid.* p. 205 f.) show by reference to the Syriac connective *ai* in the imperf. of the strong verb, is originally due to the analogy of verbs מְחַיֵּי (מְחַיֵּי from *mehaini*), in which the final *e* was used as a connecting vowel first of the imperat., then of the impf. (besides many forms with *a*, § 60 *d*), and of the infin. and participle.

retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, but read certainly *שָׁמַר*—The forms *מוֹ*, *מוֹ*, *מוֹ* occur 23 times, all in poetry<sup>1</sup> (except Ex 23<sup>31</sup>) [viz. with the perfect Ex 15<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>31</sup>, ψ 73<sup>6</sup>; with the imperfect Ex 15<sup>5</sup> (*מוֹ* for *מוֹ*), 15<sup>7.9.9.12.15.17.17</sup>, ψ 2<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>10.13</sup>, 22<sup>5</sup>, 45<sup>17</sup>, 80<sup>6</sup>, 140<sup>10</sup>; with the imperative ψ 5<sup>11</sup>, 59<sup>12.12</sup>, 83<sup>12</sup>]. On the age of these forms, see § 91 l 3; on *יֹ* and *יֹ* as suffixes of the 3rd fem. plur. of the imperfect, § 60 d.—In Gn 48<sup>9</sup> *קָהָם* (cf. *יִבְכּוּ* in Ch 14<sup>11</sup> according to Baer), *קָהָם* has lost the tone before *Maqqeph* and so is shortened to *קָהָם*.—In Ez 44<sup>8</sup> *וְיִשְׁמְנוּ* is probably only an error for *וְיִשְׁמְנוּ*.

2. From a comparison of these verbal suffixes with the noun-suffixes (§ 91) *h* we find that (a) there is a greater variety of forms amongst the verbal than amongst the noun-suffixes, the forms and relations of the verb itself being more various;—(b) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer; cf. e.g. *נִי*, *נִי*, *נִי* (*me*) with *נִי* (*my*). The reason is that the pronominal object is less closely connected with the verb than the possessive pronoun (the genitive) is with the noun; consequently the former can also be expressed by a separate word (*אֲנִי* in *אֲנִי*, &c.).

4. A verbal form with a suffix gains additional strength, and some-<sup>2</sup> times intentional emphasis, when, instead of the mere connecting vowel, a special connecting-syllable<sup>2</sup> (*ān*)<sup>3</sup> is inserted between the suffix and the verbal stem. Since, however, this syllable always has the tone, the *ā* is invariably (except in the 1st pers. sing.) modified to tone-bearing *S<sup>g</sup>hōl*. This is called the *Nūn energicum*<sup>4</sup> (less suitably *demonstrativum* or *epentheticum*), and occurs principally (see, however, Dt 32<sup>10</sup> *bis*) in pausal forms of the imperfect, e.g. *יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ* *he will bless him* (ψ 72<sup>15</sup>, cf. Jer 5<sup>22</sup>), *יְחַלְלֶנּוּ* Jer 22<sup>24</sup>; *יְכַבְּדֶנּוּ* *he will honour me* (ψ 50<sup>23</sup>) is unusual; rarely in the perfect, Dt 24<sup>13</sup> *יְבָרְכֶּנּוּ*. On examples like *יְנַבֵּי* Gn 30<sup>6</sup>, cf. § 26 g, § 59 f. In far the greatest number of cases, however, this *Nūn* is assimilated to the following consonant (*נ*, *כ*), or the latter is lost in pronunciation (so *ה*), and the *Nūn* consequently sharpened. Hence we get the following series of suffix-forms:—

<sup>1</sup> Thus in ψ 2 *מוֹ* occurs five times [four times attached to a noun or preposition, §§ 91 f, 103 c], and *מוֹ* only twice.

<sup>2</sup> It is, however, a question whether, instead of a connecting syllable, we should not assume a special verbal form, analogous to the Arabic *energetic mood* (see l, at the end) and probably also appearing in the Hebrew cohortative (see the footnote on § 48 c).—As M. Lambert has shown in *RET.* 1903, p. 178 ff. ('De l'emploi des suffixes pronominaux . . .'), the suffixes of the 3rd pers. with the impf. without *waw* in prose are *נִי* and *נִי*, but with *waw* consec. *וְנִי* and *וְנִי* or *וְנִי*; with the jussive in the 2nd and 3rd pers. always *וְנִי*, *וְנִי*, the 1st pers. more often *נִי* than *וְנִי*, and always *נִי*.

<sup>3</sup> According to Barth 'n-haltige Suffixe' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, Lpz. 1907, p. 1 ff., the connecting element, as in Aramaic, was originally *in*, which in Hebrew became *en* in a closed tone-syllable.

<sup>4</sup> So König, *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 226.

1st pers.  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  (even in pause, Jb 7<sup>14</sup>, &c.),  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  (for  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ ,  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ ).

2nd pers.  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  (Jer 22<sup>24</sup> in pause  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ ) and, only orthographically different,

$\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  (Is 10<sup>24</sup>, Pr 2<sup>11</sup> in pause).

3rd pers.  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  (for  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ ),<sup>1</sup> fem.  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  for  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ .

[1st pers. plur.  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  (for  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ ), see the Rem.]

In the other persons *Nûn energetic* does not occur.

*k* Rem. The uncontracted forms with *Nûn* are rare, and occur only in poetic or elevated style (Ex 15<sup>2</sup>, Dt 32<sup>10</sup> [bis], Jer 5<sup>22</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>); they are never found in the 3rd fem. sing. and 1st plur. On the other hand, the contracted forms are tolerably frequent, even in prose. An example of  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  as 1st plur. occurs perhaps in Jb 31<sup>15</sup> [but read  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  and cf. § 72 cc], hardly in Ho 12<sup>5</sup>; cf.  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  behold us, Gn 44<sup>16</sup>, 50<sup>18</sup>, Nu 14<sup>40</sup> for  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  (instead of  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ ; see § 20 m).—In Ez 4<sup>12</sup> the Masora requires  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ , without Dages in the *Nûn*.

*l* That the forms with *Nûn energeticum* are intended to give greater emphasis to the verbal form is seen from their special frequency in pause. Apart from the verb, however, *Nûn energeticum* occurs also in the union of suffixes with certain particles (§ 100 o).

This *Nûn* is frequent in Western Aramaic. In Arabic the corresponding forms are the two *energetic moods* (see § 48 b) ending in *an* and *anna*, which are used in connexion with suffixes (e.g. *yaqtulan-ka* or *yaqtulanna-ka*) as well as without them.

### § 59. The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

*a* 1. The endings (*affirmatives*) of the perfect occasionally vary somewhat from the ordinary form, when connected with pronominal suffixes; viz.:—

(a) In the 3rd sing. fem. the original feminine ending  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  or  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  is used for  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ .

(b) In the 2nd sing. masc. besides  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  we find  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ , to which the connecting vowel is directly attached, but the only clear instances of this are with  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ .<sup>2</sup>

(c) In the 2nd sing. fem.  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ , the original form of  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ , appears; cf.  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ , § 32 f; § 44 g. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(d) 2nd plur. masc.  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  for  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$ . The only examples are Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>5</sup>. Zc 7<sup>5</sup>. The fem.  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  never occurs with suffixes; probably it had the same form as the masculine.

*b* We exhibit first the forms of the perfect *Hiph'il*, as used in connexion with suffixes, since here no further changes take place in the stem itself, except as regards the tone (see c).

<sup>1</sup> On  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  =  $\text{נִּיְ}^{\text{ע}}$  Nu 23<sup>13</sup>, see § 67 o.

<sup>2</sup> On the *ā* as an original element of the verbal form, see § 58 f, note.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. הקטיל	3. c. הקטילו
3. f. הקטילת	
2. m. הקטילת, הקטילת	2. m. הקטילתו
2. f. הקטילתי, הקטילת	
1. c. הקטילתי	1. c. הקטילנו

The beginner should first practise connecting the suffixes with these *Hiph'il* forms and then go on to unite them to the *Perfect Qal* (see d).

2. The addition of the suffix generally causes the tone to be thrown *c* forward towards the end of the word, since it would otherwise fall, in some cases, on the ante-penultima; with the *heavy* suffixes (see *e*) the tone is even transferred to the suffix itself. Considerations of tone, especially in the *Perfect Qal*, occasion certain vowel changes: (a) the *Qames* of the first syllable, no longer standing *before* the tone, always becomes vocal *Šewā*; (b) the original *Pathah* of the second syllable, which in the 3rd *sing. fem.* and 3rd *plur.* had become *Šewā*, reappears before the suffix, and, in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*; similarly original *i* (as in the 3rd *sing. masc. without* a suffix) is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. אָהַבְתִּי 1 S 18<sup>22</sup>, Pr 19<sup>7</sup>.

The forms of the perfect of *Qal* consequently appear as follows:— *d*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. קָטַל	3. c. קָטְלוּ
3. f. קָטַלְתְּ (קָטַלְתְּ, see <i>g</i> )	
2. m. קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתָּ, see <i>h</i> )	2. m. קָטַלְתּוּ
2. f. קָטַלְתִּי (קָטַלְתִּי, see <i>h</i> )	
1. c. קָטַלְתִּי	1. c. קָטַלְנוּ

The connexion of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in *Paradigm C*. It will be seen there also, how the *Šere* in the *Perfect Pi'el* changes sometimes into *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, and sometimes into vocal *Šewā*.

Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. כֶּם and הֶם, since they *e* end in a consonant and also always have the tone, are distinguished as *heavy* suffixes (*suffixa gravia*) from the rest, which are called *light* suffixes. Compare the connexion of these (and of the corresponding feminine forms כֵּן and הֵן) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect כֶּם alone occurs, ψ 118<sup>26</sup>. The form קָטַלְתֶּם which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd *sing. masc. before* כֶּם and הֶם is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the O. T.

2. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* קָטַלְהוּ (especially in verbs לָה; in the strong verb *f* only in Jer 20<sup>15</sup> in *Pi'el*) is mostly contracted to קָטְלוּ, according to § 23 *k*; likewise in the 2nd *sing. masc.* קָטַלְתְּהוּ to קָטַלְתָּ. — As a suffix of the 1st *sing.* נִי occurs several times with the 3rd *sing. masc. perf. Qal* of verbs לָה, not only in *pause* (as עָנְנִי ψ 118<sup>5</sup>; קָנְנִי Pr 8<sup>22</sup> with *D<sup>e</sup>hi*), but even with a con-

junctive accent, as הָרַנִּי Jb 30<sup>19</sup>; עָנְנִי 1 S 28<sup>16</sup> (where, however, the reading עָנְנִי is also found). With a sharpened נ : רָנְנִי Gn 30<sup>6</sup>; וַיִּסְרְנִי 1 S 18<sup>18</sup>.

g 3. The 3rd sing. fem. קָטַלְתָּ (= קָטַלְתָּה) has the twofold peculiarity that (a) the ending *ath* always takes the tone,<sup>1</sup> and consequently is joined to those suffixes which form a syllable of themselves (נִי, ךְּ, הוּ, הָ, נוּ), without a connecting vowel, contrary to the general rule, § 58 f; (b) before the other suffixes the connecting vowel is indeed employed, but the tone is drawn back to the *penultima*, so that they are pronounced with shortened vowels, viz. הָֿ, ךְּֿ, םֿ, e.g. אֶהֱבִיתְךָ she loves thee, Ru 4<sup>15</sup>, cf. Is 47<sup>10</sup>; וְנָבְתָם she has stolen them, Gn 31<sup>32</sup>; שָׂרַפְתָּם it burns them, Is 47<sup>14</sup>, Jos 2<sup>6</sup>, Ho 2<sup>14</sup>, ψ 48<sup>7</sup>. For תָּנִי, תָּךְ &c., in pause תָּנִי is found, Jer 8<sup>21</sup>, ψ 69<sup>10</sup>, and תָּךְ Ct 8<sup>5</sup>; and also without the pause for the sake of the assonance תַּבְלִיתְךָ she was in travail with thee, *ibid*. The form קָטַלְתָּו (e.g. Ru 4<sup>15</sup>) has arisen, through the loss of the ה and the consequent sharpening of the ת (as in נָוֿ and נָהֿ for נָהֿ and נָהֿ, cf. § 58 i), from the form קָטַלְתָּהוּ, which is also found even in pause (אֶהֱבִיתָהוּ 1 S 18<sup>28</sup>; elsewhere it takes in pause the form סִמְכִיתָהוּ Is 59<sup>16</sup>); so קָטַלְתָּה from קָטַלְתָּה; cf. 1 S 1<sup>6</sup>, Is 34<sup>17</sup>, Jer 49<sup>24</sup>, Ru 3<sup>6</sup>; in pause Ez 14<sup>15</sup>, always, on the authority of Qimhi, without *Mappiq* in the ה, which is consequently always a mere vowel-letter.

h 4. In the 2nd sing. masc. the form קָטַלְתָּ is mostly used, and the suffixes have, therefore, no connecting vowel, e.g. וְנָחֲתָנוּ פְּרָצְתָנוּ thou hast cast us off, thou hast broken us down, ψ 60<sup>3</sup>; but with the suff. of the 1st sing. the form קָטַלְתָּנִי is used, e.g. תִּקְרָתָנִי ψ 139<sup>1</sup>; in pause, however, with *Qames*, e.g. עֹבְדָתָנִי ψ 22<sup>2</sup>; Ju 1<sup>15</sup> (with *Zaqeph qaton*); but cf. also צָרַפְתָּנִי ψ 17<sup>3</sup> with *Mer<sup>e</sup>kha*.—In the 2nd sing. fem. תִּי is also written defectively, רַמִּיתָנִי 1 S 19<sup>17</sup>, Ju 11<sup>35</sup>, Jer 15<sup>10</sup>, Ct 4<sup>9</sup>. Occasionally the suffix is appended to the ordinary form תָּ, viz. הַשְׁבַּעְתָּנוּ thou (fem.) dost adjure us, Ct 5<sup>9</sup>, Jos 2<sup>17.20</sup>; cf. Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, and, quite abnormally, with *Sere* הוֹרְדָתָנוּ thou (fem.) didst let us down, Jos 2<sup>18</sup>, where הוֹרְדָתָנוּ would be expected. In Is 8<sup>11</sup> וַיִּסְרְנִי is probably intended as an *imperfect*.

i 5. In verbs *middle e*, the *e* remains even before suffixes (see above, c), e.g. אֶהֱבִיךָ Dt 15<sup>16</sup>, אֶהֱבִיתָהוּ 1 S 18<sup>28</sup>, cf. 18<sup>22</sup>; יִרְאוּהוּ Jb 37<sup>24</sup>. From a verb *middle o* there occurs יִבְלִיתִי I have prevailed against him, ψ 13<sup>5</sup>, from יָבַל with *o* instead of *o* in a syllable which has lost the tone (§ 44 e).

## § 60. Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

a In those forms of the *imperfect* Qal, which have no affirmatives, the vowel *o* of the second syllable mostly becomes *i* (simple *S<sup>e</sup>wa mobile*), sometimes *u*; thus in the principal pause, Nu 35<sup>20</sup>, Is 27<sup>3</sup>, 62<sup>2</sup>, Jer 31<sup>33</sup>, Ez 35<sup>6</sup>, Ho 10<sup>10</sup>; before the principal pause, ψ 119<sup>33</sup>; before a secondary pause, Ez 17<sup>23</sup>; even before a conjunctive accent, Jos 23<sup>5</sup>. Before תָּֿ,

<sup>1</sup> תַּבְלִיתְךָ Ct 8<sup>5</sup> is an exception. כָּם would probably even here have the tone (see e); but no example of the kind occurs in the O.T. In Is 51<sup>2</sup> the *imperfect* is used instead of the *perfect* with a suffix.

כֶּם, however, it is shortened to *Qames hatuph*, e.g. יִשְׁמְרֶךָ (but in *pause* יִשְׁמָרְךָ or יִשְׁמְרֶךָ; with *Nūn energicum*, see § 58 i), &c. Instead of תִּקְטְלֶנָּה, the form תִּקְטְלִי<sup>1</sup> is used for the 2nd and 3rd *fem. plur.* before suffixes in three places: Jer 2<sup>19</sup>, Jb 19<sup>15</sup>, Ct 1<sup>6</sup>.

Rem. 1. יִחְבְּרֶךָ ψ 94<sup>20</sup> is an anomalous form for יִחְבְּרֶךָ (cf. the analogous *b* יִחְנֶךָ § 67 n) and יִפְנֶשֶׁךָ (so Baer; others יִפְנֶשֶׁךָ) Gn 32<sup>18</sup> for יִפְנֶשֶׁךָ. To the same category as יִחְבְּרֶךָ belong also, according to the usual explanation, תִּעְבְּדֶם (from תִּעֲבֹד, Ex 20<sup>5</sup>, 23<sup>24</sup>, Dt 5<sup>9</sup>, and נָעַבְדְּ Dt 13<sup>3</sup>). As a matter of fact, the explanation of these forms as imperfects of *Qal* appears to be required by the last of these passages; yet why has the retraction of the *δ* taken place only in these examples (beside numerous forms like יִעֲבֹדֵנִי)? Could the Masora in the two Decalogues and in Ex 23<sup>24</sup> (on the analogy of which Dt 13<sup>3</sup> was then wrongly pointed) have intended an imperfect *Hoph'al* with the suffix, meaning *thou shalt not allow thyself to be brought to worship them*?

Verbs which have *a* in the second syllable of the imperfect, and imperative, *c* *Qal* (to which class especially *verba tertiæ* and *mediæ gutturalis* belong, § 64 and § 65) do not, as a rule, change the *Pathah* of the imperfect (nor of the imperative, see § 61 g) into *Ṣewā* before suffixes; but the *Pathah*, coming to stand in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. וְיִלְכְּשֵׁנִי Jb 29<sup>14</sup>; וַיִּגְלֹהוּ 3<sup>6</sup>; וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם Jos 8<sup>3</sup>; וַיִּקְרָאוּ ψ 145<sup>18</sup>; but יִקְרָא Jer 23<sup>6</sup>, is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings וַיִּקְרָא and יִקְרָא, cf. § 74 e.

2. Not infrequently suffixes with the connecting vowel *a* are also found *d* with the imperfect, e.g. תִּדְבְּרָנִי Gn 19<sup>13</sup>, cf. 29<sup>32</sup>, Ex 33<sup>20</sup>, Nu 22<sup>33</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>24</sup> *Qerē*, Is 56<sup>3</sup>, Jb 9<sup>18</sup>; also כִּי, Gn 27<sup>19,31</sup>, Jb 7<sup>14</sup>, 9<sup>34</sup>, 13<sup>21</sup> (in principal *pause*); וַיִּבְרָה Gn 37<sup>33</sup>, cf. 16<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>27</sup>, Is 26<sup>5</sup>, Jb 28<sup>27</sup>, 1 Ch 20<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּבְרָה Is 63<sup>16</sup> (manifestly owing to the influence of the preceding וַיְדַעְנִי); וַיִּבְשֶׁם Ex 29<sup>0</sup>, cf. 2<sup>17</sup>, Nu 21<sup>30</sup>, Dt 7<sup>15</sup>, ψ 74<sup>8</sup>; even וַיִּשְׁעֶן 118<sup>10-12</sup>; וַיִּחַתֵּן Ex 27<sup>1</sup>, and וַיִּחַתֵּן Hb 2<sup>17</sup> (where, however, the ancient versions read וַיִּחַתֵּן); even וַיִּרְבֵּה (δ from *āhu*) Ho 8<sup>3</sup>; cf. Ex 22<sup>29</sup>, Jos 2<sup>4</sup> (but read וַיִּתְּפַנֵּם); 1 S 18<sup>1</sup> *Keth.*, 21<sup>14</sup> (where, however, the text is corrupt); 2 S 14<sup>6</sup> (where read with the old versions וַיִּנֶּה); Jer 23<sup>6</sup> (see § 74 e), ψ 35<sup>8</sup>, Ec 4<sup>12</sup>.—On pausal *Ṣeḡhōl* for *Sere* in וַיִּבְרָכֶם Gn 48<sup>9</sup> and וַיִּתְּלַצְהוּ (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsb. וַיִּתְּלַצְהוּ) Ju 16<sup>16</sup>, see § 29 q.

3. Suffixes are also appended in twelve passages to the plural forms in וַי, *e* viz. תִּדְבְּרֹאֵנִי *will ye break me in pieces?* Jb 19<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶינָה (here necessarily with a connecting vowel) Is 60<sup>7,10</sup>; Pr 5<sup>22</sup> (i but probably corrupt); elsewhere always without a connecting vowel; וַיִּקְרָאֵנִי with two other examples Pr 1<sup>28</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>, Ho 5<sup>15</sup>; cf. וַיִּגְךָ ψ 63<sup>4</sup>, 91<sup>12</sup>; וַיִּהָה Jer 5<sup>22</sup>; וַיִּהָה Jer 24<sup>4</sup>, all in principal *pause*. [See Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 1047 f.]

4. In *Pi'el*, *Pō'el*, and *Po'el*, the *Sere* of the final syllable, like the *δ* in *Qal*, *f* becomes vocal *Ṣewā*; but before the suffixes כֶּם and כֶּם it is shortened to *Ṣeḡhōl*, e.g. וַיִּבְצֹר Dt 30<sup>4</sup>, ψ 34<sup>12</sup>, Is 51<sup>2</sup>. With a final guttural, however, וַיִּשְׁלַח Gn 32<sup>27</sup>; also in Pr 4<sup>8</sup>, where with *Qimḥi* וַיִּבְרָךְ is to be read. *δ* is

<sup>1</sup> This form is also found as feminine without a suffix, in Jer 49<sup>11</sup>, Ez 37<sup>7</sup>. In the latter passage וַיִּתְּרָבִי is probably to be regarded, with König, as a clumsy correction of the original וַיִּתְּרָבִי, intended to suggest the reading וַיִּתְּרָבִי, to agree with the usual gender of עֲצֻמֹת.

retained in the tone-syllable; an analogous case in *Hiph'il* is *וַיִּגְדֵּל* Dt 32<sup>7</sup>. Less frequently *Sere* is sharpened to *Hireq*, e.g. *אֶמְצָכֶם* Jb 16<sup>5</sup>, cf. Ex 31<sup>13</sup>. Is 1<sup>16</sup>, 52<sup>12</sup>; so in *Po'el*, Is 25<sup>1</sup>, ψ 30<sup>2</sup>, 37<sup>24</sup>, 145<sup>1</sup>, and probably also in *Qal* *אֶסְפֶּךָ* 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>; cf. § 68 h.

**g** 5. In *Hiph'il* the *i* remains, e.g. *תִּלְבִּישֵׁנִי* Jb 10<sup>11</sup> (after *wāw* consecutive it is often written defectively, e.g. *וַיִּלְבֹּשׁ* Gn 32<sup>1</sup> and often); but cf. above, *f*, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>. Forms like *תַּעֲשִׂרְנָה* thou enrichest it, ψ 65<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>25</sup>, are rare. Cf. § 53 n.

**h** 6. Instead of the suffix of the 3rd plur. fem. (י), the suffix of the 3rd plur. masc. (ם) is affixed to the affirmative י, to avoid a confusion with the personal ending ין; cf. *וַיִּמְלֹאֵם* Gn 26<sup>15</sup> (previously also with a perf. *וַיִּמְלֵם*; Gn 26<sup>18</sup>, 33<sup>13</sup>, Ex 2<sup>17</sup> (where *וַיִּשְׁעֶן* occurs immediately after); 39<sup>18,20</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>10</sup> (where also *וַיִּנְיֵם* is for *וַיִּנְיֶה*, a neglect of gender which can only be explained by § 135 o).—For *יִהְיֶה־נָּךְ* Zc 11<sup>5</sup> read perhaps *יִהְיֶה־נָּךְ* with M. Lambert.

### § 61. Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes.

**a** 1. The *infinitive construct* of an *active verb* may be construed with an accusative, and therefore can also take a *verbal suffix*, i.e. the *accusative* of the personal pronoun. The only undoubted instances of the kind, however, in the O. T. are infinitives with the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing., e.g. *לִדְרֹשְׁנִי* to inquire of me, Jer 37<sup>7</sup>. As a rule the infinitive (as a *noun*) takes *noun-suffixes* (in the *genitive*, which may be either subjective or objective, cf. § 115 c), e.g. *עָבְרִי* my passing by; *מְלִכִּי* his reigning, see § 115 a and e. The infinitive *Qal*, then, usually has the form *qōl*, retaining the original short vowel under the first radical (on the probable ground-form *qūlūl*, see § 46 a). The resulting syllable as a rule allows a following *Begadkephath* to be spirant, e.g. *בְּכַתְּבוֹ* in his writing, Jer 45<sup>1</sup>; cf., however, *הִפְכִּי* Gn 19<sup>21</sup>; *נָנְפוֹ* (so ed. Mant.; others *נָנְפוּ*) Ex 12<sup>27</sup>; *עָצְבִּי* 1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup>; before *ךָ* and *כֶּם*—also the syllable is completely closed, e.g. *בְּאַסְפֶּךָ* Ex 23<sup>16</sup>, Lv 23<sup>39</sup> (but in pause *לְהִרְגֶךָ* Gn 27<sup>42</sup>), unless the vowel be retained in the second syllable; see *d*. With the form *qāṭl* generally, compare the closely allied nouns of the form *qāṭl* (before a suffix *qāṭl* or *qāṭl*), § 84<sup>a</sup> a; § 93 q.

**b** Rem. 1. The infin. of verbs which have *ō* in the last syllable of the *imperfect* of *Qal*, sometimes takes the form *qūl* before suffixes, e.g. *בְּבִגְדוֹ* Ex 21<sup>8</sup>; *מִכְרִם* Am 2<sup>6</sup> (but *מִכְרָה* Ex 21<sup>8</sup>), *נָפְלוֹ* 2 S 11<sup>10</sup> (but *נָפְלוּ* 1 S 29<sup>3</sup>), *לְשִׁטְנוֹ* Zc 3<sup>1</sup>, *שָׁבְרִי* Lv 26<sup>20</sup>, Ez 30<sup>18</sup> &c. According to Barth (see above, § 47 i with the note) these forms with *i* in the first syllable point to former *i*-imperfects.

**c** Infinitives of the form *qāṭl* (§ 45 c) in verbs middle or third guttural (but cf. also *שָׁבְכָה* Gn 19<sup>33,36</sup>—elsewhere *שָׁבְכֶךָ* and *שָׁבְכוּ*) before suffixes sometimes take the form *gaṭl*, as *וַעֲנֵנִי* Jon 1<sup>15</sup> (and, with the syllable loosely closed.

פָּעֵמוֹ Ju 13<sup>25</sup>, מִהָאָדָּר and רָקֵעַ Ez 25<sup>6</sup>; sometimes *qill*, with the *a* attenuated to *i*, especially in verbs third guttural; as בִּמְחִיָּה, בִּלְעִי, בִּקְעָם, פָּנְעוּ, פָּתְחִי, רָבְעָה.—Contrary to § 58 f נִי (1 Ch 12<sup>17</sup>) and נִי (Ex 14<sup>11</sup>) are sometimes found with the *infinitive* instead of נִי and נִי. On רָדֹפִי my following ψ 38<sup>21</sup> (but רָדִי cf. the analogous examples in § 46 a.

2. With the suffixes הָ, כֶּם, contrary to the analogy of the corresponding nouns, forms occur like אֲכַלְךָ *thy eating*, Gn 2<sup>17</sup>; אֲכַלְכֶּם Gn 3<sup>5</sup>; עֲמַדְךָ (others עֲמַדְךָ) Ob 11, i.e. with *ō* shortened in the same way as in the *imperfect*, see § 60. But the analogy of the nouns is followed in such forms as קִצְרְכֶם *your harvesting*, Lv 19<sup>9</sup>, 23<sup>22</sup> (with retention of the original *ā*), and מֵאֲסַכְכֶם (read *mō'sēkhēm*) *your despising*, Is 30<sup>12</sup>; cf. Dt 20<sup>2</sup>; on בְּמִצְיָכֶם Gn 32<sup>20</sup> (for בְּמִצְיָכֶם), see § 74 h.—Very unusual are the infinitive suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with *ē* *energicum* (on the analogy of suffixes with the *imperfect*, § 58 i), as יִפְרֶךְ Dt 4<sup>36</sup>, cf. 23<sup>5</sup>, Jb 33<sup>32</sup>, all in principal pause.

Examples of the *infinitive Niph'al* with suffixes are, הִשְׁמַרְךָ Ex 14<sup>18</sup>; הִשְׁמַרְךָ Dt 28<sup>20</sup> (in *pause*, הִשְׁמַרְךָ verse 24); הִשְׁפַּטְךָ ψ 37<sup>33</sup>; הִזְכַּרְכֶּם Ez 21<sup>29</sup>; הִשְׁמַרְךָ Dt 7<sup>23</sup>. In the *infinitive of Pi'el* (as also in the *imperfect*, see § 60 f) the *ē* before the suff. הָ, כֶּם, becomes *Sēghōl*, e.g. רִבְרַךְ Ex 4<sup>10</sup>, and with a sharpening to רִבְרַשְׁכֶּם Is 1<sup>15</sup> (see § 60 f). In the *infinitive Pō'el*, בּוֹשְׁשִׁכֶם occurs (with *a* for *ē* or *i*) Am 5<sup>11</sup>, but probably בּוֹשְׁשִׁכֶם, with Wellhausen, is the right reading; the correction *ō* has crept into the text alongside of the *corrigendum* *ō*.

2. The leading form of the *imperative Qal* before *suffixes* (קָטַל) is *f* due probably (see § 46 d) to the retention of the original short vowel of the first syllable (ground-form *qūtūl*). In the *imperative* also *ō* is not followed by *Dageš lene*, e.g. כֹּתְבֶכֶם *kōthbhēm* (not *kōthbēm*), &c.<sup>1</sup> As in the *imperfect* (§ 60 d) and *infinitive* (see above, c), so also in the *imperative*, suffixes are found united to the stem by an *a*-sound; e.g. כָּתְבָה Is 30<sup>8</sup>; cf. 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>.—The forms קָטַלְךָ, קָטַלְכֶם, which are not exhibited in Paradigm C, undergo no change. Instead of קָטַלְכֶם, the masc. form (קָטַלְךָ) is used, as in the *imperfect*.

In verbs which form the *imperative* with *a*, like שְׁלַח (to which class *g* belong especially verbs *middle* and *third guttural*, §§ 64 and 65), this *a* retains its place when pronominal suffixes are added, but, since it then stands in an open syllable, is, as a matter of course, lengthened to *Qames* (just as in *imperfects Qal* in *a*, § 60 c), e.g. שְׁלַחֲנִי *send me*, Is 6<sup>8</sup>, בְּחַנִּי ψ 26<sup>2</sup>, קָרָאֲנִי ψ 50<sup>15</sup>, שְׁמַעֲנִי Gn 23<sup>8</sup>. In Am 9<sup>1</sup>, בְּצַעֲם (so ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb., instead of the ordinary reading בְּצַעֲם) is to be explained, with Margolis, *AJSL*. xix, p. 45 ff., from an original בְּצַעֲמִי, as הִרְגַּנְתָּם Am 9<sup>4</sup> from original הִרְגַּנְתִּי. —In the *imperative Hiph'il*, the form used in conjunction with suffixes is not the 2nd sing. masc.

<sup>1</sup> שְׁמַרְנִי *šām'renī* required by the Masora in ψ 16<sup>1</sup> (also שְׁמַרְנִי ψ 86<sup>2</sup>, 119<sup>167</sup>; cf. Is 38<sup>14</sup> and עֲמַדְךָ Ob 11), belongs to the disputed cases discussed in § 9 a and § 48 i note.

הִקְטִיל, but הִקְטִיל (with *i* on account of the open syllable, cf. § 60 g), e. g. הִקְרִיבָהוּ *present it*, Mal 1<sup>8</sup>.

*h* 3. Like the infinitives, the participles can also be united with either verbal or noun-suffixes; see § 116 *f*. In both cases the vowel of the participles is shortened or becomes *Šewa* before the suffix, as in the corresponding noun-forms, e. g. from the form קָטַל: קָטַל, &c.; but before *Šewa mobile* קָטַל, &c., or with the original *i*, אִיבָךְ Ex 23<sup>1</sup>, &c., אִסְפָּךְ 2 K 22<sup>20</sup> (coinciding in form with the 1st sing. imperfect *Qal*, 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>; cf. § 68 *h*); with a middle guttural (אִלְךָ, אִלְךָ; with a third guttural, בִּרְאָךְ Is 43<sup>1</sup>, but שִׁלְחָךְ, מְשַׁלְחָךְ Jer 28<sup>16</sup>, cf. § 65 *d*. The form מְקַטֵּל, with suffix מְקַטֵּל; before *Šewa* sometimes like מְלַמֵּךְ Is 48<sup>17</sup>, מְנַחֵם 51<sup>12</sup>, sometimes like מְאַפְּקֶם 52<sup>12</sup>. In Is 47<sup>10</sup> רָאִי is irregular for רָאִי; instead of the meaningless בְּלֹה מְלִלְיוֹנִי Jer 15<sup>10</sup> read בְּלֹהֶם קְלִלְיוֹנִי.

Also unusual (see above, *d*) with participles are the suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with *i* *energicum*, as עוֹרֶךְ Jb 5<sup>1</sup>; cf. Dt 8<sup>5</sup>, 12<sup>14, 28</sup>.

## § 62. Verbs with Gutturals.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 584 ff.

Verbs which have a guttural for one of the three radicals differ in their inflexion from the ordinary strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These differences do not affect the consonantal part of the stem, and it is, therefore, more correct to regard the guttural verbs as a subdivision of the strong verb. At the most, only the entire omission of the strengthening in some of the verbs *middle guttural* (as well as in the *imperfect Niphal* of verbs *first guttural*) can be regarded as a real weakness (§§ 63 *h*, 64 *e*). On the other hand, some original elements have been preserved in guttural stems, which have degenerated in the ordinary strong verb; e. g. the *ā* of the initial syllable in the *imperfect Qal*, as in יִהְיֶה, which elsewhere is attenuated to *i*, יִקְטֵל.—In guttural verbs א and ה are only taken into consideration when they are actual consonants, and not vowel-letters like the א in some verbs אִפֹּ (§ 68), in a few אִעֹ (§ 73 *g*), and in most אִלֹּ (§ 74). In all these cases, however, the א was at least originally a full consonant, while the ה in verbs הִלֵּ was never anything but a vowel letter, cf. § 75. The really consonantal ה at the end of the word is marked by *Mappiq*.—Verbs containing a ה also, according to § 22 *g*, *r*, share some of the peculiarities of the guttural verbs. For more convenient treatment, the cases will be distinguished, according as the guttural is the first, second, or third radical. (Cf. the Paradigms D, E, F, in which only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular.)

§ 63. *Verbs First Guttural*, e.g. עָמַד to stand.

In this class the deviations from the ordinary strong verb may be *a* referred to the following cases:—

1. Instead of a *simple Šewā mobile*, the initial guttural takes a *compound Šewā* (*Hateph*, § 10 f, § 22 l). Thus the *infinitives* עָמַד, אָכַל to eat, and the *perfects*, 2nd plur. masc. עָמַדְתֶּם, אָכַלְתֶּם from עָמַן to be inclined, correspond to the forms קָטַל and קָטַלְתֶּם; also אָכְלוּ, קָטְלוּ, and so always with initial  $\text{—}$  before a suffix for an original *ā*, according to § 22 o.

2. When a preformative is placed before an initial guttural, either *b* the two may form a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative is repeated as a *Hateph* under the guttural. If the vowel of the preformative was originally *a*, two methods of formation may again be distinguished, according as this *a* remains or passes into *Seghól*.

Examples: (*a*) of firmly closed syllables after the original vowel *c* of the preformative (always with *ō* in the second syllable, except וְהִעֲנִיב Ez 23<sup>5</sup>, הִעָּדָה &c. from עָדָה to adorn oneself, and הִיעָּמָה; but cf. *e*): הִעָּמַד, הִיחָל, הִיחָשַׁב, הִיחָשֵׁה, הִיעָּקַב, Jer 9<sup>3</sup> (probably to distinguish it from the name הִיעָּקַב, just as in Jer 10<sup>19</sup>, &c., the participle fem. Niph'al of הָלָה is הִחָלָה to distinguish it from הִנָּחֵלָה, &c., and so generally in the *imperfect Qal* of stems beginning with *ח*, although sometimes parallel forms exist, which repeat the *ā* as a *Hateph*, e.g. הִיחָשַׁב, &c. The same form appears also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* הִיחָסִיר, &c. Very rarely the original *ā* is retained in a closed syllable under the preformative *נ* of the *perfect Niph'al*: נִחָפָאֵת Gn 31<sup>27</sup>; cf. 1 S 19<sup>2</sup>, Jos 2<sup>16</sup>; also the *infinitive absolute* נִחָתוּם Est 8<sup>8</sup>, נִעָתוּר 1 Ch 5<sup>20</sup>, and the *participle fem.* נִחָלָה (see above), *plur.* נִעָתְרוּ Pr 27<sup>6</sup>. In these forms the original *ā* is commonly kept under the preformative and is followed by *Hateph-Pathah*; thus in the *perfect* of some verbs הִלָּה, e.g. הִנָּעֲשָׂה, &c.; in the *infinitive absolute*, הִנָּפִיז Est 9<sup>1</sup>; in the *participle* הִנָּעֲרַץ, ψ 89<sup>8</sup>, &c.

(*b*) Of the corresponding *Hateph* after the original vowel: הִיחָבֵשׁ *l* (but הִיחָבֵשׁ Jb 5<sup>18</sup> in pause), הִיחָלַם, הִיעָמַד, הִיחָרַם, and so almost always with *y* and often with *ח* in the *imperfects* of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*; in *Hoph'al*, הִעָמַר, הִעָמַר; but cf. also הִחָבְּאוּ Is 42<sup>22</sup>, הִחָבֵל Ez 16<sup>4</sup>.

The *ā* of the preformative before a guttural almost always (§ 22 i, *c* cf. § 27 p) becomes *Seghól* (cf., however, *q*). This *Seghól* again appears sometimes

(*c*) in a closed syllable, e.g. הִיחָבֵשׁ, הִיחָסַר, הִיעָמַר, הִיחָרַם, always with *ā* in the second syllable, corresponding to the *imperfects* of verbs *y"y*,

with original *i* in the first and *a* in the second syllable, § 67 *n*, and also to the imperfects of verbs יָעַר, § 72 *h*; but cf. also יָאָסַר, יָאָסַר, and יָהִירָה in *Niph.*, e. g. נָחֵלָה, נָחֵפָה Am 6<sup>6</sup>, &c.; in *Hiph.* הָעֵלִים, הָחֵסִיר 2 K 4<sup>7</sup>, &c.: sometimes

(*d*) followed by *Haʿeph-Sʿghôl*, e. g. יָחֹק, יָאָסַר, יָחֵשׁ, יָעַר in *imperfect Qal*; יָעֲמִיד *Hiph'il*; יָעֲנֶה *Niph'al*.

*f* Rem. With regard to the above examples the following points may also be noted: (1) The forms with a firmly closed syllable (called the hard combination) frequently occur in the same verb with forms containing a loosely closed syllable (the soft combination). (2) In the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal* the preformative *ʾ* invariably takes *Sʿghôl*, whether in a firmly or loosely closed syllable, e. g. אָחַבְשָׁה (with the cohortative אָחַבְשָׁה), אָחַכָּר (in *pause*, &c. In Jb 32<sup>17</sup> אָעֲנָה must unquestionably be *Hiph'il*, since elsewhere the pointing is always אָעַן. Cohortatives like אָהֲרִנָּה Gn 27<sup>41</sup> and אָהֲרִלָּה Jb 16<sup>6</sup>, are explained by the next remark. (3) The shifting of the tone towards the end frequently causes the *Pathah* of the preformative to change into *Sʿghôl*, and vice versa, e. g. נָעֲשֶׂה, but נָעֲשֶׂתָה 3rd *sing. fem.*; יָאָסַר, but יָאָסַרְתָּ, but with *wāw* consecutive וְנָעֲמַרְתָּ, &c.; so וְיָחֲסִרְתָּ Gn 8<sup>3</sup> the plur. of וְיָחֲסִיר, cf. Gn 11<sup>8</sup>; and thus generally a change of the stronger *Haʿeph-Sʿghôl* group (אָעֲנֶה) into the lighter *Haʿeph-Pathah* group takes place whenever the tone is moved one place toward the end (cf. § 27 *v*).

*g* 3. When in forms like יָעֲמִיד, נָעֲמַר, the vowel of the final syllable becomes a *vocal Šwâ* in consequence of the addition of an affirmative (יָ, יָ, יָ) or suffix, the compound *Šwâ* of the guttural is changed into the corresponding short vowel, e. g. יָעֲמִיד, plur. יָעֲמִידוּ (*ya'-a-me-dhû* as an equivalent for *ya'-me-dhû*); נָעֲזַבְתָּ *she is forsaken*. But even in these forms the hard combination frequently occurs, e. g. יָחַבְלוּ *they take as a pledge* (cf. in the *sing.* תָּחַבֵּל, also יָחַבֵּל); יָחֲזִקוּ (also יָחֲזִקוּ) *they are strong*. Cf. *m* and, in general, § 22 *m*, § 28 *c*.

*h* 4. In the *infinitive, imperative, and imperfect Niph'al*, where the first radical should by rule be strengthened (יָקַטֵּל, הָקַטֵּל), the strengthening is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative lengthened to *Sere*; יָעֲמִיד for *yi'āmēd*,<sup>1</sup> &c. Cf. § 22 *c*.—For תִּיעָשָׂה Ex 25<sup>31</sup> (according to Dillmann, to prevent the pronunciation תִּעָשָׂה, which the LXX and Samaritan follow) read תִּיעָשָׂה.

#### REMARKS.

##### I. On *Qal*.

*i* 1. In verbs נָעַם the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* take *Haʿeph-Sʿghôl* in the first syllable (according to § 22 *o*), e. g. אָזַר *gird thou*, Jb 38<sup>3</sup>, אָהַב *love thou*,

<sup>1</sup> אָעֲנֶה Jb 19<sup>7</sup> (so even the Mantua ed.) is altogether abnormal: read אָעֲנֶה, with Baer, Ginsb.

Ho 3<sup>1</sup>, אָחֹז *seize thou*, Ex 4<sup>4</sup> (on אָפִי *bake ye*, Ex 16<sup>23</sup>, see § 76 *d*); אָכַל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix אֲחֹז, אֲכַל, אֲכָל Is 5<sup>24</sup>; אָחַב Ec 3<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes, however, *Hateph-Pathah* is found as well, e.g. infinitive אָחֹז I K 6<sup>6</sup>; אֲכַל הָאֵשׁ Nu 26<sup>10</sup> (before a suffix אֲכַלְךָ, אֲמַרְךָ, אֲכַלְכֶם, אֲמַרְכֶם § 61 *d*); cf. Dt 7<sup>20</sup>, 12<sup>23</sup>, Ez 25<sup>8</sup>, ψ 102<sup>5</sup>, Pr 25<sup>7</sup> (אֲמַרְלֶךָ), Jb 34<sup>18</sup>, always in close connexion with the following word. With a firmly closed syllable after ל cf. לַחֲסוֹת Is 30<sup>2</sup>; לַחֲפֹר Jos 22<sup>f</sup>. (on Is 2<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 84<sup>b</sup> *n*); לַחֲתוֹת Is 30<sup>14</sup>, Hag 2<sup>16</sup>; קָחֶשֶׁב Ex 31<sup>4</sup>, &c.; לַעֲזֹר 2 S 18<sup>3</sup> *Qeré*, but also בַּעֲזֹר I Ch 15<sup>26</sup>.

הִחֲלִיתִי Ju 9<sup>9,11,13</sup> is altogether anomalous, and only a few authorities give *k* הִחֲלִיתִי (*Hiph'il*), adopted by Moore in Haupt's Bible. According to Qimhi, Olshausen, and others, the Masora intended a *perfect Hoph'al* with syncope of the preformative after the ה interrogative = הִחֲלִיתִי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* of חָלַל nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הִחֲלִיתִי. But the *Qames* under the ה, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in חָלַלְתִּי, without the ה interrogative. Consequently it was weakened, not to simple *S<sup>wā</sup>*, but to *wa*, in order to represent the sound of the *Qames* (likewise pronounced as *ā*) at least in a shortened form. The *S<sup>ghōl</sup>* of the ה interrogative is explained, in any case, from § 100 *n* (cf. the similar pointing of the article, e.g. in הַחֲרָשִׁים, § 35 *k*). For the accusative after חָלַל, instead of the usual מִן, Jb 3<sup>17</sup> affords sufficient evidence.

Also in the other forms of the *imperative* the guttural not infrequently *l* influences the vowel, causing a change of *i* (on this *i* cf. § 48 *i*) into *S<sup>ghōl</sup>*, e.g. אֲסַפָּה *gather thou*, Nu 11<sup>16</sup>; עֲרְכָה *set in order*, Jb 33<sup>5</sup>; חֲשֹׁפִי *strip off*, Is 47<sup>2</sup> (on this irregular *Dageš* cf. § 46 *d*), especially when the second radical is also a guttural, e.g. אֲהַבֵּנִי Am 5<sup>16</sup>, ψ 31<sup>24</sup>; cf. Ze 8<sup>19</sup>; אֲחֹז Ct 2<sup>15</sup>; cf. also in verbs לִ"ה עֲנֵנִי *sing ye*, Nu 21<sup>17</sup>, ψ 147<sup>7</sup> (compared with עֲנֵנִי *answer ye*, 1 S 12<sup>3</sup>) and אֲלִי Jo 1<sup>8</sup>.—*Pathah* occurs in חַבְלֵהוּ *hold him in pledge*, Pr 20<sup>16</sup>, and probably also in ψ 9<sup>14</sup> (חַנְנִי).—As a pausal form for חָרַבְתִּי (cf. the *plur.* Jer 2<sup>12</sup>) we find in Is 44<sup>27</sup> חָרַבְתִּי (cf. the *imperf.* יִחָרַב) with the *ō* repeated in the form of a *Hateph-Qames*. For other examples of this kind, see § 10 *h* and § 46 *e*.

2. The pronunciation (mentioned above, No. 2) of the imperfects in *ā* with *l* *S<sup>ghōl</sup>* under the preformative in a firmly closed syllable (e.g. יִחַבֵּם, יִחַלֵּם) regularly gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time ל"ה, e.g. יִחַזֵּה, יִחַצֵּה &c. (but cf. יִחַזֵּה &c., יִחַצֵּה Pr 6<sup>27</sup>, אֲעֻשֶׂה ed. Mant., Ex 3<sup>20</sup>). Even in the strong verb יִחַזֵּק is found along with יִחַזֵּק. Cf. also יִתְעַנֵּב Ez 23<sup>5</sup>; יִנְעֻבְנִי Gn 27<sup>36</sup> (so Ben-Asher; but Ben-Naphtali יִנְעֻבְנִי); יִתְחַלֵּם Neh 9<sup>22</sup>, and so always in the *imperfect Qal* of עֹזֵר with suffixes, Gn 49<sup>25</sup>, &c.—תִּתְאַבֵּנִי Pr 1<sup>22</sup> is to be explained from the endeavour to avoid too great an accumulation of short sounds by the insertion of a long vowel, but it is a question whether we should not simply read תִּתְאַבֵּנִי with Haupt in his Bible, *Proverbs*, p. 34, l. 44 ff.; cf. the analogous instances under *p*, and

such nouns as בָּאֵר, נָאֵב, § 93 t.—On יִחַבְּרֶךְ ψ 94<sup>20</sup> for יִחַבְּרֶךְ (according to Qimḥi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) cf. § 60 b.

- n יֵאָסֵם ψ 58<sup>6</sup> and יַעֲרֵם to deal subtilly, 1 S 23<sup>22</sup>, Pr 15<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>25</sup>, may be explained with Barth (*ZDMG*. 1889, p. 179) as *i*-imperfects (see above, § 47 i),—the latter for the purpose of distinction from the causative יַעֲרִים ψ 85<sup>4</sup>.—Instead of the unintelligible form וַיִּחַלְלֵם (so ed. Mant.; Baer and Ginsb. as in 24<sup>3</sup>, 1 Ch 25<sup>6</sup> and 'יח' 24<sup>3</sup>) (partly analogous to תַּעֲבֹדֵם § 60 b) the Qal וַיִּחַלְלֵם is to be read. The form יִרְדֵּף ψ 7<sup>6</sup> which is, according to Qimḥi (in *Mikhlol*; but in his Lexicon he explains it as *Hithpa'el*), a composite form of Qal יִרְדֵּף and *Piel* (יִרְדֵּף), can only be understood as a development of יִרְדֵּף (cf. § 64 h on יִצְחָק, and § 69 x on תִּהְלֵךְ Ex 9<sup>23</sup>, ψ 73<sup>9</sup>). Pathah has taken the place of *Hateph-Pathah*, but as a mere helping-vowel (as in שִׁמְעֵת § 28 e, note 2) and without preventing the closing of the syllable. It is much simpler, however, to take it as a *forma mixta*, combining the readings יִרְדֵּף (impf. Qal) and יִרְדֵּף (impf. *Piel*).

## II. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

- O 3. The above-mentioned (f, 3) change of  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  to  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  occurs in the perfect *Hiph'il*, especially when *wāw* consecutive precedes, and the tone is in consequence thrown forward upon the affirmative, e. g. הָעֵמְדָתָּ, but הָעֵמְדָתָּ Nu 3<sup>6</sup>, 81<sup>3</sup>, 27<sup>19</sup>; הָעֵבְרָתִי, but הָעֵבְרָתִי Jer 15<sup>14</sup>, Ez 20<sup>37</sup>; even in the 3rd sing. וַיִּהְיוּ ψ 77<sup>2</sup>.—On the contrary  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  occurs instead of  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  in the imperative *Hiph'il*, Jer 49<sup>30</sup>; and in the infinitive Jer 31<sup>32</sup>. The preformative of עָתֵר in *Hiph'il* always takes a in a closed syllable: Ex 8<sup>4</sup> הָעֵתִירָה; verse 5 אֶעֱתִיר; also verse 25 and Jb 22<sup>27</sup>.
- p 4. In the perfect *Hiph'il*  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  is sometimes changed into  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ , and in *Hoph'al*  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  into  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  (cf. § 23 h); הָעֵבְרָתָּ Jos 7<sup>7</sup>, הָעֵלָה Hb 11<sup>5</sup>, הָעֵלָה Ju 6<sup>28</sup>, 2 Ch 20<sup>34</sup>, Na 2<sup>8</sup>, always before ו, and hence evidently with the intention of strengthening the countertone-syllable (הָ or הָ) before the guttural. On a further case of this kind (אֶעֱמָה) see § 64 c. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qōl*; cf. § 93 q, and (on אֶמְוֵן &c. for אֶמְוֵן) § 84<sup>a</sup> q.—In the imperfect consecutive בוֹ יִהְיוּק the tone is thrown back on to the first syllable. On the *Hoph'al* תַּעֲבֹדֵם Ex 20<sup>6</sup>, &c., see § 60 b.

## III. הָיָה and חָיָה.

- q 5. In the verbs הָיָה to be, and חָיָה to live, the guttural hardly ever affects the addition of preformatives; thus imperfect Qal יִהְיֶה and יִחְיֶה, *Niph'al* נִהְיֶה; but in the perfect *Hiph'il* הָיָה (2nd plur. וְהָיִיתֶם Jos 21<sup>3</sup>, and even without *wāw* consecutive, Ju 81<sup>9</sup>). Initial ה always has *Hateph-S'ghol* instead of vocal *Šwā*; הִיָּה, הִיָּיתֶם, הִיָּיתָם 1 S 25<sup>7</sup>, (except הִיָּי be thou! fem. Gn 24<sup>60</sup>). The 2nd sing. fem. imperative of חָיָה is חַיִּי live thou, Ez 16<sup>6</sup>; the infinitive, with suffix, חִיָּיתָ Jos 5<sup>8</sup>. After the prefixes הָ, בָּ, כָּ, לָ, מָ (= מֵן) both הָ and חָ retain the simple *Šwā* (§ 28 b) and the prefix takes *i*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Šwā*; hence in the perfect Qal וְהָיִיתָ, imperative וְחַיִּי, infinitive לְחַיִּיתָ &c. (cf. § 16 f, e). The only exception is the 2nd sing. masc. of the imperative after *wāw*; וְחַיִּי Gn 12<sup>2</sup>, &c., וְחַיִּי Gn 20<sup>7</sup>.

## § 64. Verbs Middle Guttural, e.g. שָׁחַט to slaughter.

The slight deviations from the ordinary inflexion are confined *a* chiefly to the following<sup>1</sup>:—

1. When the guttural would stand at the beginning of a syllable with simple *Šewā*, it necessarily takes a *Ḥateph*, and almost always *Ḥateph-Pathah*, e.g. perfect שָׁחַט, imperfect יִשְׁחַט, imperative נִיפְחַל הַשְׁחַט. In the imperative *Qal*, before the affirmatives *î* and *û*, the original *Pathah* is retained in the first syllable, and is followed by *Ḥateph-Pathah*, thus, יַעֲקֹי, יַעֲקֹי, &c.; in יִנְחֵנִי the preference of the *ā* for *Seghōl* (but cf. also יִנְחֵנִי Jer 13<sup>21</sup>) has caused the change from *ā* to *ē*; in יִשְׁחַט Jb 6<sup>22</sup>, even *î* remains before a *hard* guttural.

So in the infinitive *Qal fem.*, e.g. לְאַהֲבָה to love, לְיָאֲכָב to pine; and in the infinitive with a suffix לְסַעֲרָה Is 9<sup>6</sup>; the doubtful form נִשְׁחַטָּה Ho 5<sup>3</sup>, is better explained as infinitive *Pe'el* (= שִׁחַתָּה).

2. Since the preference of the gutturals for the *a*-sound has less *b* influence on the following than on the preceding vowel, not only is *Holem* retained after the middle guttural in the infinitive *Qal* שָׁחַט (with the fem. ending and retraction and shortening of the *o* רִחְצָה and רִחְצָה, cf. § 45 *b*), but generally also the *Sere* in the imperfect *Niph'al* and *Pe'el*, e.g. יִלָּחֵם he fights, יִנְחֵם he comforts, and even the more feeble *Seghōl* after *wāw* consecutive in such forms as וַיִּלָּחֵם, וַיִּנְחֵם Gn 41<sup>8</sup> (cf., however, וַיִּנְחֵם 1 K 12<sup>6</sup>, &c.). But in the imperative and imperfect *Qal*, the final syllable, through the influence of the guttural, mostly takes *Pathah*, even in transitive verbs, e.g. שָׁחַט, יִשְׁחַט; יַעֲקֹ, יַעֲקֹ; יִבְחֹר, יִבְחֹר; with suffixes (according to § 60 *c*), imperative שְׁחַטְנִי, שְׁחַטְנִי, imperfect יִנְחֵלָהּ.

With *ō* in the imperative *Qal*, the only instances are נַעַל 2 S 13<sup>17</sup>; *c* אָחַז Ex 4<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>21</sup>, fem. אָחַז Ru 3<sup>16</sup> (with the unusual repetition of the lost *ō* as *Ḥateph-Qames*; 2nd plur. masc. in pause אָחַז Neh 7<sup>3</sup>; without the pause אָחַז Ct 2<sup>15</sup>); סָעַר Ju 19<sup>8</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Finally וַעֲמָה for וַעֲמָה, Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, is an example of the same kind, see § 63 *p*. Just as rare are the imperfections in *ō* of verbs middle guttural, as יָנַח, יָנַח, תִּמְעַל Lv 5<sup>15</sup>, Nu 5<sup>27</sup> (but וַיִּמְעַל 2 Ch 26<sup>16</sup>); cf. וַיִּשְׁחַר Ez 16<sup>38</sup>; תִּפְעַל Jb 35<sup>6</sup>. Also in the perfect *Pe'el*, *Pathah* occurs somewhat more frequently than in the strong verb, e.g. נָחַם to comfort (cf., however, בָּחַן, בָּחַן, שָׁחַט, שָׁחַט);

<sup>1</sup> *Hoph'al*, which is not exhibited in the paradigm, follows the analogy of *Qal*; *Hiph'il* is regular.

<sup>2</sup> Also Ju 19<sup>6</sup> (where *Qimḥi* would read *s'ād*), read *s'ād*, and on the use of the conjunctive accent (here *Darga*) as a substitute for *Metheg*, cf. § 9 *u* (*c*) and § 16 *b*.

but **א** and **ע** always have *ē* in 3rd *sing.*—On the *infinitive* with suffixes, cf. § 61 b.

*d* 3. In *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*, the *Dageš forte* being inadmissible in the middle radical, the preceding vowel, especially before ה, ח, and ע, nevertheless, generally remains short, and the guttural is consequently to be regarded as, at least, *virtually* strengthened, cf. § 22 c; e.g. *Pi'el* שָׁחַק נָחֵלוּ Jos 14<sup>1</sup>, יִבְעֶרְתִּי 1 K 14<sup>10</sup>, נָהַג Ex 10<sup>13</sup> (cf., however, יָנַח Gn 34<sup>19</sup>; נָחַל Ex 15<sup>13</sup>, but in the *imperfect* and *participle* יִנַּח, &c.; in verbs לָה, e.g. יָרַעַה, *infinitive* שָׁחַק, *Pu'al* רָחַץ (but cf. דָּחַץ ψ 36<sup>13</sup> from דָּחַה, also the unusual position of the tone in בָּחַן 1 Ez 21<sup>18</sup>, and in the *perfect* *Hithpa'el* הִתְרַחֵצְתִּי Jb 9<sup>30</sup>); *Hithpa'el perfect* and *imperative* הִפְתָּהּרוּ, &c.; in *pause* (see §§ 22 c, 27 q, 29 r, 54 k) הִפְתָּהּרוּ Nu 8<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 30<sup>18</sup>; יִתְנַחֵם Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, &c.

*e* The complete omission of the strengthening, and a consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel, occurs invariably only with ר (פָּרוּחַ Ez 16<sup>4</sup> is an exception; פָּרַחְתָּ also occurs, Ju 6<sup>28</sup>), e.g. פָּרוּךְ (in *pause* פָּרוּךְ, *imperfect* יִפְרוּךְ, *Pu'al* פִּירָךְ. Before **א** it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאֵר, גָּאֵל, מָאֵן, פָּאֵר, and in the *Hithpa'el* of בָּאֵשׁ, רָאָה, שָׂאָה; on the other hand, **א** is *virtually* strengthened in the *perfects*, נָאֵף (once in the *imperfect*, Jer 29<sup>23</sup>) to *commit adultery*, נִאָּץ to *despise* (in the *participle*, Nu 14<sup>23</sup>, Is 60<sup>14</sup>, Jer 23<sup>17</sup>; according to Baer, but not ed. Mant., or Ginsb., even in the *imperfect* יִנְאֹץ ψ 74<sup>10</sup>), נָאָר to *abhor* La 2<sup>7</sup> (also נִאָּרְתָּה ψ 89<sup>40</sup>) and נִשְׂאָל ψ 109<sup>10</sup>; moreover, in the *infinitive* יֵאָשׁ Ec 2<sup>20</sup>, according to the best reading. On the *Mappiq* in the *Pu'al* רָאִי Jb 33<sup>21</sup>, cf. § 14 d.

*f* Rem. 1. In the verb נִשְׂאָל to *ask*, to *beg*, some forms of the *perfect* *Qal* appear to be based upon a secondary form *middle e*, which is *Sere* when the vowel of the **א** stands in an open syllable, cf. נִשְׂאָלְךָ Gn 32<sup>18</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>; נִשְׂאָלְתִּי ψ 137<sup>3</sup>; but in a closed syllable, even without a suffix, נִשְׂאָלְתָם 1 S 12<sup>13</sup>, 25<sup>6</sup>, Jb 21<sup>29</sup>; נִשְׂאָלְתִּיהוּ Ju 13<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>20</sup>. Cf., however, similar cases of attenuation of an original *ā*, § 69 s, and especially § 44 d. In the first three examples, if explained on that analogy, the *i* attenuated from *ā* would have been lengthened to *ē* (before the tone); in the next three *i* would have been modified to *ē*. Also in the *Hiph'il*-form הִשְׂאָלְתִּיהוּ 1 S 12<sup>28</sup> the **א** is merely attenuated from **א**.

*g* 2. In *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* the lengthening of the vowel before the guttural causes the tone to be thrown back upon the penultima, and consequently the *Sere* of the ultima to be shortened to *S'ghôl*. Thus (a) before monosyllables, according to § 29 e, e.g. לְשִׁרְתָּ שָׁם to *minister there*, Dt 17<sup>12</sup>, even in the case of a guttural which is *virtually* strengthened, Gn 39<sup>14</sup>, Jb 8<sup>18</sup> (see § 29 g). (b) after *wāw* consecutive, e.g. וַיְבָרֶךְ and *he blessed*, Gn 12<sup>2</sup> and frequently, וַיִּנְרָשׁ and *he drove out*, Ex 10<sup>11</sup>, וַיִּתְפָּעֶם Dn 2<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> בָּחַן is explained by Abulwalid as the 3rd pers. *perfect* *Pu'al*, but by Qimhi as a noun.

3. The following are a few rarer anomalies; in the *imperfect Qal* יִצְחָק Gn 21<sup>6</sup> *h* (elsewhere הִצְחָק, &c., in *pause* יִצְחָק, cf. § 10 g (c) and § 63 n); וָאֶחָד Gn 32<sup>5</sup> (for וְאֶחָד); in the *perfect Pi'el* אָחַדְתִּי Ju 5<sup>28</sup> (perhaps primarily for אֶחָדְתִּי; according to Gn 34<sup>19</sup> אָחַדְתִּי would be expected), and similarly יִחַמְתִּנִּי ψ 51<sup>7</sup> for יִחַמְתִּי; in the *imperative Pi'el* כָּרַב Ez 37<sup>17</sup> (cf. above, § 52 n); finally, in the *imperative Hiph'il* הִרְחַק Jb 13<sup>21</sup> and הִמְעַד ψ 69<sup>24</sup>, in both cases probably influenced by the closing conso. ant, and by the preference for *Pathah* in *pause* (according to § 29 g); without the *pause* הִרְחַק Pr 4<sup>24</sup>, &c.; but also הִנְחַח Jo 4<sup>11</sup>.

4. As *infinitive Hithpa'el* with a suffix we find הִתְיַחֵשׁ Ezr 8<sup>1</sup>, &c., with *i* a firmly closed syllable, also the *participle* מְתִיחָשִׁים Neh 7<sup>64</sup>; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְיַחֵשׁ, &c.—The quite meaningless *Kethibh* וְנִשְׁאָר Ez 9<sup>8</sup> (for which the *Qere* requires the equally unintelligible וְנִשְׁאָר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וְנִשְׁאָר (*part. Niph.*) and וְנִשְׁאָר (*imperf. consec.*); cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 266 f.—In יִתְאַרְהוּ Is 44<sup>13</sup> (also יִתְאַרְהוּ in the same verse) an *imperfect Pô'el* appears to be intended by the Masora with an irregular shortening of the *ô* for יִתְאַר; cf. § 55 b מְלִשְׁנִי ψ 101<sup>5</sup> *Qere*; on the other hand Qimhi, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *Pi'el*, with an irregular  $\text{---}$  for  $\text{---}$ , as in the reading אֶלְקָמָה Ru 2<sup>27</sup>; cf. § 10 h.

5. A few examples in which א, as middle radical, entirely loses its consonantal value and quiesces in a vowel, will be found in § 73 g.

## § 65. *Verbs Third Guttural*, e.g. שָׁלַח to send.<sup>1</sup>

1. According to § 22 d, when the last syllable has a vowel incompatible with the guttural (i.e. not an *a*-sound), two possibilities present themselves, viz. either the regular vowel remains, and the guttural then takes *furtive Pathah*, or *Pathah* (in *pause Qames*) takes its place. More particularly it is to be remarked that—

(a) The unchangeable vowels '־, י, ו (§ 25 b) are always retained, even under such circumstances; hence *inf. abs. Qal* שְׁלֹחַ, *part. pass.* שְׁלֹחַ, *Hiph.* הִשְׁלִיחַ, *imperf.* יִשְׁלִיחַ, *part.* מִשְׁלִיחַ. So also the less firm *ô* in the *inf. constr.* שְׁלַח is almost always retained: cf., however, שְׁלַח, in close connexion with a substantive, Is 58<sup>8</sup>, and שְׁלַח Nu 20<sup>3</sup>. Examples of the *infinitive* with suffixes are בְּכַרְתֶּךָ Gn 35<sup>1</sup>; בְּפָנָעוּ Nu 35<sup>19</sup>; לְרַבְעָה Lv 18<sup>23</sup>, &c.

(b) The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* almost always have *ä* in the second syllable, sometimes, no doubt, due simply to the influence of the guttural (for a tone-long *ô*, originally *ü*), but sometimes as being the original vowel, thus שְׁלַח, שְׁלַח, &c.; with suffixes יִשְׁלַחֲנִי, שְׁלַחֲנִי, see § 60 c.

<sup>1</sup> Verbs שָׁלַח in which the ה is consonantal obviously belong also to this class, e.g. שְׁלַח to be high, הִתְאַשַׁח to be astonished, מְדַח (only in *Hithpalpel*) to delay.

Exceptions, in the *imperfect* אסלוח Jer 5<sup>7</sup>, *Keth.* (אסלח *Q're*); in the *imperative* טבח Gn 43<sup>16</sup>. On such cases as אפשע Is 27<sup>4</sup>, cf. § 10 h.

**c** (c) Where *Sere* would be the regular vowel of the final syllable, both forms (with *ē*<sup>a</sup> and *ā*) are sometimes in use; the choice of one or the other is decided by the special circumstances of the tone, i. e.:—

**d** Rem. 1. In the *absolute state* of the *participle* Qal, Pi'el and Hithpa'el, the forms שלח (with suff. שליחי, but שלחך), משלח (with suff. משלחך), and משתע are used exclusively; except in verbs לע where we find, in close connexion, also נטע ψ 94<sup>9</sup>, רנע Is 51<sup>15</sup>, Jer 31<sup>35</sup>, רנע Is 42<sup>5</sup>, 44<sup>24</sup>, רוקע ψ 136<sup>8</sup>, שנע Lv 11<sup>7</sup>, all with the tone on the last syllable.—The part. Pu'al is מרבע Ez 45<sup>2</sup> according to the best authorities (Kittel מרבע).

**e** 2. Similarly, in the *imperf.* and *inf.* Niph'al, and in the *perf. inf.* and *imperf. Pi'el* the (probably more original) form with *ā* commonly occurs in the body of the sentence, and the fuller form with *ē*<sup>a</sup> in *pause* (and even with the lesser distinctives, e.g. with *D'hi* ψ 86<sup>4</sup> in the *imperative* Pi'el; with *Tiphla* 1 K 12<sup>32</sup> in the *infinitive* Pi'el; Jer 4<sup>31</sup> *imperfect* Hithpa'el; Jer 16<sup>6</sup> *imperfect* Niph'al), cf. e.g. יגרע Nu 27<sup>4</sup>, with יגרע 36<sup>3</sup>; וישבע Dt 1<sup>34</sup>, even with retraction of the tone in the *inf. abs.* Niph'al השבע Nu 30<sup>3</sup> (elsewhere השבע Jer 7<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>16</sup> twice, in each case without the pause); הבקע Hb 3<sup>9</sup>, with תבקע Ez 13<sup>11</sup>; בלע to devour Hb 1<sup>13</sup>, Nu 4<sup>20</sup> with בלע La 2<sup>8</sup>; for *infinitive* Hithpa'el, cf. Is 28<sup>20</sup>. The *infinitive absolute* Pi'el has the form שלח Dt 22<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>22</sup>; the *infinitive construct*, on the other hand, when without the pause is always as שלח except לשלח Ex 10<sup>4</sup>.—יובח Hb 1<sup>16</sup> has *ē*, though not in *pause*, and even יובח 2 K 16<sup>4</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>4</sup>; but *a* in *pause* in the *imperative* Niph'al האנח Ez 21<sup>11</sup>; *jussive* Pi'el התאחר ψ 40<sup>18</sup>; cf. § 52 n. An example of *ā* in the *imperative* Pi'el under the influence of a final ר is בחר Jb 36<sup>2</sup>, in the *imperfect* Niph'al ותעצר Nu 17<sup>13</sup>, &c.—In יפרח Jb 14<sup>9</sup> (cf. ψ 92<sup>14</sup>, Pr 14<sup>11</sup>), Barth (see above, § 63 n) finds an *i-imperfect* of Qal, since the intransitive meaning is only found in Qal.

**f** 3. In the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative*, and in the forms of the *jussive* and *imperfect consecutive* of Hiph'il which end in gutturals, *a* alone occurs, e.g. הצלח prosper thou, יבטח let him make to trust, ויצמח and he made to grow (so in Hithpalpel יתמהמה, &c., Hb 2<sup>8</sup>); even in *pause* ויצלח 1 Ch 29<sup>23</sup>, and, with the best authorities, יויכח 1 Ch 12<sup>17</sup>; וישעך Is 35<sup>4</sup> is perhaps to be emended into וישע (= 'ויאשע').—In the *infinitive absolute* *Sere* remains, e.g. הגבה to make high; an *infinitive construct* הוכח also occurs in close connexion (Jb 6<sup>26</sup>); on הישע as *infinitive construct* (1 S 25<sup>26.33</sup>), cf. § 53 k.

**g** 2. When the guttural with *quiescent* *Sewa* stands at the end of a syllable, the ordinary strong form remains when not connected with suffixes, e.g. שלחתי, שלחתי. But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathah* takes the place of the *Sewa*, שכתת Jer 13<sup>25</sup> (§ 28 e); also in 1 K 14<sup>3</sup>, לקחת is to be read, not לקחת.

**h** Rem. The soft combination with compound *Sewa* occurs only in the 1st *plur. perfect* with suffixes, since in these forms the tone is thrown one place farther forward, e.g. ידענוך we know thee, Ho 8<sup>3</sup> (cf. Gn 26<sup>29</sup>, ψ 44<sup>18</sup>, 132<sup>6</sup>). Before the suffixes ת and כם, the guttural must have *—*, e.g. אשלחך I will send thee, 1 S 16<sup>1</sup>; ואשלחך Gn 31<sup>27</sup>; אשכייעך Jer 18<sup>2</sup>.

On the weak verbs לא, see especially § 74.

II. The Weak Verb.<sup>1</sup>

§ 66. *Verbs Primae Radicalis Nûn* (נ״פ), e.g. נָגַשׁ to approach

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 138 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 595 ff.

The weakness of initial נ consists chiefly in its suffering *aphaeresis* α in the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* in some of these verbs (cf. § 19 h). On the other hand, the *assimilation* of the נ (see below) cannot properly be regarded as weakness, since the triliteral character of the stem is still preserved by the strengthening of the second consonant. The special points to be noticed are—

1. The *aphaeresis* of the Nûn (a) in the *infinitive construct*. This b occurs only (though not necessarily) in those verbs which have a in the second syllable of the *imperfect*. Thus from the stem נָגַשׁ, *imperfect* נִגַּשׁ, *infinitive* properly נִשֵּׁ, but always lengthened by the feminine termination ת to the segholate form נִשְׁתֵּ<sup>2</sup>; with suffix נִשְׁתִּי Gn 33<sup>3</sup>; with the concurrence of a guttural נִשֵּׁ to touch, *imperfect* נִגַּשׁ, *infinitive* נִשְׁתֵּ (also נִשֵּׁ, see below); נָטַע to plant, *infinitive* נִטַּע (also נִטֵּ, see below); on the verb נָתַן to give, see especially h and i. On the other hand, *aphaeresis* does not take place in verbs which have ō in the *imperfect*, e.g. נָפַל to fall, *imperfect* נִפַּל, *infinitive* נִפַּל, with suffix נִפַּלְו, also נִפְלו; נָהַר Nu 6<sup>2</sup>, &c.; cf., moreover, נִנֵּעַ Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, &c., נִנֵּעַ Ex 19<sup>12</sup> (even נִנֵּעַ Jb 6<sup>7</sup>; cf. Jer 1<sup>10</sup>); with suffix נִנֵּעְו Lv 15<sup>23</sup>. Also נִנְטַע Is 51<sup>16</sup> (but נִנְטַע Ec 3<sup>2</sup>); נָשָׂא Is 1<sup>14</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>; with suffix נִנְשְׂאוֹ ψ 28<sup>2</sup> (elsewhere נִשְׂאוֹת, cf. § 74 i and § 76 b), נִנְשֶׁק 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>.

(b) In the *imperative*. Here the Nûn is always dropped in verbs c with a in the *imperfect*, e.g. נָגַשׁ, *imperative* נִשֵּׁ (more frequently with *paragogic* ā, נִשֶּׁה; before *Maqqeph* also נִשֵּׁ Gn 19<sup>9</sup>), *plur.* נִשִּׁי, &c. Parallel with these there are the curious forms with ō, נִשִּׁי Ru 2<sup>14</sup> (with *retarding* Metheg in the second syllable, and also *nasog* 'ahor, according to § 29 e, before הָלַם) and נִשִּׁי Jos 3<sup>9</sup> (before הָלַם), 1 S 14<sup>38</sup> (before הָלַם) and 2 Ch 29<sup>31</sup>; in all these cases without the *pause*. With Nûn retained, as if in a strong verb, נִדְּהָ drive, 2 K 4<sup>24</sup> (*imperfect* נִדְּהָ, without assimilation of the Nûn), נִנְטַע 2 K 19<sup>29</sup>, Is 37<sup>30</sup>, Jer 29<sup>5,28</sup>; cf. also the verbs נִלֵּה, which are at the same time נִלֵּה Ez 32<sup>18</sup>, נִלֵּה Ex 32<sup>34</sup>, נִטַּח Ex 8<sup>1</sup>, &c.; the verb נִשָּׂא ψ 10<sup>12</sup> (usually נִשִּׁי); cf. § 76 b. But, as in the *infinitive*, the *aphaeresis* never takes place in verbs which have ō in the *imperfect*, e.g. נָצַר, נָתַן, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the summary, § 41.

<sup>2</sup> The law allowing the addition of the feminine termination to the unlengthened form, instead of a lengthening of the vowel, is suitably called by Barth 'the law of compensation' (*Nominalbildung*, p. xiii).

**d** 2. When, through the addition of a *preformative*, *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable, it is readily assimilated to the second radical (§ 19 c); thus in the *imperfect Qal*,<sup>1</sup> e.g. יִפֹּל for *yinpāl*, he will fall; יִנָּתֵן for *yingaš*; יִתֵּן for *yintēn*, he will give (on this single example of an *imperfect* with original *i* in the second syllable, cf. *h*)<sup>2</sup>; also in the *perfect Niph'al* נִיָּגַשׁ for *ningaš*; throughout *Hiph'il* (הִנָּיִשׁ, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbuš*, in a sharpened syllable, cf. § 9 n) הִנָּיִשׁ.

The other forms are all quite regular, e.g. the *perfect, infinitive absolute* and *participle Qal*, all פִּיֵּל, פוֹאֵל, &c.

In Paradigm H, only those conjugations are given which differ from the regular form.

**c** The characteristic of these verbs in all forms with a *preformative* is *Dageš* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, are also found in certain verbs פִּ"נ (§ 71), and even in verbs ע"ע (§ 67). The *infinitive* עָשָׂה and the *imperative* עֲשֵׂה, also עָשִׂה (Gn 19<sup>9</sup>) and עָשִׂה, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פִּ"נ (§ 69).—On יִקַּח, קַח, and קָחַת, from לָקַח to take, see *g*.—In יָקוּם (*imperfect Niph'al* of קוּם), and in similar forms of verbs ע"ע (§ 72), the full writing of the *ô* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of קָמַן, &c.—Also אָפַק (ψ 139<sup>8</sup>) is not to be derived from אָפַק, but stands for אָפַקֶּלֶךְ (with a sharpening of the פ as compensation for the loss of the ל), from אָפַקֶּלֶךְ to ascend, see § 19 f, and Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 44. Similarly the *Hiph'il*-forms הִשָּׂיקוּ Ez 39<sup>9</sup>, הִשָּׂיק Is 44<sup>15</sup>, and the *Niph'al* נִשָּׂקוּ ψ 78<sup>21</sup> are most probably from a stem שָׂלַק, not נִשָּׂק.

**f** Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn* before a firm consonant, e.g. נָסַר, *imperfect* יִנָּסֵר Jer 3<sup>5</sup> (elsewhere יָסַר); also from נָצַר the pausal form is always יִנָּצֵר (without the pause יָנָצַר Pr 20<sup>28</sup>); similarly in Is 29<sup>1</sup>, 58<sup>3</sup>, ψ 61<sup>8</sup>, 68<sup>3</sup> (where, however, הִנָּדָר is intended, 140<sup>2,5</sup>, Pr 2<sup>11</sup>, Jb 40<sup>21</sup>, the retention of the *Nûn* is always connected with the pause. In *Niph'al* this never occurs (except in the irregular *inf.* לִהְיוֹתָ ψ 68<sup>3</sup>, cf. § 51 k), in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* very seldom; e.g. לִהְיוֹתָ Ez 22<sup>20</sup>, הִנָּתָקוּ Ju 20<sup>31</sup>; for לָנַפַּל Nu 5<sup>22</sup> read לִנָּפַל, according to § 53 q. On the other hand, the *Nûn* is regularly retained in all verbs, of which the second radical is a guttural, e.g. יִנָּחַל he will possess, although there are rare cases like יִחַת (also יִנָּחַת) he will descend, Jer 21<sup>13</sup> (even יִחַת Pr 17<sup>10</sup>; without apparent reason accented as *Mil'el*, plur. יִחָתוּ Jb 21<sup>13</sup> (cf. § 20 i; the Masora, however, probably regards יִחַת and יִחָתוּ as *imperfect Niph'al* from יָחַת); *Niph'al* נָחַם for נִנָּחַם he has grieved.

**g** 2. The ל of לָקַח to take is treated like the *Nûn* of verbs פִּ"נ (§ 19 d). Hence *imperfect Qal* יִקַּח, *cohortative* (§ 20 m) אִקָּחָה, *imperative* קַח, in pause and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פִּ"נ, פִּ"נ, פִּ"נ, פִּ"נ,' in the *REV.* xxvii. 136 ff.

<sup>2</sup> An *imperfect* in *a* (יִנָּשׂ) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in use in this verb.

before suffixes קָה (on קָה־נָא Gn 48<sup>9</sup>, see § 61 g), *paragogic form* קָהה; קָהִי, &c. (but cf. also לָקַח Ex 29<sup>1</sup>, Ez 37<sup>16</sup>, Pr 20<sup>16</sup>, לָקַחִי 1 K 17<sup>11</sup>, perhaps a mistake for קָהִי לָקַח, cf. LXX and Lucian); *infinitive construct* קָחַת (once קָחַת 2 K 12<sup>9</sup>, cf. § 93 h); with לָ, לָקַחַת; with suffix קָחַתִּי; *Hoph'al* (cf., however, § 53 u) *imperfect* יִקַּח; *Niph'al*, however, is always יִקַּחַח.—The meaningless form קָח Ez 17<sup>5</sup> is a mistake; for the equally meaningless קָחַח Ho 11<sup>3</sup> read וַאֲקַחֲכֶם.

3. The verb נָתַן *to give*, mentioned above in d, is the only example of a *h* verb י"פ with *imperfect* in ע (יָתַן for *yinten*; יָנַתַּן<sup>1</sup> only in Ju 16<sup>5</sup>, elsewhere before *Maqqeph* יָתַן, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* יָתַן or (very frequently) תָּתֵן (but in ψ 8<sup>2</sup> the very strange reading תָּתֵן is no doubt simply meant by the Masora to suggest יָתַתֵּן); before *Maqqeph* יָתַן, *fem.* תָּתֵנִי, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nún*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; נָתַתִּי for *nāthānti*, נָתַתָּה or, very frequently, נָתַתָּה, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nún* (cf. § 44 g); *Niph'al perfect* נָתַתָּם Lv 26<sup>25</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>7</sup>.

In the *infinitive construct Qal* the ground-form *tint* is not lengthened to *tēneth i* (as נָתַתָּה from נָתַתְתָּה), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to תָּתַת, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 20 l; but with suffixes תָּתַתִּי, תָּתַתָּה, &c.; before *Maqqeph* with the prefix לָ = לָתַתְתָּ, e. g. Ex 5<sup>21</sup>, and even when closely connected by other means, e. g. Gn 15<sup>7</sup>. However, the strong formation of the *infinitive construct* also occurs in נָתַן Nu 20<sup>21</sup> and נָתַן Gn 38<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 69 m, note 2. On the other hand, for לָתַתֵּן 1 K 6<sup>19</sup> read either לָתַתָּה or simply לָתַת, just as the Q<sup>ré</sup>, 1 K 17<sup>14</sup>, requires תָּתַת for תָּתַת.

In other stems, the נ is retained as the third radical, e. g. יִשְׁכַּנְתָּה, cf. § 19 c and § 44 o. On the entirely anomalous aphaeresis of the *Nún* with a strong vowel in תָּתַתָּה (for תָּתַתָּה) 2 S 22<sup>41</sup>, cf. § 19 i.—On the *passive imperfect* יִתֵּן, cf. § 53 u.

## § 67. *Verbs ע"ע*, e. g. כָּבַב *to surround*.

Brockelmann, *Semil. Sprachwiss.*, p. 155 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 632 ff.

1. A large number of Semitic stems have verbal forms with only α two radicals, as well as forms in which the stem has been made triliteral by a *repetition of the second radical*, hence called verbs ע"ע. Forms with two radicals were formerly explained as being due to contraction from original forms with three radicals. It is more correct

<sup>1</sup> P. Haupt on Ju 16<sup>5</sup> in his Bible, compares the form of the Assyrian imperfect *iddan* or *ittan* (besides *inādin*, *ināmdin*) from *nadānu* = נָתַן. But could this one passage be the only trace left in Hebrew of an imperf. in א from נָתַן?

to regard them as representing the original stem (with two radicals), and the forms with the second radical repeated as subsequently developed from the monosyllabic stem.<sup>1</sup> The appearance of a general contraction of triliteral stems is due to the fact that in biliteral forms the second radical regularly receives *Dageš forte* before affirmatives, except in the cases noted in § 22 b and q. This points, however, not to an actual doubling, but merely to a strengthening of the consonant, giving more body to the monosyllabic stem, and making it approximate more to the character of triliteral forms.

The development of biliteral to triliteral stems (ע"ע) generally takes place in the 3rd *sing. masc. and fem.* and 3rd *plur. perfect Qal* of transitive verbs, or at any rate of verbs expressing an activity, e.g. סָבַב, סָבְבָה, סָבְבִי : חָנָן Gn 33<sup>5</sup> (but with suffix חָנַנִי, ver. 11); sometimes with an evident distinction between transitive and intransitive forms, as צָרַר to make strait, צָר to be in a strait; see further details, including the exceptions, in aa. The development of the stem takes place (a) necessarily whenever the strengthening of the 2nd radical is required by the character of the form (e.g. שָׁדַד, חָלַל), and (b) as a rule, whenever the 2nd radical is followed or preceded by an essentially long vowel, as, in Qal, סָבַב, סָבְבָה, in Pô'el and Pô'al, סוֹבֵב, סוֹבֵב.

b 2. The biliteral stem always (except in *Hiph'il* and the *imperfect Niph'al*, see below) takes the vowel which would have been required between the second and third radical of the ordinary strong form, or which stood in the ground-form, since that vowel is characteristic of the form (§ 43 b), e.g. תָּם answering to קָטַל, תָּמָה to the ground-form *qātālūt*, תָּמוּ to the ground-form *qātālūt*; *infinitive*, קָטַל to סָב.

c 3. The insertion of *Dageš forte* (mentioned under a), for the purpose of strengthening the second radical, never takes place (see § 20 l) in the final consonant of the word, e.g. תָּם, סָב, not תָּם, סָב; but it appears again on the addition of affirmatives or suffixes, e.g. תָּמוּ, סָבְבִי, &c.

d 4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (ג, ת), and hence the strongly pronounced second radical would properly come at the end of a closed syllable, a *separating vowel* is inserted between the stem-syllable and the affirmative. In the *perfect* this vowel is ו, in the *imperative* and *imperfect* '—, e.g. סָבְבִי, סָבְבִי, *imperfect* תִּסְבְּבֵנִי (for *sabb-tā, sabb-nū, tasōbb-nā*). The artificial opening of the syllable

<sup>1</sup> So (partly following Ewald and Böttcher) A. Müller, *ZDMG.* xxxiii. p. 698 ff.; Stade, *Lehrbuch*, § 385 b, c; Nöldeke, and more recently Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba im Hebr.' (*Skizzen u. Vorarb.* vi. 250 ff.). Against Böttcher see M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxxv. 330 ff., and Brockelmann, as above.

by this means is merely intended to make the strengthening of the second radical audible.<sup>1</sup>

The *perfect* תָּמַנְו (for תָּמַנְוּ) Nu 17<sup>28</sup>, ψ 64<sup>7</sup> (Jer 44<sup>18</sup> תָּמַנְו with *Silluq*), owing *e* to omission of the separating vowel, approximates, if the text is right, to the form of verbs ו"ע (cf. תָּמַנְו from קָוָם).

5. Since the preformatives of the *imperfect Qal*, of the *perfect f* *Niph'al*, and of *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* throughout, before a monosyllabic stem form an open syllable, they take a *long* vowel before the tone (according to § 27 e), e.g. *imperfect Hiph'il* יִסֵּב for *yā-sēb*, *imperative* הִסֵּב for *hā-sēb*, &c. Where the preformatives in the strong verb have *i*, either the original *ā* (from which the *i* was attenuated) is retained and lengthened, e.g. יִסֵּב in *imperfect Qal* for *yā-sōb*, or the *i* itself is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. הִסֵּב *perfect Hiph'il* for *hī-sēb* (see further under *h*). The vowel thus lengthened can be maintained, however, only before the tone (except the *u* of the *Hoph'al*, הִסֵּב for *hū-sāb*); when the tone is thrown forward it becomes *Šwā*, according to § 27 k (under *ā* and *h* compound *Šwā*), e.g. תָּסֵב, but תִּסְבֶּינָה; *imperfect Hiph'il* תִּסְבֶּינָה, but תִּסְבֶּינָה; *perfect* תִּסְבֶּינָה, &c.

Besides the ordinary form of the imperfects, there is another (common in *g* *Aramaic*), in which the *imperfect Qal* is pronounced יִסֵּב or יִסֵּב, the *first* radical, not the second, being strengthened by *Dageš forte*, cf. יִשֵּׁם 1 K 9<sup>8</sup>, יִנְקֹד Gn 24<sup>26</sup>; with *a* in the second syllable, יִנְרָ Lv 11<sup>7</sup>, יִדֵּל Is 17<sup>4</sup>, יִנְשֹׁא Is 2<sup>9</sup>, &c., יִדֵּם Am 5<sup>13</sup> and frequently, יִנְאֲחַ Dt 21<sup>1</sup>, &c., יִסֵּב (*turn intrans.*) 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, &c., יִנְקֹב Lv 24<sup>11</sup>, יִחֵם Ez 47<sup>12</sup>, &c., יִחֵם (with *Dageš forte implicitum*) 1 K 1<sup>1</sup>; in the plural, יִתְּמוּ Nu 14<sup>35</sup>, &c. (in pause יִתְּמוּ ψ 102<sup>28</sup>); perhaps also יִמְלֵ, יִמְדֵ (unless these forms are rather to be referred to *Niph'al*, like יִדְמוּ 1 S 2<sup>9</sup>, יִמְלוּ Jb 24<sup>24</sup>); with suffix תִּסְבֶּינָה occurs (cf. § 10 k) in Nu 23<sup>25</sup>; *Imperfect Hiph'il* יִתְּמוּ, *Hoph'al* יִתְּמוּ, &c. The vowel of the preformative (which before *Dageš* is, of course, short) follows the analogy of the ordinary strong form (cf. also *u* and *y*). The same method is then extended to forms with affirmatives or suffixes, so that even before these additions the second radical is not strengthened, e.g. יִנְקֹדוּ Gn 43<sup>28</sup>, &c., for יִנְקֹדוּ and they bowed the head; יִנְקֹדוּ and they beat down, Dt 14<sup>4</sup> (from יִנְקֹדוּ); יִתְּמוּ Dt 32<sup>8</sup>; יִדְמוּ Ex 15<sup>16</sup>, Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (cf., however, יִנְקֹבוּ Ju 18<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, יִתְּמוּ Jer 46<sup>5</sup>, Jb 42<sup>20</sup>). To the same class of apparently strong formations belongs יִתְּלֹנְהָ (without the separating vowel, for יִתְּלֹנְהָ, cf. 1 S 3<sup>11</sup> and below, *p*) they shall tingle, 2 K 21<sup>12</sup>, Jer 19<sup>8</sup>.—On the various forms of the *Niph'al*, see under *t*.

<sup>1</sup> Of all the explanations of these separating vowels the most satisfactory is that of Rüdiger, who, both for the *perfect* and *imperfect* (Ewald and Stade, for the *imperfect* at least), points to the analogy of verbs ל"ה. We must, however, regard סִבְּוֹת as formed on the analogy not of גָּלִיּוֹת, but (with P. Haupt) of a form גָּלִיּוֹת (= *gālūtā*, cf. Arab. *gāzautā*), while תִּסְבֶּינָה follows the analogy of תִּלְּיָנָה. [See also Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, 229 f.]

**h** 6. The original vowel is retained, see *f*, (a) in the preformative of the *imperfect Qal* יִסֵּב for *yā-sōb* (cf. §§ 47 *b*, 63 *b*, and for verbs עָיַן § 72); (b) in the *perfect Niph'al* נִסַּב for *nā-sāb* (§ 51 *a*); (c) in *Hoph'al* הִיִּסֵּב, with irregular lengthening (no doubt on the analogy of verbs וָפַן for *hōsāb* from *hū-sab*, imperfect יִסֵּב from *yū-sab*, &c.

**i** On the other hand, an already attenuated vowel (*i*) underlies the intransitive *imperfects Qal* with *ā* in the second syllable (probably for the sake of dissimilating the two vowels), e.g. יָמַר for *yī-mār* (see *p*); and in the preformative of *Hiph'il* הִסֵּב from *hī-sēb* (ground-form הִסְבֵּל, § 53 *a*), as well as of the participle מִסֵּב (ground-form מִסְבֵּל), on the analogy of the perfect. In the second syllable of the Perf. the underlying vowel is *ī*, attenuated from an original *ā*, which in the strong verb is abnormally lengthened to *ī* (§ 53 *a*). The *ē* lengthened from *ī* is, of course, only tone-long, and hence when without the tone and before *Dageš forte* we have e.g. הִסְבֹּת. On the retention of the original *ā* in the second syllable, cf. *v*.

**k** 7. The *tone*, as a general rule, tends to keep to the stem-syllable, and does not (as in the strong verb) pass to the affirmatives הָ, וְ, and וְ (2nd sing. fem. imperfect); e.g. 3rd sing. fem. perfect חָתַתָּה, in pause חָתַתָּה; with ר and gutturals מָרָה (for מָרָה, שָׁהָה ψ 44<sup>26</sup>); on the other hand, with *wāw* consecutive וְרָבָה Is 6<sup>12</sup> (but וְהָיָה Ex 1<sup>16</sup>). In the 3rd plur. perfect the tone-syllable varies; along with רָבִי, רָבִי, רָבִי Is 59<sup>12</sup>, שָׁחִי Hb 3<sup>6</sup>, &c.; but in pause always חָתַתָּה, חָתַתָּה, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the *imperfect Qal* in יִסֵּב, יִסֵּב; *perfect Hiph'il* הִסֵּב, הִסֵּב; *imperfect* תִּסֵּב, תִּסֵּב, &c. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is moved forward to these vowels (or to the final syllable, cf. *ee*), e.g. סָבֹתָ, תִּסְבִּינָה, &c.; except before the endings תָּם and תָּן in the *perfect*, which always bear the tone. This shifting of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels *ē* and *ō* to *ī* and *ū* (or *ō*, see *n*), hence הִסְבֹּת from הִסֵּב, תִּסְבִּינָה from יִסֵּב; on cases in which the vowel of the preformative becomes *Šewā*, see above, *f*.

**l** 8. In several verbs עָיַן, instead of *Pī'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*, the less frequent conjugation *Pō'el*, with its passive and reflexive, occurs (most probably on the analogy of the corresponding forms of verbs עָיַן, cf. § 72 *m*), generally with the same meaning,<sup>1</sup> e.g. עוֹלֵל to *ill-treat*, passive עוֹלָל, reflexive הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עָלַל; cf. the *Hithpō'el* from רָעַע

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes both *Pī'el* and *Pō'el* are formed from the same stem, though with a difference of meaning, e.g. רָצַץ to *break in pieces*, רָצַץ to *oppress*; חָנַן to *make pleasing*, חוֹנֵן to *have pity*; סָבַב to *turn*, to *change*, סוֹבֵב to *go round*, to *encompass*.

and פָּרַר Is 24<sup>19 f.</sup>); in a few verbs also *Pilpēl* (§ 55 f) is found, e. g. גָּלַל to roll, *Hithpalpēl* הִתְגַּלְגַּל to roll oneself (from גָּלַל); imperative with suffix סִלְסְלָהּ exalt her, Pr 4<sup>8</sup>; שְׁעִשַׁע to comfort, to delight in; passive נִשְׁעָשַׁע to be caressed (from שָׁעַע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Pi'ēl*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'ēl*; cf. עוֹשִׂים (Is 19<sup>14</sup>) and מְוָקִי (Is 18<sup>27</sup>).—For תִּתְבָּר 2 S 22<sup>27</sup> read, according to ψ 18<sup>27</sup>, תִּתְבָּר.

## REMARKS.

## I. On Qal.

1. In the *perfect*, isolated examples are found with *ō* in the first syllable, *ml* which it is customary to refer to triliteral stems with middle *ō* (like יָבַל, § 43 a); viz. רָמּוּ they are exalted, Jb 24<sup>24</sup> to רָמוּ they shot, Gn 49<sup>23</sup> to רָבּוּ; וָרִי Is 1<sup>6</sup> to וָרָר. But this explanation is very doubtful: וָרִי especially is rather to be classed among the passives of Qal mentioned in § 52 e.

2. *Imperfects* Qal with *ō* in the second syllable keep the original *a* in the *ll* preformative, but lengthen it to *ā*, as being in an open syllable, hence יָהֹן, יָמַר, יָעַז, יָרָן, יָרַע (trans. he breaks in pieces, but יָרַע intrans. = he is evil); imperfects with *ā* have, in the preformative, an *ē*, lengthened from *ī*. See the examples below, under *p*, § 63 c and *e*, § 72 h, and specially Barth in ZDMG. 1894, p. 5 f.

The *Hölēm* of the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* (יָסַב, סָב) is only tone-long, and therefore, as a rule, is written defectively (with a few exceptions, chiefly in the later orthography, e. g. בָּדַד bind up, Is 8<sup>16</sup>; בָּדַד ψ 37<sup>5</sup>; דָּוָם ver. 7; לָבֹז to plunder, Est 3<sup>13</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup>). When this *ō* loses the tone, it becomes in the final syllable *ō̄*, in a sharpened syllable *ū̄*, or not infrequently even *ȫ* (see above, *h*). Examples of *ō̄* are: (a) in a toneless final syllable, i. e. before *Maggeph* or in the *imperfect* consecutive, רָדָן (rōn) to rejoice, Jb 38<sup>7</sup>; וַיִּסְבּוּ Ju 11<sup>18</sup> (once even with *ū̄* in a toneless final syllable, וַיִּרְם Ex 16<sup>27</sup>); on the other hand, in the *plur. fem. imperat.* וַיִּסְבִּינָה, *fem. imperat. 2nd sing. fem.* רָפִי, גָּפִי (cf. *ff*); חַפִּינִי pity me; סָלְוָה Jer 50<sup>26</sup>; וַיִּשְׁדֶּם Pr 11<sup>3</sup> *Qere*; וַיִּחַפְּנוּ Ex 12<sup>14</sup> (for the defective writing, וַיִּסְבְּנוּ Jb 40<sup>22</sup>). In וַיִּחַנְךָ Gn 43<sup>29</sup>, Is 30<sup>19</sup> (for וַיִּחַנְךָ) this *ō̄* is thrown back to the preformative.

On the 2nd plur. fem. imperat. עֲרִה make yourselves naked Is 32<sup>11</sup>, cf. the *ō* analogous forms in § 48 i.—Quite abnormal is the *infinitive absolute* רָעָה Is 24<sup>13</sup> (as ה follows, probably only a case of dittography for רָע, cf. קָב Nu 23<sup>25</sup> and שָׁל Ru 2<sup>10</sup>); so also are the *imperatives* קָבַהֲלִי Nu 22<sup>11, 17</sup>, and אָרַהֲלִי 22<sup>6</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, with ה *paragogic*. We should expect קָבָה, אָרָה. If these forms are to be read qūballi, 'ūrallī, they would be analogous to such cases as מְרַבֵּרָה (§ 90 i), the addition of the *paragogic* ה causing no change in the form of the word (קָב like רָן above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read qāballī, 'ūrallī, then in both cases the *Qameṣ* must be explained, with

Stade, as the equivalent of *ō* (קָבַח-לִי, &c.; cf. § 9 v). Still more surprising is קָבַח *curse him*, Nu 23<sup>18</sup>, for קָבַח or 'קָבַח.<sup>1</sup>

**p** 3. Examples with *Palhah* in the infinitive, imperative, and imperfect are בָּר (in לְבָרֵם *to prove them*, Ec 3<sup>18</sup>); רָר Is 45<sup>1</sup>; שָׁר Jer 5<sup>26</sup>; בִּשְׁנָם *in their error*, Gn 6<sup>8</sup> (so ed. Mant., but there is also good authority for בִּשְׁנָם, from שִׁי = שָׁי = אֶשֶׁר and נָם also; so Baer and Ginsburg). Also גָּל *take away*, ψ 119<sup>22</sup>; and the imperfects יָחַם *it is hot*, Dt 19<sup>8</sup>, &c. (on the *i* of the preformative cf. n); יָמַר *it is bitter*, Is 24<sup>9</sup>; יָצַר *it is straitened*; יָרַךְ *it is soft*, Is 7<sup>4</sup>; תִּשָּׁם *it is desolate*, Ez 12<sup>19</sup> (in pause תִּשָּׁם Gn 47<sup>19</sup>); וְתָכַל *she was despised*, Gn 16<sup>4</sup> (but elsewhere in the *imperf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e.g. וְיָצַר Gn 32<sup>8</sup>, &c.; וְיָרַע Gn 21<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. Ez 19<sup>7</sup>); in the 1st sing. imperfect אֶתָּחַם<sup>2</sup> ψ 19<sup>44</sup>, abnormally written fully for אֶתָּחַם, unless אֶתָּחַם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd sing. יָחַם.—In the *imperf. Qal* of שָׁלַל the reading of Hb 2<sup>8</sup> varies between יִשְׁלֹף (Baer, Ginsb.) and יִשְׁלֹף (ed. Mant., Jabl.).—The following forms are to be explained with Barth (*ZDMG.* xliii. p. 178) as imperfects Qal with original *i* in the second syllable, there being no instances of their Hiph'il in the same sense: יָנַל Gn 29<sup>10</sup>; יָנַן Is 31<sup>5</sup>, &c.; יָסַף Ex 4c<sup>21</sup>, ψ 91<sup>4</sup>, &c.; perhaps also תִּצְלִינָה 1 S 3<sup>11</sup> and יָהַל Jb 31<sup>23</sup>, &c.; in accordance with this last form, הָלַל (בְּ) Jb 29<sup>8</sup> would also be an infinitive Qal, not Hiph'il (for בְּהָלַל), as formerly explained below, under *w*. Finally the very peculiar form וְתָרַץ Ju 9<sup>68</sup> may probably be added to the list.

**q** Imperfects, with an original *u* in the second syllable, are also found with this *u* lengthened to *û* (instead of *ō*), e.g. יָרִין, if the text is correct, in Pr 29<sup>6</sup>; יִשְׁנֶר ψ 91<sup>6</sup> (unless it be simply an imperfect from נִשָּׁר *to be powerful, to prevail*); יָרִין (if from רָצִין) Is 42<sup>4</sup>, &c. (also defectively אָרִין ψ 18<sup>30</sup>; but in Ec 12<sup>6</sup>, according to Baer, וְתָרִין; וְתָרִין Ez 24<sup>11</sup> (on the sharpening of the ת cf. g above).<sup>3</sup>

**r** A similar analogy with verbs ע"ו is seen in the infinitives לָבֹר (בָּר) Ec 9<sup>1</sup>; בָּחַק Pr 8<sup>27</sup> (cf. בָּחֻקוּ Pr 8<sup>29</sup>) for בָּחֻקוּ, and in the imperfect אֶמְשֹׁךְ Gn 27<sup>21</sup>. (The forms חָנֹת in ψ 77<sup>10</sup>, נִשְׁמֹת Ez 36<sup>8</sup>, חָלוֹתִי ψ 77<sup>11</sup>, formerly treated here as infinitives from ע"ע stems, are rather to be referred to ל"ה stems, with Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, Lpz. 1902, p. 21.) On other similar cases, see below, under *ee*. For examples of the aramaizing imperfect, see above, *g*.

**s** 4. In the participle, the aramaizing form שִׁסְמִיָּהּ for שִׁסְמִיָּהּ occurs in K<sup>e</sup>thibh, Jer 30<sup>16</sup> (the *Q<sup>re</sup>* indicates a participle from נִסְסָה); רָעָה Pr 25<sup>19</sup> appears to be a contraction from רָעָעָה, *part. fem. = breaking in pieces*.

<sup>1</sup> For נו as suffix of the 3rd person a parallel might be found in יִשְׁנֹן, § 100 o, and probably also in the *Nūn* of the Phoenician suffix נָם: cf. Barth, *ZDMG.* xli. p. 643, and the note on § 100 o.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Ez 6<sup>6</sup>, instead of תִּישְׁמְנָה, which could only come from יִשְׁמֹן, תִּישְׁמֹן is intended, and יִישְׁמֹן in the same verse is probably only an error for יִישְׁמֹן.

<sup>3</sup> According to Stade, *Grammatik*, § 95, Rem., the pronunciation with *û*, since it also appears in Neo-Punic [and in Western Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, § 48], was that of everyday life.

## II. On Niph'al.

5. Besides the ordinary form of the *perfect* נָסַב with *Pathah* (in *pause* *t* נָסַב) and the *participle* נֹסֵב with *Qameṣ* in the second syllable, there is also another with *Sere*, and a third with *Holem*, e.g. *perfect* נָמַס *it melts*, Ez 21<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>15</sup>; נִסְבָּה (for נִסְבָּה) Ez 26<sup>2</sup>; *part.* נֹמֵס *molten*, 1 S 15<sup>9</sup>, Na 2<sup>11</sup>; נָקַל *it is a light thing*, 2 K 20<sup>10</sup>, Is 49<sup>6</sup> (*perf.* נִקַּל); with *ō*, e.g. נָנְלוּ *they are rolled together*, Is 34<sup>4</sup>; cf. 63<sup>19</sup>, 64<sup>2</sup>, Am 3<sup>11</sup>, Na 1<sup>12</sup>, Ec 12<sup>6b</sup>. In the *imperfect* with *ō* in the second syllable, on the analogy of verbs ע"ו (from which König would also explain the *perfects* with *ō*), we find הִרְפִּי *thou shalt be brought to silence*, Jer 48<sup>2</sup> (unless this form should be referred to *Qal* with *Qimḥi*, Olshausen, König); יָרוּעַ *he suffers hurt*, Pr 11<sup>15</sup>, 13<sup>20</sup>; הִרְוִי (for *tirrōs*) Ez 29<sup>7</sup>; with *e* in the second syllable הִחַל *she profanes herself*, Lv 21<sup>9</sup>, but וַאֲחַל Ez 22<sup>26</sup>, and יִחַל Is 48<sup>11</sup>, יַחַת Is 7<sup>8</sup>, &c. For *infinitives*, cf. הָמַס *to melt*, ψ 68<sup>8</sup> (as *inf. constr.*; 2 S 17<sup>10</sup> as *inf. absol.*); again, with compensatory lengthening in the first syllable, הִחַל Ez 20<sup>9</sup>, 14<sup>22</sup>, but with suffix הִחִלּוּ Lv 21<sup>4</sup>; also הִבּוּ *to be plundered*, and הִבּוּ *to be emptied*, Is 24<sup>3</sup>; in the *imperative*, only הִפְרוּ *be ye clean*, Is 52<sup>11</sup>. On הִרְפוּ *get you up*, Nu 17<sup>10</sup>, and the corresponding *imperf.* יִרְפוּ Ez 10<sup>17</sup>, &c., cf. 72 *dd.*

Examples of the *perfect Niph'al* with sharpening of the initial syllable are, נָחַל *it is profaned*, Ez 22<sup>10</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup> (from נָחַל); נָחַר (from נָחַר) ψ 69<sup>4</sup>, 102<sup>4</sup> (also נָחַר Jer 6<sup>20</sup>); נָחַת *fractus est* (from נָחַת) Mal 2<sup>5</sup>; cf. with this in the *participle*, נִחְמִים (for *nihhāmim*) Is 57<sup>5</sup>, and נִחְמִים Mal 3<sup>9</sup>: in the *imperative* and *infinitive Niph'al* such a virtual strengthening of the guttural after preformatives never occurs.—The occurrence of *u* instead of *ō* as a separating vowel in the *perfect* נִשְׁדָּנָה Mic 2<sup>4</sup> is abnormal.

## III. On Hiph'il and Hoph'al.

6. The second syllable in *Hiph'il* sometimes has *Pathah* instead of *Sere*, *u* especially under the influence of ר and the gutturals, e.g. *perfect* הִמַּר *he made bitter*, הִשָּׁח *he bowed*, הִפַּר *he hath broken*, Gn 17<sup>14</sup>, in *pause*, cf. § 29 *q*; otherwise הִפַּר, plur. הִפְרוּ Is 24<sup>5</sup>. In הִפִּיר ψ 33<sup>10</sup>, Ez 17<sup>19</sup>, cf. ψ 89<sup>34</sup>, and in הִשְׁפִּיר Ho 8<sup>4</sup> (perhaps also in יִהִיתֶן Hab 2<sup>17</sup>, but cf. § 20 *n*) there is an assimilation to the corresponding forms of verbs ע"ו, see z. Also הִצַּר Dt 28<sup>82</sup>, הִתָּן (in *pause*) Is 18<sup>5</sup>; *inf.* לְהַבֵּר *to cleanse*, Jer 4<sup>11</sup>, in *pause*. But also with other consonants, e.g. הִדַּק 2 K 23<sup>15</sup>, הִקַּל Is 8<sup>23</sup>; הִרְךָ Jb 23<sup>16</sup>; plur. הִסְבִּנוּ 1 S 5<sup>9.10</sup> (and so usually in the 3rd plur. *perf.*, except before ר and gutturals, e.g. הִרְעוּ); *imper.* הִשְׁמַע *besmear*, Is 6<sup>10</sup>; plur. הִשְׁמֹנוּ *be astonished*, Jb 21<sup>5</sup>; *imperfect* הִרְעַתְּ *Thou dost afflict*; *part.* מִצַּל (on *e* in the first syllable, see under *i*) *shadowing*, Ez 31<sup>8</sup> (but מִסִּיף Ju 3<sup>24</sup> is assimilated to the form of verbs ע"ו, unless, with Moore, we simply read מִסִּיף, or, with incorrect spelling, מִסִּיף. So in the *imperative* הִמְשִׁינִי Ju 16<sup>20</sup> *Qere*, and in the *infinitive* הִחֲמִקַּת Is 33<sup>1</sup>).

The *e* of the second syllable, when without the tone, may become *z*, e.g. הִזַּח Gn 31<sup>7</sup> (see also *x*). It is unusual (cf. § 53 *k*) to find the *e* written fully as in the *infinitive* לְהִפְיִר Zc 11<sup>10</sup>. Instead of *Hateph-Pathah* a *Hateph-*

*S°ghöl* is found under the preformative in הִקְלַתִּי 2 S 19<sup>44</sup>, and a *Pathah* occurs before ה (with a virtual sharpening of the ה) in such forms as הִתְחַתֵּי Is 9<sup>3</sup>; cf. Gn 11<sup>6</sup>, Dt 2<sup>31</sup>, 3<sup>24</sup>, 1 S 22<sup>15</sup>, Est 6<sup>13</sup>—in all these cases before ה.—On בָּהֶלֶוֹ Jb 29<sup>3</sup>, see above, *p*: on הִתְחַתֵּי Jer 49<sup>37</sup>, see below, *dd*.

*a'* 7. In the *imperfect consecutive* of verbs whose second radical is a guttural, *ā* is retained (§ 22 *d*) in the second syllable instead of *ē*, e.g. יָרַע 1 K 16<sup>25</sup>: so also with ר, as יָרַעַר 2 Ch 28<sup>20</sup>, Dt 2<sup>9</sup>—but cf. also יָרַע Neh 4<sup>9</sup>.

*y* 8. Aramaizing forms (but cf. Rem. : § 67 *g*) in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* are, יוֹסֵב Ex 13<sup>18</sup>, &c.; cf. Ju. 18<sup>23</sup>; אֶל-תִּמְרָר Ex 23<sup>21</sup>, but read אֶל-תִּמְרָר from מָרָה : יוֹבְחִי Dt 1<sup>44</sup> (cf. Nu 14<sup>45</sup>), but יוֹסֵבִי Ju 18<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, 2 Ch 29<sup>6</sup>; אֶחָל *profanabo*, Ez 39<sup>7</sup>; תִּתָּם Jb 22<sup>3</sup>; without elision of the ה (cf. § 53 *q*), וְהִתָּל 1 K 18<sup>27</sup>, but Jer 9<sup>4</sup> יִהְיֶהֱלִי, Jb 13<sup>9</sup> תִּתְהַלֵּלִי; with *i* in the second syllable יִשִּׁים Jer 49<sup>20</sup>, 50<sup>45</sup>; cf. וְנִשְׁיִם Nu 21<sup>30</sup>; in the *perfect* הִיָּלֶה La 1<sup>8</sup>. In *Hoph'al*, הִפְכִי they are brought low, Jb 24<sup>21</sup>; יִפֹּת he is smitten, Is 24<sup>12</sup> (*plur.* יִפְתּוּ Jer 46<sup>5</sup>, Mi 1<sup>7</sup>); in *pause*, יִחָקִי Jb 16<sup>23</sup>, but also יִכְרוֹ Jb 4<sup>20</sup> (so Baer, Ginsb., but ed. Mant., Jabl. יִכְרוֹ); with *ō* in the initial syllable, הִשְׁמָה (*infinitive with suffix* = הִשְׁמָה, cf. § 91 *e*) Lv 26<sup>34</sup> *f*, cf. 2 Ch 36<sup>21</sup>; בִּהְשַׁמָּה, with irregular syncope for בִּהְשַׁמָּה, Lv 26<sup>43</sup>.

#### IV. In General.

*~* 9. Verbs ע"ע are most closely related as regards inflexion to verbs ע"י (§ 72). The form of verbs ע"ע is generally the shorter (cf. e.g. יָסַב and יָסֹם; הִסָּב, הִסָּב; הִסָּב, הִסָּב); in a few cases, however, the two classes exactly coincide, e.g. in the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *wāw* consecutive, in *Hoph'al* and in the less common conjugations (see above, *i*).

*aa* 10. The developed forms (with three radicals), as mentioned in *a*, are especially frequent in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 3rd *plur. perf. Qal* (i.e. in forms without an affirmative or with an affirmative beginning with a vowel) of transitive verbs, or verbs, at any rate, expressing action, e.g. סָבַב, שָׂדוּנִי, סָבַבְנִי, &c. (but before a suffix also סָבַבְנִי, as well as סָבַבְנִי, &c.); אָפַפּוּ, אָפַפּוּ, &c. Sometimes the contracted, as well as the uncontracted form, is found, e.g. בָּזָו to plunder, *plur.* בָּזָו; in other parts, only בָּזָוִי Dt 2<sup>35</sup>, as well as בָּזָוִי Dt 3<sup>7</sup>; וְזָמַמְתִּי Zc 8<sup>14.15</sup> and וְזָמַמְתִּי Jer 4<sup>28</sup>. Other examples of biliteral forms in 2nd *sing. masc.* are Dt 25<sup>13</sup>, Pr 30<sup>32</sup>; in 1st *sing.*, Jos 5<sup>9</sup>. Apart from *Qal* the only example of a developed form is וְהִתְחַתֵּי Jer 49<sup>37</sup>.

*bb* On the other hand, the biliteral forms are the more common in the 3rd *sing.* and *plur.* of perfects which are *intransitive*, and express a state; cf. דָּק Dt 9<sup>21</sup> (Ex 32<sup>30</sup> דָּק; elsewhere always a transitive verb); חָתָה, *fem.* חָתָה; מָרָה, *fem.* מָרָה (for *marrā*); צָרָה, *fem.* צָרָה (cf. וְצָרָה Ez 24<sup>11</sup>); שָׁח, *fem.* שָׁח; שָׁחָה, &c.; *plur.* חָתָו, חָתָו, &c. (but on the tone, cf. *ee* below). Exception, עָשָׂה ψ 6<sup>8</sup>.

*cc* The intransitive but developed perfects הִלָּל (also הִלָּל), נָדָה, נָדָה, נָדָה (in *pause* נָדָה), סָרָה, עָשָׂה (in *pause* עָשָׂה ψ 31<sup>11</sup>), צָלָה, שָׁחָה (also שָׁחָה), almost all have, as Mayer Lambert observes, at least an active, not a stative meaning. Triliteral forms of the *infinitive* after ל are לִסְבֵּב Nu 21<sup>4</sup>; לְשָׂדוּר Jer 47<sup>4</sup>; לָנוּ Gn 31<sup>10</sup> (also לָנוּ Gn 38<sup>13</sup>); cf. also לְחָמֶם Is 47<sup>14</sup>, in *subordinate pause*, for לְחָמֶם; with *suffix* יִתְנַבְּחֶם Is 30<sup>13</sup>, and, from the same



THE WEAKEST VERBS (*Verba Quiescentia*).

## § 68. Verbs א"ב e.g. אכל to eat.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 140 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 589 ff.

- a* So far as א retains its full consonantal value as a guttural, these verbs share all the peculiarities of verbs *primae gutturalis*, mentioned in § 63. They are, however, to be treated as *weak* verbs, when the א loses its value as a consonant, and coalesces with the preceding vowel (originally short) to form one long syllable. This takes place only in the following very common verbs and forms, as if through phonetic decay:—
- b* 1. In the *imperfect Qal*, five verbs (viz. אבד to perish, אבה to be willing, אכל to eat, אמר to say, אפה to bake) regularly make the א quiesce in a long *ô*, e.g. יאכל.<sup>1</sup> In a few others the ordinary (strong) form is also in use, as יאחז (18 times) and יאחז (3 times) he takes hold; יסף (see *h*), also יאסף, he collects. This *ô* has primarily arisen from an obscuring of *â* (§ 9 *q*), and the *â* from א—, the weak consonant א coalescing with *â* to *â*; cf. § 23 *a*.
- c* In the second syllable *ô* (for original *û*) never appears, but either *ê*<sup>2</sup> or *ä*; and in *pause* almost always *ê*, even before the tone-bearing *heavy* affirmative ון, e.g. יאכלו Dt 18<sup>1</sup>, without the *pause* יאכלו Dt 4<sup>28</sup>. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* and 1st *sing.* of אמר, however, *ä* is always retained in *pause*, יאמר and אמר; but in the 2nd *masc.* תאמר 1 K 5<sup>20</sup>, in the 3rd *fem.* תאמר Pr 1<sup>21</sup>; in the *plural* יאמרו Jer 5<sup>2</sup>, ψ 145<sup>6,11</sup>, תאמרו Jer 23<sup>38</sup>, with *Segolta*; cf. also תאכל 1 S 17, &c. But with conjunctive accents in the body of the sentence, *ä* (as being a lighter vowel) is used, e.g. תאבד לעד ψ 9<sup>19</sup>, but in *pause* תאבד ψ 1<sup>6</sup>; cf. a similar interchange of *ê* and *ä* in § 65 *c*. The 3rd *fem. plur. impf.* always has the form תאכלנה Zc 11<sup>9</sup>.
- d* When the tone moves back, the final syllable of the *imperfects* of אבד and אכל, with a conjunctive accent, also always takes *Pathah*, e.g. יאבד יום Jb 3<sup>3</sup>, ויאכל and he did eat; in אמר the loss of the tone from the final syllable only occurs in the form with *wāw* consecutive

<sup>1</sup> So in the modern vulgar Arabic of South Palestine, *ya'kul* (he eats) becomes *yôkul*.

<sup>2</sup> On this *ê* (originally *i*) as a dissimilation from *ô* (originally *û*), cf. § 27 *w*, and F. Philippi, in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, xiv. 178. The latter rightly observes that the existence of an original *u* in the *imperfect* of אכל is indicated by the form of the *imperative* אכל, the Arabic *ya'kul* and the Aramaic יאכל, as well as by the fact that יאחז and יאסף are found along with יאחז and יאסף.

(but never in the 1st *sing.* וַאֲמַר; cf. וַאֲבַל), and then the final syllable, if without the *pause*, always takes *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, וַאֲמַר and he said (except לוֹ וַאֲמַר Pr 7<sup>13</sup>).

In *pause*, however, the *imperfect consecutive* (except the 1st pers. of אָבַל, see below) always has the form וַיֵּאבֹל (but *plur.* always וַיֵּאבְלוּ, וַיֵּאבְלוּ; and וַיֵּאמַר; except וַיֵּאמַר in the poetic portion of the book of Job, as 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, &c., but not in 32<sup>6</sup>, in the middle of the verse. The weak *imperfect* of אָחַז is always יֵאָחַז and וַיֵּאָחַז, but in the 1st *sing.*, according to § 49 e, וַיֵּאָחַז Ju 20<sup>6</sup>; cf. וַיֵּאבֹל Gn. 3<sup>12,13</sup> in *pause*.—אָכַח and אָפַח are, at the same time, verbs ל"ה, hence *imperfect* יֵאָכַח (§ 75 c).

Before *light* suffixes the vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal Š<sup>e</sup>wa, as יֵאָכְלוּ, but הֵאָכְלוּם.—In a few cases, instead of the *ô* in the first syllable an *ê* is found, which is due to contraction from the group  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}} \frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  (or  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ ) in place of  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ ; e.g. הֵאָתְתָה it shall come, Mi 4<sup>8</sup>, from הֵתְתָה (from אָתָה); אָהֵב (for אָהֵב) I love, Pr 8<sup>17</sup>, also (four times) אָהֵב Mal 1<sup>2</sup>, &c., with suffixes אָהֵבִי Ho 11<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup>, &c. (but only in 1st *sing.*, otherwise אָהֵב, &c., from אָהֵב, אָהֵב); וַיֵּאָחֵז and I stayed, Gn 32<sup>5</sup>. The *infinitive construct* of אָמַר with לִי is always לֵאמֹר *dicendo*, for לֵאמֹר.—According to Barth (*ZDMG*. 1889, p. 179) וַיֵּאָצֵּל Nu 11<sup>26</sup> is to be regarded as an *imperfect Qal*, without the obscuring of אָ to *ô*, not as *imperfect Hiph'il*, since אָצַל elsewhere occurs only in the *perfect Qal* and *Nip'h'al*; on the original *i* in the second syllable, see above, § 67 p. For הֵאָכְלוּ Jb 20<sup>26</sup> we should simply emend הֵאָכְלוּ; the view that it is *imperfect Pô'êl* (which nowhere else occurs) can, as regards the change of *ô* to *ô*, be supported only by the very doubtful analogies of  $\psi$  62<sup>4</sup> (see § 52 g) and  $\psi$  101<sup>6</sup> *Q<sup>re</sup>* (see § 55 b), while the view that it is *Pi'el* ('הָאָכַח = 'הָאָכַח = 'הָאָכַח) rests on no analogy whatever. It would be more admissible to suppose that 'הָאָכַח stands for 'הָאָכַח, *Pu'al* (cf. אָכַח for אָכַח, § 27 g); but no reason has been discovered for this departure from the natural punctuation 'הָאָכַח.

2. In the 1st *pers. sing. imperfect*, where two נ's would ordinarily come together, the second (which is radical) is regularly dropped (§ 23 f), as אָמַר<sup>1</sup> (for אָאמַר), &c., and even *plene* וַאֲמַר Neh 2<sup>7</sup>, &c., אָמַרָה  $\psi$  42<sup>10</sup>. In the other cases, also, where the נ is ordinarily regarded as *quiescing* in *ô* or *ê*, it is only retained orthographically, and on etymological grounds. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following cases:—

Always in the contracted forms of אָכַח, as אָכַח for אָאכַח  $\psi$  104<sup>29</sup>; וַיֵּאָכַח 2 S 6<sup>1</sup> (but for וַיֵּאָכַח Jb 27<sup>19</sup> read וַיֵּאָכַח = וַיֵּאָכַח with the LXX); cf. also in

<sup>1</sup> The regularity of this orthography indicates that the contraction of אָא to *â* in this 1st pers. occurred at a time when in the 3rd and 2nd persons the א was still audible as a consonant (which accordingly was almost always retained in writing). Nöldeke (*ZDMG*. xxxii. 593) infers this from the fact that also in Arabic the 3rd and 2nd persons are still written *yā'kulū*, *tā'kulū*, but the 1st pers. 'ākulū, not 'ā'kulū.

the 1st pers. Mi 4<sup>e</sup> and אֶסְכֶּךָ 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>, which is apparently (from the *Metheg* with the *i*), intended for an *imperfect Hiph'il*: instead of it, however, read, with the Mantua edition, אֶסְכֶּךָ (with *i*, according to § 60 f). But תִּסְכֶּנּוּ Ex 5<sup>7</sup> (for 'תִּסְכֶּנּוּ'), וַיִּסְכֶּךָ 1 S 18<sup>29</sup> (for וַיִּסְכֶּךָ), and יִסְכֶּךָ Jb 27<sup>19</sup> (see above) are due to a mistake, since all three forms must be derived from the stem סִכַּךְ. Furthermore, יִמְרֹדֶךָ ψ 139<sup>20</sup> (where certainly 'יִמְרֹדֶךָ' is to be read); הִבֵּא Pr 1<sup>10</sup> (cf. § 75 hh); וַתִּפְחֵךְ 1 S 26<sup>24</sup>; יִכְלֹךְ Ez 42<sup>6</sup>; תִּמְרֹךְ 2 S 19<sup>14</sup>; וַתִּחַךְ 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>; וַתִּגְדְּלֵךְ thou gaddest about (from גִּדְּלָה), Jer 2<sup>36</sup>; וַתִּתָּא Dt 33<sup>21</sup> (for וַתִּתָּא), according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75 p) וַתִּתָּא, וַתִּתָּא or וַתִּתָּא.

Paradigm I shows the weak forms of the *imperfect Qal*, and merely indicates the other conjugations, which are regular.

2. Rem. 1. In the derived conjugations only isolated weak forms occur: *Perfect Niphal* נִאֲחֲזוּ Nu 32<sup>30</sup>, Jos 22<sup>9</sup>; *Hiph.* וַיִּנְאֲצֵל Nu 11<sup>25</sup> (but the statement in verse 17 is וַיִּנְאֲצֵלְתִּי, therefore *Qal*); equally doubtful is the punctuation of וַיִּרְבֵּי (for וַיִּנְאֲרֵב?) and he laid wait, 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>, and אֶזְנִי I listen, Jb 32<sup>11</sup> (on the analogy of verbs עִזִּי); cf. also אוֹכִיל (ó from á) I give to eat, Hos 11<sup>4</sup>; אֶבִּירָה (ó from á) I will destroy, Jer 46<sup>8</sup>; וַיִּוָּחֶר 2 S 20<sup>6</sup> Q're (for 'וַיִּנְאֲחֵר'); the *Kethibh* appears to require the *Pi'el* וַיִּיחֶר, from יָחַר as a secondary form of אָחַר; but וַיִּיחֶר = וַיִּנְאֲחֵר for וַיִּנְאֲחֵר as *imperfect Qal* is not impossible. On וַאֲזַעְרָה Neh 13<sup>13</sup>, cf. § 53 n.—*Infinitive* לְהַכִּיל Ez 21<sup>33</sup> (= 'לְהַנְאִיב' unless it is rather *infin. Hiph.* from כָּוִל); *Participle* מְזַוֵּן giveth ear, Pr 17<sup>4</sup> (clearly by false analogy of verbs עִזִּי, מְזַוֵּן); *Imperative* הָרִיז bring (from אָרַח) Jer 12<sup>9</sup>. (On the same form used for the *perfect* in Is 21<sup>14</sup>, cf. § 76 d.)

k. 2. In the *Pi'el* the *א* is sometimes elided (like ה in יִקְטִיל, יִקְטִיל), thus מִלֵּךְ (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) teaching, for מִלֵּךְ Jb 35<sup>11</sup>; יִהַל (if not a mere scribal error) for יִהַל Is 13<sup>20</sup>; וַתִּנְרִיז thou hast girded me, 2 S 22<sup>40</sup>, for וַתִּנְרִיז, as ψ 18<sup>40</sup>; וַאֲבִדֶךָ Ez 28<sup>16</sup>; cf. § 23 c.

## § 69. Verbs פ". First Class, or Verbs originally פ", e.g. יָשַׁב to dwell.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 141 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 596 ff.

a Verbs which at present begin with *Yôdh* when without preformatives are divided into two classes according to their origin and consequent inflexion: (a) Verbs which (as still in Arabic and Ethiopic) originally began with *Wāw*, e.g. יָלַד to give birth to, Arab. and Eth. *wälädä*. In consequence of a phonetic change which prevails also with few exceptions in the noun, this *Wāw* in Hebrew and Aramaic always becomes a *Yôdh*, at least when it is the initial consonant; but after preformatives it either reappears, or is again changed into

*Yôdh*, or, lastly, is altogether elided; (b) Verbs which (as in Arabic) originally began with *Yôdh* (called *Verba cum Iod originario*, see § 70). A few verbs again (some with original *Yôdh*, and some with original *Wāw*) form a special class, which in certain forms assimilates the *Wāw* or *Yôdh* to the following consonant on the analogy of the *Nûn* in verbs ו"ב (see § 71).

With regard to verbs ו"ב (i. e. ו"ב with original *Wāw*) it is to be noticed that—

1. In the *imperfect*, *imperative* and *infinitive construct* *Qal* there is a twofold inflexion, according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh*. The complete rejection (or *elision*) takes place regularly in eight verbs (see *h*) in the following manner:

A. *Imperfect* וְשָׁב, וְרָע, with an unchangeable<sup>1</sup> *Šere* in the first syllable and original *š* in the second, which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27 c) becomes *ē* (thus וְשָׁב, וְרָע, וְרָע; וְרָע, see *x*), or, under the influence of a guttural, with *ā* in the second (וְרָע, וְרָע, וְרָע).

The tone-long *ē* of the second syllable is of course liable to be shortened or to become *Šewā*, e. g. וְשָׁב, וְרָע, &c.; in the same way *ā* becomes *Šewā* in such cases as וְרָע, &c., but is lengthened to *Qames* in *pause* (וְרָע) and before suffixes (וְרָע).

B. *Imperative* וְשָׁב with *aphaeresis* of the *Wāw* and with tone-long *ē*, from *š*, as in the *imperfect*.

C. *Infinitive* וְשָׁב from original *šibh*, by addition of the feminine ending (n) lengthened to a *segholate* form; as in verbs ו"ב (cf. § 66 b) this lengthening affords a certain compensation for loss of the initial consonant.

Rem. Since the infinitives וְרָע, וְרָע (see below, *m*) point to a ground-*c* form *dī'at*, *līdat*, we must, with Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxxii. 42) and Barth (*ibid.* xli. 606), assign to וְשָׁב, &c., the ground-form *šibt* (which, therefore, reappears in וְשָׁב, &c.); the apparent ground-form *šabt* rests upon the law that the *š* of the stem-syllable is changed into *a* whenever the syllable becomes doubly closed by the addition of the vowelless feminine ending.

<sup>1</sup> The *e* of the first syllable is really *é*, not tone-long *ē*, since it is retained not merely before the tone, and in the counter-tone (e. g. וְרָע Ho 14<sup>10</sup>), but also in וְרָע Ex 33<sup>13, 17</sup>. It is no objection to this view that the *scriptio plena* of this *é* occurs (with the exception of וְרָע ψ 72<sup>14</sup>, elsewhere pointed וְרָע) only in Mi 1<sup>8</sup> and Ez 35<sup>9</sup> *K<sup>2</sup>th.*; in ψ 135<sup>6</sup> the Masora prefers to point וְרָע.—Of the various explanations of the *é* the most satisfactory is that of Philippi (*ZDMG.* xl. p. 653) that an original *yālid*, for example (see above), became *yīlid* by assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second; this then became *yēléd* instead of *yēléd*, in an attempt to raise the word again in this way (by writing *é* instead of *e*) to a triliteral form.

*d* In more than half the number of verbs פ"ו the original *Wāw* in the above-mentioned forms gives place to *Yōdh*, which, unless it suffers aphaeresis (see *f*), appears:—

in the *imperatives* יִצֹק, יִרָשׁ and *infinitives* יִסָּד, יִרָא, as a strong consonant, but

in the *imperfect* יִירָשׁ, properly *yiyraš*, merges with the preceding *i* into *i*.

In the second syllable *imperfects* of this form regularly have *ā*.

*e* (a) That the latter forms are derived from verbs with an original *Wāw* (not *Yōdh*) is shown partly by the inflexion of these verbs in *Niph'al*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hoph'al* (where the original *Wāw* reappears throughout), and partly by the Arabic, in which verbs פ"ו likewise exhibit a twofold formation; cf. *wälādā*, imperf. *yälidu*, with elision of the *Wāw*, and *wäjilā*, *yaujalu*, with retention of the *Wāw*.

*f* (b) Sometimes both forms, the weaker and the stronger, occur in the same verb; cf. יָצַק 2 K 4<sup>41</sup> and יִצֹק *pour*, Ez 24<sup>3</sup> (cf. יִצְקִי 1 K 18<sup>34</sup> and the *infin.* יִצְקָה Ex 38<sup>27</sup>); יָרָשׁ take possession, Dt 1<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>15</sup> (but cf. *s*), יִרָשׁ (in pause for יִרָשׁ) Dt 24<sup>31</sup>; plur. יִרְשׁוּ Dt 1<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>23</sup>, but also, with הַ—paragogic, יִרְשֶׁה Dt 33<sup>23</sup>. In the *imperfect* יִיקָר Dt 32<sup>22</sup> and יִיקָר Is 10<sup>10</sup> it shall be kindled; יִיְיָרָר it was precious, 1 S 18<sup>30</sup> and יִיקָר ψ 49<sup>9</sup> (cf. יִיְיָרָר ψ 72<sup>14</sup>).—The form וַיִּחַמֵּי Gn 30<sup>39</sup>, for וַיִּחַמְּו, beside וַיִּחַמְּנָה verse 38, is remarkable; cf. § 47 *k*.

*g* (c) On יָרַד Ju 19<sup>11</sup> for יִירַד and יָשׁוּב Jer 42<sup>10</sup> for the *infinitive absolute* יִשְׁוֹב, cf. § 19 *i*.—But יָרַד Ju 5<sup>13</sup> (twice) is not intended by the Masora either as *perfect* (for יָרַד, which really should be restored) or as *imperative* of יָרַד, but as an apocopated *imperfect Pi'el* from יָרַדְהָ (= יִירַדְהָ) to have dominion.

*h* (d) The eight verbs,<sup>1</sup> of which the initial consonant in the above-mentioned forms always suffers elision or aphaeresis, are יֵלֵךְ to bring forth, יֵצֵא to go forth, יֵשֵׁב to sit, to dwell, יֵרֵד to descend, also הֵלֵךְ to go (cf. below, *x*); and with *ā* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, יִדְעַי to know, יִיחַד to be united, יִקַּע to be dislocated. Examples of the other formation (יִירָשׁ, &c.) are יִיעָף to be wearied, יִעֲצֵן to counsel, יִישָׁן to sleep, יִירָא (*imperfect* יִירָא, *imperative* יִירָא) to fear.

*i* 2. The original *Wāw* is retained as a firm consonant: (a) in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect Niph'al*, being protected by the strengthening, e.g. הֵיִשֵּׁב, הֵיִשָּׁב, which are consequently strong forms like הֵקָטַל, הֵקָטַל; (b) in the *Hithpa'el* of some verbs, e.g. הִתְיַדַע from יָדַע, הִתְיַפַח from יָפַח, הִתְיַדָה from יָדָה; otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e.g. וָלָד offspring from יָלַד to bear. At the end of a syllable *Wāw* with the homogeneous

<sup>1</sup> A ninth יִסָּף to add, is also to be included. In the Mēša'-inscription, l. 21, the *infinitive* is written לִסְפַת (cf. יִסְפַתִּי, l. 29); hence read in Is 30<sup>1</sup> (Nu 32<sup>14</sup>, Dt 29<sup>18</sup>) סָפַת for סָפַת. The 2nd plur. masc. *imperative* סָפּו Is 29<sup>1</sup>, Jer 7<sup>21</sup> corresponds to נִשְׁבוּ; thus in proof of a supposed סָפַה addere, there remains only סָפַה Dt 32<sup>21</sup>, for which, according to 2 S 12<sup>8</sup>, read אִסְפָּה.

vowel *ū* coalesces into *û*; so throughout *Hoph'al*, e.g. הוֹשֵׁב for *hūwšabb*; but with a preceding *a* the *Wāw* is contracted into *ô* (וּ); so in the *perfect* and *participle Niph'al* and throughout *Hiph'il*, e.g. נוֹשֵׁב from an original *nāwšābh*, הוֹשִׁיב from an original *hāwšābh*.

The first radical always appears as *Yēdh* in the *perfect* and *participle h* *Qal*, יָשַׁב, &c., יָשִׁיב, יֹשִׁיב, even when י precedes, e.g. וַיֹּשִׁיב (but וַיִּשְׁבְּתָם, according to § 24 *b*), also throughout *Pēl* and *Pu'al*, e.g. יָחַל to wait, יֵלֵךְ to be born, and in the *imperfect* and *participle* יִחַל מֵיָדַע known (from יָדַע), and, as a rule, also in *Hithpa'el*, e.g. הִתְיַצֵּב, הִתְיַצֵּב, הִתְיַצֵּב (as against הִתְיַדַע, &c., with *Wāw*).

The beginner may recognize verbs פ"י in the *imperfect Qal* partly by the *l* *Sere* under the preformatives; in *Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* by the *Wāw* (וּ, וֹ) before the second radical. (The defective writing, as in הוֹלִיךְ, is rare.) Verbs פ"י have forms like יָשַׁב (דַּע), יִשְׁבֹּת, in common with verbs פ"י. Similarly *Heph'al* has the same form as in verbs ע"ע and ע"י.

Rem. 1. The *infinitive Qal* of the weaker form (יָשַׁב, ground-form *sibt*, *m* *רָשַׁת*; cf. above, c) with suffixes is pointed as יִשְׁבְּתִי, יִשְׁבְּתִי (the strong form only in לִירְשָׁנִי Ju 14<sup>15</sup>). The masculine form is very rare, e.g. יָדַע to know, Jb 32<sup>6,10</sup>, as also the feminine ending הָ, e.g. יָדַעָה Ex 24, יָדָה Is 37<sup>3</sup> (2 K 19<sup>3</sup>); Jer 13<sup>21</sup>, Ho 9<sup>11</sup>; יִרְדָּה<sup>2</sup> to descend, Gn 46<sup>3</sup>, where the change of the *s* into vocal *šewā* is to be explained, with König, from its position between the principal and secondary tone. From יָדַע, under the influence of the guttural, יָדַעַת is formed, with *suffix*, דַּעַתִּי, &c.; but from יָצַא, יָצַאת. From יָרַד there occurs in ψ 30<sup>4</sup> in *Qere* מִיִּרְדִּי (the *Keth.* requires מִיִּרְדִּי) a very remarkable case of the strong form (for מִיִּרְדִּי). For לָת 1 S 4<sup>19</sup> (generally explained as a case of assimilation of ר to ת in the supposed ground-form *ladt*; according to Mayer Lambert pausal of לָת = *lidt*, see above, c) read simply לָרָת.

Examples of the strong form of the *infinitive* are יִרָא to fear, Jos 22<sup>25</sup>, with *n* preposition לִיפֹד Is 51<sup>16</sup> (but 2 Ch 31<sup>7</sup> according to Ben Naphtali לִיפֹד, where the *y* is only retained orthographically, but is really assimilated to the *o*; the reading of Ben Asher, לִיפֹד, accepted by Baer, is meaningless); לִישֹׁן Ec 5<sup>11</sup>; לָרָא 1 S 16<sup>29</sup> is irregular, but probably לָרָא (for לִירָא) is intended. With *suffix*, בִּיִּסְרָא Jb 38<sup>4</sup>, cf. Ju 14<sup>15</sup>, Ezr 3<sup>12</sup>; with *fem.* יִכָּלֵת to be able, Nu 14<sup>16</sup>. On יִכָּשֶׁת, which is likewise usually referred to this class, cf. the note on § 70 *a*.

<sup>1</sup> יִשְׁבְּתִי ψ 23<sup>6</sup> can hardly be intended for an *infin.* with suffix from יָשַׁב, but rather for a *perf. consec.* from יָשַׁב; but read יִשְׁבְּתִי.

<sup>2</sup> The infinitives יָדַעַת and יָרַדַת belong to the source marked E (Dillmann's B) in the modern criticism of the Pentateuch. The same document also has נָתַן to give, for נָתַת; הִלֵּךְ to go, for הִלָּכַת; and עָשָׂה to make, for עָשִׂוֹת. See Dillmann, *Die BB. Num., Deut., Jos.*, p. 618.

O 2. The *imperative Qal* frequently has the lengthening by הָ, e.g. שָׁכֵה *sit thou*, יֵרֵד *descend thou*. From יָתֵב *to give*, Arab. *wāhābā*, only the *imperative* is used in Hebrew; it has the form הֵב *give*, lengthened הִבֵּה generally with the meaning *age, go to*, hence in Gn 11<sup>3,4</sup> even addressed to several persons (Gn 29<sup>21</sup> הִבֵּה before נ to avoid the hiatus); *fem.* הִבִּי Ru 3<sup>15</sup>, *Mitra'* on the analogy of the plural הִבְּ (once in Jb 6<sup>22</sup> הִבְּ before the tone-syllable; but cf. Dt 32<sup>3</sup>), whilst, on the analogy of other *imperatives Qal* of verbs פָּנִי *הִבִּי*, הִבִּי would be expected.—On דַּעָה Pr 24<sup>14</sup>, cf. § 48 l.

P 3. The *imperfect* with י elided takes ä in the second syllable, besides the cases mentioned above (under *f*), also in תִּירַר Jer 13<sup>17</sup> (cf. La 3<sup>48</sup>) and in the pausal form יִלֶּךְ Jb 27<sup>21</sup>, &c. (from הִלָּךְ, see *x*); on יִקֵּר Is 10<sup>16</sup> see above, *f*. The ä in the second syllable, when followed by the affirmative נָה (תִּירָנָה &c.), is in accordance with the law mentioned above (under *c*), by which ä takes the place of ĩ in a doubly closed syllable. Forms with ē in the second syllable shorten the ē to *S'ghöl*, when the tone is drawn back (before a tone-syllable or after *wāw* consecutive), e.g. יִשְׁבֵּנָה Gn 44<sup>33</sup>; וְיִשָּׁב, but ē is retained in an open syllable, even with *Mil'el*-tone, in יִצָּא Ex 16<sup>20</sup>, Ju 9<sup>39</sup>, in both cases with *nasog 'ahor*, § 29 e. The *pausal* is either of the form יִשָּׁב Ru 4<sup>1</sup> or יִרָר ψ 18<sup>10</sup>; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is יִאָרֵר, &c., except יִאָלֵךְ Jb 10<sup>10</sup>, see *x*.—For יִדַּע ψ 13<sup>56</sup> cf. the note above, on *b* and the analogous cases in § 70 d) is intended.

Q The *imperfect* of the form יִירָשׁ is frequently (especially before affirmatives) written defectively, in which case the *i* can always be recognized as a long vowel by the *Methey* (see § 16 *f*), e.g. יִעֲפוּ Is 40<sup>30</sup>, יִנַּעוּ Is 65<sup>23</sup>; and so always יִירָאוּ *they fear*, as distinguished from יִרְאוּ *they see* (*imperf. Qal* of יָרָא).—On יִוִּשֶׁם Gn 50<sup>80</sup>, 24<sup>33</sup> *Keth*, and יִיסָף Ex 30<sup>82</sup>, see § 73 *f*.

R From יָבֵל *to prevail, to be able*, the *imperfect Qal* is יִוֹכַל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יִוְכַל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yavekhal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimhi, from אוֹכַל, just as, according to § 47 *b*, אֶקְטַל is differentiated from יִקְטַל. Cf. the Arabic *yauri'u* (*yōri'u*) from *waru'a*, *yaujalu* (*yōjalu*) from *wajila*, as also the vulgar Arabic among towns-people) *yūṣal*, &c., from *wasala*. Others regard יִוֹכַל as an *imperfect Hoph'al* (*he is enabled* = *he can*), always used instead of the *imperfect Qal*; cf., however, § 53 *u*.—יִוְכַל occurs in Jer 3<sup>5</sup> as 2nd *sing. fem.* for וְיִוְכַלִּי, according to König because the 2nd *fem.* had been sufficiently indicated previously.—Further יִוְרָה or יִרָה is to be regarded with M. Lambert (*REJ.* xxxvii, no. 73) as *impf. Qal* (not *Hiph'il*) of יָרָה *to throw, shoot* (the supposed *impf. Qal* וְיִרָם Nu 21<sup>30</sup> is critically very doubtful). This is shown especially by the passages in which the *impf.* יִוְרָה is immediately preceded by the *imperat. Qal* (2 K 13<sup>17</sup>) or *infm. Qal* (ψ 64<sup>6</sup>), or is followed by the *participle Qal* (2 Ch 35<sup>23</sup>; but in 2 S 11<sup>24</sup> by the *participle Hiph'il*).

S 4. The attenuation of ä to ĩ in the *perfect* (in a toneless, closed syllable) which is discussed in § 44 *d* (cf. § 64 *f*) occurs in verbs פָּרַח in a few forms of לָרַח Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Jer 22<sup>7</sup>, ψ 2<sup>7</sup>, &c. (always after י), as well as of יָרַשׁ, e.g. וְיִרְשָׁם, &c., Dt 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>1</sup>, 26<sup>1</sup>, 31<sup>3</sup> (always after י for יי). In both cases the attenuation might be explained from the tendency to assimilate the vowels, especially if the initial י was pronounced, as in Syriac, like *i* (§ 47 *b*). In the case of יָרַשׁ, however, a secondary form יִרַשׁ (cf. § 44 *d*) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb is *wāriṭā*. The forms

וַיִּרְשָׁו Ez 36<sup>12</sup> and וַיִּרְשָׁוָה ψ 69<sup>36</sup>, &c., are most simply explained from the return of this *t*.

5. As an exception, the *imperfect Niph'al* sometimes has a *v* instead of the *t* *u*, e.g. וַיִּחַל and he stayed, Gn 8<sup>12</sup> (unless the *Pi'el* or וַיַּחַל, as in ver. 10, is to be read), cf. Ex 19<sup>13</sup>; 1 S 13<sup>8</sup> *Kethibh*.—The first person always has the form אָנֹשֵׁב, not אֲנֹשֵׁב, cf. § 51 *p*.—In the *participle* the plural נֹשֵׁב (from נִיָּה, with depression of *o* to *u*, cf. § 27 *n*) is found in Zp 3<sup>18</sup>; cf. La 1<sup>4</sup>. While in these cases some doubt may be felt as to the correctness of the Masoretic pointing, much more is this so in the perfect נִלְוִי null<sup>ed</sup>hū, 1 Ch 3<sup>5</sup>, 20<sup>8</sup>, for נִלְוִי which appears to be required by the *wāw* in the initial syllable.

6. In the *imperfect Pi'el* elision of the first radical (*v*) sometimes takes place *u* after *wāw consec.* (as in the case of א, § 68 *k*), e.g. וַיִּנָּה for וַיִּנְה and he has grieved, La 3<sup>53</sup>, וַיִּרְדּוּ for וַיִּרְדּוּ and they have cast, verse 53, from יִרְדָּה, which may also be a true verb פ"י (on the other hand, in יִרְדּוּ גִזְרִל they have cast lots, Jo 4<sup>3</sup>, Ob 1<sup>1</sup>, Na 3<sup>10</sup>, a perfect *Qal* of יִרְדּוּ is required by the context; but as this, being a *transitive* perfect, ought to have the form יִרְדּוּ according to § 67 *a*, perhaps we should read יִרְדּוּ). So from a verb פ"י, of the second class, וַיַּבֶּשְׁהוּ for וַיַּבֶּשְׁהוּ and he made it dry, Na 1<sup>4</sup>; cf. וַיִּשְׁרַם 2 Ch 32<sup>30</sup> *Qere* (the *Keth.* points either to *Pi'el* וַיִּשְׁרַם or *Hiph'il* וַיַּשְׁרַם).

7. The *imperative Hiph'il*, instead of the usual form הוֹשִׁיב, sometimes has *i* in *u* the second syllable; הוֹצִיא Is 43<sup>8</sup>; הוֹפִיעַ ψ 94<sup>1</sup> (before ה, hence probably a mere mistake for הוֹפִיעָה). On the uncertainty of the tone in הוֹשִׁיעָה־נָּא see § 53 *m*. When closed by a guttural the second syllable generally has *ā*, as הוֹדַע, הוֹשַׁע, cf. also הִקֵּר Pr 25<sup>17</sup> (as in the *inf.* constr. הוֹכַח Jb 6<sup>26</sup>; see § 65 *f*). On the other hand, *i* always appears when the syllable is open, thus הוֹשִׁיבָה, הוֹשִׁיבִי, and so also before suffixes (§ 61 *g*). הוֹצִיא Gn 8<sup>17</sup> *Qere* (*Keth.* הוֹצִיא, see § 70 *b*) is irregular.—The *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* when the tone is drawn back take *S'ghôl* in the second syllable, as in *Qal*, e.g. יִזְכָּק that he may increase, Pr 1<sup>5</sup>, before לָקַח; cf. Ex 10<sup>28</sup> and Dt 3<sup>26</sup> after אֶל—תִּזְכָּק, as in pause, however, also תִּזְכָּק as *jussive*, Jb 40<sup>32</sup> (usual *jussive* in pause יִזְכָּב, &c., which occurs even without the pause after *wāw consecutive*, Gn 47<sup>11</sup>, Jos 24<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 8<sup>4</sup>, &c.). With a final guttural יִדַּע and יוֹכַח (*jussive*) and יוֹכַח, &c.; with a final ר in pause יוֹתֵר Ru 2<sup>14</sup>: on יוֹשַׁעֲכֶם Is 35<sup>4</sup>, cf. § 65 *f*.—On forms like יוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 53 *g*.

In *Hoph'al* *ô* stands instead of *i*, in הוֹדַע (for הוֹדַע) Lv 4<sup>23,28</sup>, הִזָּה 2 S 20<sup>13</sup>, וְ and perhaps in יוֹרָה (for יוֹרָה) Pr 11<sup>25</sup>; but cf. Delitzsch on the passage.—*Particp.* מוֹדַע Is 12<sup>5</sup> *Qere* (מִדַּע *Keth.*).—An *infinitive Hoph'al* with feminine ending occurs in הִלָּחַת Gn 40<sup>20</sup>, for הִלָּחַת = הִלָּחַת; cf. above, *t*, on נִלְוִי, and § 71 at the end.

8. The verb הִלָּךְ to go, also belongs in some respects to the פ"י class, since it *x* forms (as if from הִלָּךְ *imperfect* וַיִּלָּךְ, with *wāw consecutive* וַיִּלָּךְ (in pause וַיִּלָּךְ Gn 24<sup>61</sup>, &c.), 1st sing. וַיִּלָּךְ (but in Jb 19<sup>10</sup> וַיִּלָּךְ); *infinitive construct* לִילָךְ with suff. לִכְתִּי (*S'ghôl* under the influence of the following palatal, as in נִכְדִּי, cf. also נִנְדִּי); *imperative* לָךְ, לָךְ, in the lengthened form לָכָה (as an interjection referring even to a *feminine*, Gn 19<sup>32</sup>, or a *plural*, Gn 31<sup>44</sup>) and לָךְ (Nu 23<sup>13</sup>, Ju 19<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17</sup>); *Hiph.* הוֹלִיךְ (also in Ex 2<sup>9</sup> הוֹלִיכִי 2nd *fem.* *imperative* is to be read for הִילִיכִי, which probably arose merely through

confusion with the following הִינָקְרוּ; *imperfect* יוֹלִיף, but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always יוֹלִיף Lv 26<sup>18</sup>, Am 2<sup>10</sup>, &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively late or in poetry, the regular inflexions of הִלֵּךְ are also found: *imperf.* הִלֵּךְ (ψ 58<sup>9</sup>, &c.; but הִלֵּךְ Ex 9<sup>23</sup>, ψ 73<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 64 a and h); אֶהְלֵךְ Jb 16<sup>22</sup>, also Mēša' inscription, line 14, אֶהְלֵךְ; *inf.* הִלֵּךְ (Ex 3<sup>19</sup>, Nu 22<sup>13 f. 16</sup>, 1 Ec 6<sup>8.9</sup>); *imperative plur.* הִלְכוּ Jer 51<sup>50</sup>. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always הָלַךְ, *participle* הֹלֵךְ, *infinitive absolute* הֵלֵךְ, *Niph'al* נִהְלַךְ, *Piel* הִלְכָהּ, *Hithpa'el* הִתְהַלַּךְ, so that a ' never appears unmistakably as the first radical. The usual explanation of the above forms is nevertheless based on a supposed obsolete יָלַךְ. It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent פ' forms of הָלַךְ with Praetorius (ZAW. ii. 310 ff.) as originating with the Hiph'il, of which the ground-form *hahlikh* became *hōlikh*, and this again, on the analogy of the *imperfect Qal* of verbs א"פ, *hōlikh*. This *hōlikh* being referred to a supposed *hau'likh* (properly *haw'likh*) gave rise to new formations after the manner of verbs פ"ו.

§ 70. Verbs פ"ב. *Second Class, or Verbs properly פ"ב*,  
e.g. יָטַב to be good. *Paradigm L.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 143 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 603 ff.

Verbs properly פ"ב differ from verbs פ"ו in the following points:

- a 1. In *Qal* the initial Yôdh never suffers aphaeresis or elision; hence the *infinitive* has the form יָבֵשׁ,<sup>2</sup> the *imperfect* יִיבֹשׁ, יִיבֹשׁ, יִבֹּשׁ (in *pause* יִיבֹשׁ), also written יָבֹשׁ, &c.; and so always with a tone-bearing ā in the second syllable. even after *wāw consec.*, e.g. וַיִּיבֹשׁ, except וַיִּבֹּשׁ Gn 9<sup>24</sup>, and וַיִּצָּר Gn 27<sup>19</sup>, unless יָצַר is to be included among verbs פ"ו (cf. נִוָּצַר Is 43<sup>10</sup>).
- b 2. In *Hiph'il* the original form הִיטִיב is regularly contracted to הִיטִיב (rarely written הִיטִיב, הִיטִיב, &c.); *imperfect* יִיטִיב, יִיטִיב. Instances of the uncontracted form are יִיטִיב Pr 4<sup>25</sup>, according to Barth (see above, § 67 p), an example of an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the *Hiph'il* is otherwise always *causative*; הִיטִיב (imperative) ψ 5<sup>9</sup> *Qerê* (the *Keth.* requires הִוִּטִיב according to the form of verbs פ"ו; cf. Is 45<sup>2</sup> אִוִּטִיב *Keth.*, אִוִּטִיב *Qerê*), cf. Gn 8<sup>17</sup> *Qerê*; מִימִינִים 1 Ch 12<sup>2</sup>, to be explained as a denominative from יָמִין; אִסְסִירִם Ho 7<sup>12</sup> (§ 24 f. note), but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading אִסְסִירִם.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, m, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> This may be inferred from בִּיבֵשׁ (= בִּי') Is 27<sup>11</sup>, which with its fem. בִּיבֵשׁ Gn 8<sup>7</sup>, is the only example of an *infinitive construct Qal* of these verbs. No example of the *imperative Qal* is found: consequently the forms יָטַב, &c. (in *Paradigm L.* of the earlier editions of this Grammar), are only inferred from the *imperfect*.

Rem. 1. The only verbs of this kind are: יָטַב to be good (only in the C imperfect Qal and in Hiph'il; in the perfect Qal טוב, a verb ע"ו, is used instead), יָנַק to suck, יָקַץ to awake, יָצַר to form (but see above, a), יָלַל only in Hiph'il הִילִיל to bewail, יָשַׁר to be straight, right, also יָבֵשׁ (Arabic yābīṣā) to be dry (but Hiph'il הִובֵּשׁ 2 S 19<sup>8</sup>, on the analogy of verbs פ"ו; on Is 30<sup>6</sup>, cf. § 72 x), and the Hiph'il הִקְיִין (denominative from יָמִין), infin. לְהִקְיִין 2 S 14<sup>13</sup> to go to the right.

2. In some examples of the imperfect Hiph'il the preformative has been subsequently added to the contracted form: יִיטִיב Jb 24<sup>21</sup>; יִילִיל Is 15<sup>2,3</sup>, 16<sup>7</sup>; יִאִילִל Jer 48<sup>31</sup>; plur. יִאִילִל Ho 7<sup>14</sup>, cf. Is 65<sup>14</sup>. Qimḥi and others explain the above forms from a phonetic interchange of Yōdh and He, arising from the unsynopated forms יְהִילִיל, &c. (cf. Is 52<sup>5</sup>). It is, perhaps, more correct to suppose that the regular forms (יִיטִיב, יִילִיל) were originally intended, but that in the later pronunciation the syllable was broken up in order to restore artificially the preformative which had become merged in the first radical.

Isolated anomalies are: perfect Hiph'il וְהִטְבַּחְתִּי Ez 36<sup>11</sup> with separating vowel (for הִטְבַּחְתִּי) on the analogy of verbs ע"ו; imperfect יִיטִיב for יִיטִיב 1 K 14<sup>7</sup>; הִיטְבִּי (imperfect Qal for הִטְבִּי) Na 3<sup>8</sup>; וְהִתְקַהּוּ imperfect Hiph'il Ex 2<sup>9</sup>, either an error for וְהִתְקַן, or an irregular shortening of the first syllable, caused by the forward movement of the tone. Similarly, the Hiph'il הִקְיִין (from קִיין) is always used instead of הִקְיִין from קִיין; hence also הִקְיִצְתִּי, הִקְיִצְתָּ imperat. הִקְיִצָּה, infin. הִקְיִץ.—On וְיִבְשֶׁהוּ Na 1<sup>4</sup>, see § 69 u).

## § 71. Verbs פ"י. Third Class, or Verbs with Yōdh assimilated.

In some verbs פ"י, the Yōdh (or the original Wāw) does not quiesce in the preceding vowel, but is regarded as a full consonant, and, like Nun,<sup>1</sup> is assimilated to the following consonant. These forms, therefore, belong properly to the class of strong verbs. Assimilation invariably takes place in יָצַע (prop. וָצַע) to spread under; Hiph'il הִצִּיעַ, Hoph'al הִצַּע; יָצַח to burn, imperfect יִצַּח, Niph'al נִצַּח, Hiph'il הִצִּיחַ (in Is 27<sup>4</sup> also אֲצִיחֶנָּה is to be read with König; in 2 S 14<sup>30</sup> the Masora has rightly emended the Kethib הוּצִיחֶנָּה, which could only be the 1st sing. perf. of a verb פ"ו, to the imperative וְהִצִּיחֶנָּה in agreement with the context and all the early versions); יָצַג, Hiph'il הִצִּיג to place, Hoph'al הִצַּג; and probably also in the forms ordinarily derived from יָצַב, viz. יָצַב (Niph'al), הִצִּיב, יִצַּב, הִצַּב; at any rate a stem יָצַב is implied by the Hithpa'el הִתְיָצַב; instead of the anomalous וְהִתְיָצַב Ex 2<sup>4</sup> read with the Samaritan וְהִתְיָצַב, i.e. וְהִתְיָצַב. Besides the common form we find once אֲצַק in Is 44<sup>3</sup> (from יָצַק to pour) with a transitive meaning, beside אֲצַק intransitive, 1 K 22<sup>35</sup>. Elsewhere the imperfect

<sup>1</sup> These verbs, like verbs ע"ו (cf. above, note on § 67 g), may perhaps have been influenced by the analogy of verbs פ"ו.

*consecutive* has the form וַיֵּצֵק Gn 28<sup>18</sup>, 35<sup>14</sup>, &c., cf. § 69 f, where also other forms of יֵצֵק are given; וַיֵּצֵר and יָצַר (Is 44<sup>12</sup>, 49<sup>8</sup>, Jer 1<sup>5</sup> *Q<sup>2</sup>re*), from יָצַר to form, are, however, used in the same sense. Cf. also אֶפְסָרָם Ho 10<sup>10</sup>; וַיִּשְׁרְנָה (for 'וַיִּשְׁרַן according to § 47 k) 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>; לִיפֹר 2 Ch 31<sup>7</sup> (cf. § 69 n) and מִפֹּסֵר Is 28<sup>16</sup>. This assimilation is found always with sibilants (most frequently with צ) except in the case of וַיֵּצֵן 1 K 3<sup>15</sup> (so ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel; but Jabl., Baer וַיֵּצֵן) and in הִלָּחַת Gn 40<sup>20</sup>, Ez 16<sup>5</sup> (cf. הִיגְלָתָה verse 4), *infinitive Hoph'al* of יָלַד (cf. נִגְלְדוּ § 69 t).

§ 72. Verbs ע"ו (*vulgo* ע"ו), e.g. קָם to rise up. *Paradigm M.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 144 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 605 ff.

- a 1. According to § 67 a a large number of monosyllabic stems were brought into agreement with the triliteral form by a strengthening, or repetition, of the second radical, i.e. of the *consonantal* element in the stem. In another large class of stems the same object has been attained by strengthening the *vocalic* element. The ground-form used for these verbs is not, as in other cases (§ 39 a), the 3rd sing. masc. perfect, but always the *infinitive construct* form (§ 39 b), the *û* of which is characteristic also of the *imperative* and of the *imperfect indicative Qal*. These stems are consequently termed verbs ע"ו or more correctly (see below) ע"י.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The term ע"ו was consequent on the view that the *Wāw* (or ' in the case of verbs ע"ו) in these stems was originally consonantal. This view seemed especially to be supported by the return of the *Wāw* in *Pi'el* (עָוַר, the ' usually passing into ' as in קָם, cf. Arabic *qāwawmā*), and by certain forms of the *absolute state* of the nouns of such stems, e.g. מָוֶת death, compared with מוֹת to die. Hence in explaining the verbal forms a supposed stem *qawcam* (in verbs ע"ו e.g. *šayat*) was always assumed, and קָם was referred to an original *yaqwūm*, the *infinitive absolute* קָם to original *qawōm*, the *participle passive* קָם to original *qawūm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like עָוַר, קָם (see m) are only to be found in the latest books, and are hence evidently secondary as compared with the pure Hebrew forms קָם, &c.; (2) that to refer the verbal forms invariably to the stem קָם, leads in many cases to phonetic combinations which are essentially improbable, whereas the assumption of original *middle-vowel* stems renders a simple and natural explanation almost always possible. These ע"ו stems are therefore to be rigidly distinguished from the real ע"ו stems of the strong forms, such as רוּחַ, צִוֵּעַ, &c. (see below, gg).—As early as the eleventh century the right view with regard to ע"ו stems was taken by Samuel Hannagid (cf. Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abulwa'id*, p. 16); recently by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch*, § 1112), and (also as to ע"ו stems) especially by Müller, Stade, and Wellhausen (see above, § 67 a, note). On the other hand, the old view of ו and ' as consonants has been recently revived by Philippi, Barth, M. Lambert, and especially Brockelmann (op. cit.).

2. As in the case of verbs ע"י, the monosyllabic stem of verbs ע"י *b* generally takes the vowel which would have been required in the *second* syllable of the ordinary strong form, or which belonged to the ground-form, since this is essentially characteristic of the verbal form (§ 43 *b*; § 67 *b*). However, it is to be remarked: (a) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in a tone-bearing closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph'al*, see *d*), e.g. 3rd *sing. masc. perf.* קָם, *fem.* קָמָה, *plur.* קָמוּ, but in a closed *penultima* קָמָה, &c.<sup>1</sup>; (b) that in the forms as we now have them the lengthening of the original short vowel sometimes takes place irregularly. Cf. *f*.

Intransitive verbs *middle e* in the *perfect Qal* have the form מָת *he c* is dead; verbs *middle o* have the form אָזַר *he shone*, בָּשָׁ *he was ashamed*, טוֹב *he was good*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *n-r*.

3. In the *imperfect Qal*, *perfect Niph'al*, and throughout *Hiph'il* and *d Hoph'al* the short vowel of the preformatives in an open syllable before the tone is changed into the corresponding tone-long vowel. In *Qal* and *Niph'al* the original *ä* is the basis of the form and not the *ī* attenuated from *ä* (§ 67 *h*; but cf. also *h* below, on יָבֵשׁ), hence יָקום, for *yäqûm*; נָקום for *näqôm*; on the other hand, in the *perfect Hiph'il* הָקִים for *hūqîm*; *participle* מְקִים (on the *Sere* cf. *z*); *perfect Hoph'al* הִקֵּם for *hūqam*.

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and *e* becomes vocal *Šewâ* when the tone is moved forward, e.g. יְמִיתָנִי *he will kill him*; so also in the 3rd *plur. imperfect Qal* with *Nûn paragogic* יִמְוֹתֵנּוּ (without *Nûn* יִמְוֹתוּ). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of *ē* in הָהִימִיר Jer 2<sup>11</sup> (beside הִמִּיר in the same verse) should, with König, be emended to הִימִיר; the incorrect repetition of the interrogative necessarily led to the pointing of the form as *perfect* instead of *imperfect*.—But in *Hoph'al* the *ū* is retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long *ō* (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs ע"ע).

<sup>1</sup> In Aramaic, however, always קָמָת; also in Hebrew grammars before Qimhi קָמָת, קָמָתִי, &c., are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in *pause*, e.g. קָמָתִי Mi 7<sup>8</sup>, קָמָתֵנוּ 2 K 7<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ståde (*Grammatik*, § 385 *e* and *f*) the *e* in מָת is of the nature of a diphthong (from *ai*, which arose from the union of the vowel *ī*, the sign of the intransitive, with the *ä* of the root), and likewise the *o* in אָזַר, &c. (from *au*). But *ō* (from *au*) could not, by § 26 *p*, remain in a closed *penultima* (בָּשָׁתִי, &c.); consequently the *o* of these forms can only be tone-long, i.e. due to lengthening of an original *ā*, and similarly the *ē* of מָת to lengthening of an original *ī*. This is confirmed by the fact that the *ō* in בָּשָׁתִי, בָּשָׁתִי, בָּשָׁנִי is always, and in בָּשָׁנִי, 3rd *plur. perfect*, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2), written defectively. Forms like בָּוֹשָׁה, בָּוֹשִׁי, &c., are therefore due to orthographic licence.

*f* 4. The cases of unusual vowel lengthening mentioned in *b* are: *imperfect Qal* קָם (also in Arabic *yāqūmu*), but *jussive* with normal lengthening (§ 48 *g*), קָם, with retraction of the tone קָם (yāqōm), קָם (in *pause* קָם); *imperative* קָם, with normal lengthening of the *ū* in the 2nd plur. fem. קָם, since, according to § 26 *p*, the *ū* cannot be retained in a closed penultima; *infinitive construct* קָם. In *Hiph'il* the original *ī* is naturally lengthened to *ī* (הָיָה, *imperfect* יָהִי, *jussive* יָהִי, with retraction of the tone יָהִי, יָהִי); on the transference of this *ī* to the *Hiph'il* of the strong verb, cf. § 53 *a*.

*g* The following forms require special consideration: the *participle Qal* קָם is to be traced to the ground-form with *ā* unobscured, Arab. *qātīl*, § 9 *g*, and § 50 *b*. On this analogy the form would be *qām*,<sup>1</sup> which after absorption of the *ī* became קָם, owing to the predominating character of the *ā*. The unchangeableness of the *ā* (*plur.* קָם, *constr.* קָם, &c.) favours this explanation.

*h* In the *imperfect Qal*, besides the forms with original *ū* (now *ū*) there are also forms with original *ā*. This *ā* was lengthened to *ā*, and then further obscured to *ō*; hence especially יָבֹא (יָבֹא, יָבֹא, &c., from the *perfect* בָּא *he has come*. In the *imperfects* יָבֹא (but cf. יָבֹא 1 S 14<sup>27</sup>) and יָבֹשׁ from the *intransitive perfects* בָּשׂ, אָוֹר (see above, *c*), most probably also in יָבֹשׁ 2 K 12<sup>9</sup>, גָּאוֹר Gn 34<sup>15</sup> from an unused אָוֹר *to consent*, and perhaps in יָבֹהֵם 1 S 4<sup>5</sup>, &c., as in the cases noticed in § 63 *e* and especially § 67 *n*, the *ē* of the preformative is lengthened from *ī* (which is attenuated from original *ā*) and thus *yī-bāš* became *yī-bāš*, and finally *yē-bōš*. Finally the *Niph.* נָקָם (*nā-qām*), *imperfect* יָקָם from *yiqqām*, originally (§ 51 *m*) *yinqām*, arises in the same way from the obscuring of *ā* lengthened from *ā*.

*i* 5. In the *perfect Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* a *ī* is inserted before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons, and '— regularly (but see Rem.) in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* (as in יָבֹאִי Lv 7<sup>30</sup>, cf. יָבֹאִי Mi 2<sup>12</sup>), before the termination of קָה. As in verbs *y"y* (§ 67 *d* and note) these *separating vowels* serve as an artificial opening of the preceding syllable, in order to preserve the long vowel; in the *perfect Hiph'il*, however, before the *ī*, instead of the *ī* an *ē* is somewhat often found<sup>2</sup> (as a normal lengthening of the original *ī*), especially after *wāw con-*

<sup>1</sup> So in Arabic, prop. *qām*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an *N*, cf. Aram. קָם; but also contracted, as *šāk*, *hār*, for *šā'ik*, &c. (cf. Wright's *Gramm. of the Arabic Language*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 164).

<sup>2</sup> יָבֹאִי 1 S 6<sup>7</sup> (cf. 2 Ch 6<sup>25</sup>) could only be an orthographic licence for 'והשיב; perhaps, however, 'והשיב was originally intended.

*secutive*, Dt 4<sup>39</sup>, 30<sup>1</sup>, as well as before the affirmatives הָם and הֵן or before suffixes, Dt 22<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>8</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>34</sup>, Ez 34<sup>4</sup>. For in all these cases the tone is removed from the *i* to the following syllable, and this forward movement of the tone produces at the same time a weakening of the *i* to *e*; thus הָקִים, הָקִימוֹת, הָקִ' (or הָק' on הָעֲרֹתָהּ Ex 19<sup>23</sup>, cf. *x*), but וְהִקְמֹתָ, &c., Ex 26<sup>30</sup>, &c.; Dt 4<sup>39</sup>, Nu 18<sup>26</sup> (cf., however, וְהִקְמֹנִי Mi 5<sup>4</sup>). In the same way in the 1st *pers. sing.* of the *perfect Niph'al*, the *o* before the separating vowel is always modified to *u* (וְהִקְמוֹתִי); cf. *v*. In the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* the separating vowel '־ always bears the tone (תִּקְמִינָה).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with the tone-long *o* and *k* *e* instead of *u* and *i* we find in *imperfect Qal* תִּבְאֲנָה (see § 76 *g*); תִּשְׁבְּרוּ Ez 16<sup>55</sup> (also תִּשְׁבְּרִינָה in the same verse); וְתִשְׁבְּרָה 1 S 7<sup>14</sup> (cf. Ez 35<sup>9</sup> *Qéré*; on the *Kethibh* תִּשְׁבְּרָה cf. above, note on § 69 *b*); וְתִאֲרָה 1 S 14<sup>27</sup> from אָוֶר (*Kethibh* וְתִאֲרָה and they saw, see § 75 *w*); in *Hiph'il*, e.g. הִנִּפְּתָה Ex 20<sup>25</sup>, also הִנִּפְּוֹתִי Jb 31<sup>21</sup>; וְהִמְלִיתִי Jer 22<sup>26</sup>; תִּשְׁבְּרָה Jb 20<sup>10</sup>; with a separating vowel, e.g. תִּבְיֹאֲנָה Lv. 7<sup>30</sup> from בּוֹא. *Séghol* without ' occurs in the *imperfect Qal* in תִּמְדֹּתָהּ Ez 13<sup>19</sup>, Zc 1<sup>17</sup>; and in *Hiph'il* Mi 2<sup>12</sup>: the Dageš in the *Nûn* is, with Baer, to be rejected in all three cases according to the best authorities. Wholly abnormal is תִּקְיִמָּנָה Jer 44<sup>25</sup>, probably an erroneous transposition of יִמ (for תִּקְמִינָה), unless it originates from an incorrect spelling תִּקְיִמָּנָה or תִּקְיִמָּנָה.

6. The tone, as in verbs ע"ע (cf. § 67 *k*), is also generally retained *l* on the stem-syllable in verbs ע"י before the affirmatives הָם, י, '־; thus קָמָה (but also לָךְ בָּרָה 2 K 19<sup>21</sup>, probably for the sake of rhythmical uniformity with the following לָךְ לָעֵנָה; after *wāw consecutive* וְשָׁכָה Is 23<sup>17</sup>); קָמוּ (but also קָמוּ, cf. Is 28<sup>7</sup>, 29<sup>9</sup>, Na 3<sup>18</sup>, ψ 76<sup>6</sup>, Pr 5<sup>6</sup>, La 4<sup>18</sup>; וְרָצִי 1 S 8<sup>11</sup>; so especially before a following *ם*, cf. § 49 *l*, Nu 13<sup>32</sup>; וְרָצִי Is 19<sup>1</sup>; before ע, ψ 131<sup>1</sup>, Pr 30<sup>13</sup>, La 4<sup>14</sup>); יָקָמוּ, תִּקְמוּ, but before a suffix or with *Nûn paragodic* וְיִסְכְּחוּ 2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>; יְקִימוּ Dt 33<sup>11</sup>, &c.

7. The formation of the conjugations *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el* is, *m* strictly speaking, excluded by the nature of verbs ע"י. It is only in the latest books that we begin to find a few secondary formations, probably borrowed from Aramaic, on the analogy of verbs ע"ע (with consonantal ו, see below, *gg*); e.g. the *Pi'el* עָוֶר to surround, only in עָוֶרְנִי ψ 119<sup>61</sup>; and with change of ו to י, קִיַּם Est 9<sup>31</sup>, קִיַּמוּ Est 9<sup>27</sup>, *impf.* וְיִקְיִמָּה ψ 119<sup>106</sup>, *inf.* קִיַּם Ez 13<sup>6</sup>, Ru 4<sup>7</sup> &c., Est 9<sup>21</sup> &c., *imperat.* קִיַּמְנִי ψ 119<sup>28</sup>; וְיִתְבַּחֶם Dn 1<sup>10</sup> from חַיֵּב to be guilty. The *Hithpa'el* הִצְטִיִּיר Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, which belongs to the older language, is probably a denominative from צִיֵּר. On the other hand the otherwise less common conjugation *Pôlêl* (see § 55 *c*), with its passive and reflexive, is usually

employed in the sense of *Pi'el* and as a substitute for it, e. g. קוֹיִם *to set up* from קוּם; מוֹתֶת *to slaughter*, 1 S 14<sup>13</sup>, 17<sup>51</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>9</sup>, from מוֹת; רוֹמֵם *to exalt*, passive רוּמַם, from רוּם; reflexive הִתְעוֹרֵר *to stir up oneself* (cf. יִתְעַרֵּר Jb 17<sup>8</sup> in *pause*) from עוֹר; reciprocal הִתְבַּשֵּׁשׁ *to be ashamed before one another*, Gn 2<sup>25</sup>. The conjugation *Pilpel* (§ 55 f), on the analogy of verbs ע"ע, is less common, e. g. טָלַטַל *to hurl away* from טוֹל; בָּלַל *to contain* from בָּיל; קָרַר *to destroy* from קיר.

## REMARKS.

## I. On Qal.

n 1. Of verbs *middle e* and *o*, in which, as in the strong verb, the *perfect* and *participle* have the same form (§ 50. 2), the following are the only examples: מָת he is dead, fem. מָתָה, 2nd masc. מָתָה (cf. § 44 g; § 66 h); 1st sing. מָתִי, וּמָתִי (even in *pause*, Gn 19<sup>19</sup>); plur. מָתִי, 1st pers. מָתִי, in *pause* מָתִי; בָּשׁ he was ashamed, בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁתִי, בָּשָׁנוּ, בָּשׂוּ; אֹר it has shone, plur. אֹרוֹ. אֹרוֹ טוֹב to be good, טָבוּ. *Participles* מָת a dead man (plur. מָתִים, מָתִי); בָּשָׁים ashamed, Ez 32<sup>30</sup>. For גָּר Is 27<sup>11</sup> read גָּר, or, with LXX, עָר.

o Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: וְשָׁכַח (with the original ending of the fem. for וְשָׁכְחָה) Ez 46<sup>17</sup> (see § 44 f); צָקוֹן Is 26<sup>16</sup> (see § 44 l).—In בָּנָה 1 S 25<sup>8</sup> (for בָּנָה from בּוֹא) the *א* has been dropped contrary to custom. In יבֵּא Jer 27<sup>18</sup> (instead of יבֵּא) the *Masora* seems to point to the *imperfect* which is what would be expected; as *Yôdh* precedes, it is perhaps simply a scribal error.

p The form קָם occurs (cf. § 9 b) with *א* in the *perfect*, קָם Ho 10<sup>14</sup>, also in the *participles* לָאֵם softly, Ju 4<sup>21</sup>, רָאֵשׁ poor, 2 S 12<sup>14</sup>, Pr 10<sup>4</sup>, plur. 13<sup>23</sup>; שָׁאֵם; שָׁאֵם *doing despite unto* (unless שָׁאֵם is to be read, from a stem שָׂאֵם whence שָׂאֵם Ez 25<sup>15</sup>, 36<sup>5</sup>), Ez 28<sup>24, 26</sup>; fem. 16<sup>67</sup>; also in Zc 14<sup>10</sup> רָאֵם is to be read with Ben-Naphtali for רָאֵם. On the analogy of *participles* of verbs *middle o* (like בָּשָׁים, see above) קָם occurs for קָם 2 K 16<sup>7</sup> and even with a transitive meaning לוֹט occultans, Is 25<sup>7</sup>; בּוֹסִים Zc 10<sup>6</sup>.—*Participle passive*, מוֹל circumsised; but סוֹג a backslider, Pr 14<sup>14</sup>, and סוֹרָה put aside, Is 49<sup>31</sup> (cf. Jer 17<sup>18</sup> *Q'rê*), are verbal adjectives of the form *qātūl* (§ 50 f), not passive *participles*. For חָשִׁים hastening, Nu 32<sup>17</sup>, read חָשִׁים as in Ex 13<sup>18</sup>; for שָׁבִי Mi 2<sup>8</sup> read שָׁבִי.

q 2. Imperfects in *u* almost always have the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive construct* in *u*, as יָקוּם, *imperative* and *infinitive* קוּם (also defectively written יָקָם, יָקָם); but יָרֵשׁ he threshes (*inf.* יָרֵשׁ), has *imperative* יָרֵשׁ (*fem.*), Mi 4<sup>13</sup>; יָמוּם it slippeth, *infinitive* מוּם (ψ 38<sup>17</sup>, 46<sup>3</sup>); cf. נוּחַ (also נוּחַ) Nu 11<sup>25</sup> and נוּעַ Is 7<sup>2</sup> (elsewhere נוּעַ) with the *imperfects* יָנוּחַ and יָנוּעַ; לָעוּ Is 30<sup>2</sup>; שׁוּב Jos 2<sup>16</sup>; רוּם Ez 10<sup>17</sup> (verse 16 רוּם).

r Where the *imperfect* (always intransitive in meaning) has *o* the *imperative* and *infinitive* also have it; thus *imperfect* יָבֹא (יָבֵא), *inf.* and *imper.* בּוֹא or בֵּא 1; וְיָאֵר 2 S 32<sup>2</sup>, אֹרִי, אֹרִי, יָבוֹשׁ, בּוֹשׁ, &c.—יָקוּם Jb 8<sup>14</sup> (if it be a verb at all and not rather a substantive) is formed on the analogy of verbs ע"ע,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 14<sup>12</sup> (בִּבְאָה before a genitive), the text is evidently corrupt: read with Klostermann after the LXX בִּבְאָה.

since the *imperfect* of קוּט appears as אָקוּט in  $\psi$  95<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand יָקִשׁוּן (as if from קוּשׁ, on the analogy of יָבוֹא, &c.) occurs as *imperfect* of יָקִשׁ (פ"י). The *imperfect* יָדוֹן, with  $\delta$ , Gn 6<sup>3</sup>, probably in the sense of to rule, has no corresponding *perfect*, and is perhaps intentionally differentiated from the common verb דָּרִין to judge (from דָּין, ע"י). Or can יָדוֹן be a *jussive* after לֹא (cf. § 109 d)? Similarly לֹא תַחֲסוּ עִינֵי (עֵינֶךָ) might be taken as a case of a *jussive* after לֹא, with irregular *scriptio plena* (as in Ju 16<sup>30</sup>), in Dt 7<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, 19<sup>13,21</sup>, 25<sup>12</sup>, Ez 5<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>4,9</sup>, 8<sup>18</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>. But perhaps in all these cases לֹא תַחֲסוּ was originally intended, as in Is 13<sup>18</sup>, Jer 21<sup>7</sup>, while cases like יָחַס  $\psi$  72<sup>13</sup> are to be explained as in § 109 k.—The *infinitive absolute* always has  $\delta$ , e.g. קוּטָא Jer 44<sup>29</sup>.

3. In the *imperative* with affirmatives (קָוֹמוּ, קָוִמִי) the tone is on the stem  $\delta$  syllable (cf., however, עֲוִרִי Ju 5<sup>12</sup> intentionally varied from עֲוִרִי; also עֲוִרִי Ze 13<sup>7</sup> and Is 51<sup>9</sup> beside עֲוִרִי בְיָמֵי; עֲוִרִי Ze 9<sup>9</sup>; צִוִּרִי Is 21<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  116<sup>7</sup>, likewise for rhythmical reasons). So also the lengthened form, as שֹׁנְכָה Jer 3<sup>12</sup>,  $\psi$  7<sup>8</sup>, and עֲנִיָּה verse 7. But if an א follows in close connexion, the lengthened *imperative* usually has the form קוֹמָה, &c.,<sup>1</sup> in order to avoid a hiatus, e.g. Ju 4<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  82<sup>8</sup>; hence also before יְהוָה, Q<sup>re</sup> *perpetuum* אֲדַנִּי (§ 17 c), e.g.  $\psi$  3<sup>8</sup>, 7<sup>7</sup> קוֹמָה (cf., however, in the same verse עֲנִיָּה and in Jer 40<sup>6</sup>, שֹׁנְכָה before א), and so even before ר  $\psi$  43<sup>1</sup>, 74<sup>22</sup>, &c. (רִיבָה).

4. In the *jussive*, besides the form יָקֹם (see above, f), יָקוּם also occurs  $t$  (as subjunctive, Ec 12<sup>4</sup>; נָסוּ  $\psi$  80<sup>19</sup> may also, with Delitzsch, be regarded as a volutive), incorrectly written *plene*, and יָקֹם (Gn 27<sup>31</sup>; cf. Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, Pr 9<sup>4,16</sup>), which, however, is only orthographically different from יָקוּם (cf. Jer 46<sup>6</sup>). In the *imperfect consecutive* (וַיִּקָּם, in pause וַיִּקָּם, see above, f) if there be a guttural or ר in the last syllable,  $\tilde{a}$  often takes the place of  $\delta$ , e.g. וַיִּנָּח and he rested; וַיִּנָּע and it was moved; וַיִּסָּר and he turned aside, Ju 4<sup>18</sup>, Ru 4<sup>1</sup> (distinguished only by the sense from וַיִּסָּר and he removed, Gn 8<sup>13</sup>); וַיִּצָּר Ex 21<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>28</sup>, 17<sup>5</sup> (but also וַיִּנָּר from both נָר to sojourn, and נָר to fear); וַיִּעָּף (to be distinguished from וַיִּעָּף and he flew, Is 6<sup>6</sup>) and he was weary, Ju 4<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>28,31</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>15</sup>, but probably in all these cases וַיִּעָּף for וַיִּעָּף from יָעָף is intended. For וַחֲלוּשׁ 2 S 13<sup>8</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>, the Q<sup>re</sup> rightly requires וַחֲלָשׁ. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיִּקְוֹמוּ, וַיִּסְאוּ, &c. On וַיִּקָּמוּ (וַיִּקָּמוּ), see § 49 e.

Examples of the full plural ending וִן with the tone (see above, l) are וַיִּמְתְּנוּ Gn 3<sup>3,4</sup>; וַיִּנָּסוּ  $\psi$  104<sup>7</sup>; וַיִּרְצֻנוּ Jo 2<sup>4,7,9</sup>.

## II. On Niph'al.

5. The form of the 1st *sing. perf.* נִקְוַמְתִּי, which frequently occurs (נִסְוַגְתִּי,  $\psi$  נִפְגַּמְתִּי, cf. also the *ptcp. plur.* נִבְבִּיכִים Ex 14<sup>3</sup>), serves as a model for the 2nd *sing.* נִקְוַמְתָּ, נִקְוַמְתָּ, and the 1st *plur.* נִקְוַמוּנוּ given in the paradigm, although no instances of these forms are found; but of the 2nd *plur.* the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch's commentary on  $\psi$  3<sup>8</sup>.



and he took away, Gn 8<sup>13</sup>. The 1st sing. of the imperfect consecutive commonly has the form וְאַשִׁיב Neh 2<sup>20</sup>, or, more often, defectively וְאַעֲד 1 K 2<sup>42</sup>, less frequently the form וְאַשִׁיב Jos 14<sup>7</sup>.—For אָסַף Zp 1<sup>2</sup> (after אָסַף) and in verse 3, read אָסַף from אָסַף, on the analogy of אָמַר § 68 g: similarly in Jer 8<sup>13</sup> אָסַף instead of אָסַף.

In the imperfect *Pôlél* the tone is moved backwards before a following tone-*bb* syllable, but without a shortening of the vowel of the final syllable; e.g. גִּי תִרְוֹמֶם Pr 14<sup>34</sup>; לֹי תִחְלָלֶל Jb 35<sup>14</sup>; cf. Pr 25<sup>23</sup>, and acc. to Baer בִּי תִחְלָלֶן Jb 36<sup>20</sup> (ed. Mant., Ginsb. בִּי תִחְלָלֶן), always in principal pause; on the *Metheg* with *Sere*, cf. § 16 f. γ.—As *Pôlél* cf. יִרְעֶע Is 16<sup>10</sup>.

As participle *Hoph'al* occurs in close connexion, Gn 43<sup>12</sup>; cf. § 65 d.

Peculiar contracted forms of *Pôlél* (unless they are transitives in *Qal*) are *CC* וְיִכְנְנֶנּוּ Jb 31<sup>15</sup>, יַעֲרֶנּוּ 41<sup>2</sup>, וְחִמְּנֶנּוּ Is 64<sup>6</sup> for וְיִכְנְנֶנּוּ, &c. [but read וְיִכְנְנֶנּוּ (§ 58 k), יַעֲרֶנּוּ or יַעֲרֶנּוּ, and וְחִמְּנֶנּוּ]; also תִּרְמֹם Jb 17<sup>4</sup>, for תִּרְמֹם.—In Is 15<sup>6</sup> יַעֲרֶנּוּ appears to have arisen from the *Pûpel* יַעֲרֶנּוּ, the *ä* after the loss of the *ר* having been lengthened to *ä*, which has then been obscured to *ô*.—For the strange form בְּתִקְוִמְךָ ψ 139<sup>21</sup>, which cannot (according to § 52 s) be explained as a participle with the *מ* omitted, read בְּתִקְחָ.

#### IV. In General.

8. The verbs ע"י are primarily related to the verbs ע"ע (§ 67), which were *dd* also originally biliteral, so that it is especially necessary in analysing them to pay attention to the differences between the inflexion of the two classes. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e.g. imperfect *Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *wāw* consecutive, the whole of *Hoph'al*, the *Pi'el* of verbs ע"י, and the *Pô'el* of verbs ע"ע; see § 67 z. Owing to this close relation, verbs ע"י sometimes have forms which follow the analogy of verbs ע"ע, e.g. perfect *Qal* בּוּ he has despised (from בּוּז, as if from בּוּז) Ze 4<sup>10</sup>; perfect *Niph'al* נָמַר Jer 48<sup>11</sup> (for נָמַר from מָוַר, as if from מָרַר). The same explanation equally applies to נָקְטָה Jb 10<sup>1</sup> for נָקְטָה (cf. § 67 dd) = נָקְטָה from קָטַט, and נָקְטָה Ez 6<sup>9</sup> (for נָקְטָה); יָרָמוּ Ez 10<sup>17</sup> and יָרָמוּ verse 15; יָרָמוּ (*imperative*) Nu 17<sup>10</sup>; יָפַן Mi 2<sup>6</sup>; *Hiph'il* perfect הָתוּ Is 18<sup>6</sup> for הָתוּ (cf. § 29 g), which is for הָתוּ from הָתוּ. On the other hand the *imperfects* יָמַר Ez 48<sup>14</sup> (unless it be intended for יָמַר, cf. ψ 15<sup>4</sup>) and יָפַח Hb 2<sup>3</sup>, are to be regarded according to § 109 i, simply as rhythmically shortened forms of יָמַר and יָפַח.

9. In common with verbs ע"ע (§ 67 g) verbs ע"י sometimes have in *Niph'al* *CC* and *Hiph'il* the quasi-Aramaic formation, by which, instead of the long vowel under the preformative, they take a short vowel with *Dageš forte* in the following consonant; this variety is frequently found even along with the ordinary form, e.g. הִפִּיתָ to incite, imperfect יִפִּיתָ (also הִפִּיתָ, יִפִּיתָ); הִפִּינָה, imperfect יִפִּינָה to remove (from הִפִּינָה), also *Hoph'al* הִפִּינָה Is 59<sup>14</sup> (on הִפִּינָה, cf. § 29 g); sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הִנִּיחָה to cause to rest,<sup>1</sup> but הִנִּיחָה (*imperfect* יִנִּיחָה, consecutive וְהִנִּיחָה Gn 39<sup>16</sup>; *imperative* הִנִּיחָה, plur. הִנִּיחוּ) to set down; for וְהִנִּיחָה (Baer, Ginsburg וְהִנִּיחָה) Ze 5<sup>11</sup> (which at any rate could only be explained as an isolated passive of *Hiph'il* on the analogy of the biblical Aramaic הִקִּימָה Dn 7<sup>4</sup>) we should probably read וְהִנִּיחָה with

<sup>1</sup> As the passive of this *Hiph'il* we should expect the *Hoph'al* הִנִּיחָה, which is, no doubt, to be read for הִנִּיחָה in La 5<sup>5</sup>.

Klostermann after the LXX. In Dn 8<sup>11</sup> the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* הרים is intended for a perfect *Hiph'il*. There is also a distinction in meaning between יָלִין to spend the night, to remain, and יָלִין Ex 16<sup>7</sup> *Q<sup>e</sup>rē* (*K<sup>e</sup>thibh* תִּלְוֶנּוּ; conversely, verse 2 *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* יִלְכֶנּוּ, *Q<sup>e</sup>rē* יִלְוֶנּוּ), participle מִלִּין Ex 16<sup>8</sup>, Nu 14<sup>27</sup>, 17<sup>20</sup>, to be stubborn, obstinate: in the latter sense from the form יָלִין only יִלְוֶנּוּ is found, Ex 17<sup>3</sup>. Other examples are *Niph'al* נִפְּלוּ he was circumcised, Gn 17<sup>26 f.</sup>; participle 34<sup>22</sup> (from מוּל, not נִמַּל); נִעֹר he is waked up, Zc 2<sup>17</sup> (see above, v); *Hiph'il* הִיָּלִין La 1<sup>8</sup>; יִלְיוּ Pr 4<sup>21</sup>.

*ff* Perhaps the same explanation applies to some forms of verbs *first guttural* with *Dageš forte implicitum*, which others derive differently or would emend, e. g. וַתַּחֲשֵׁשׁ for וַתַּחֲשֵׁשׁ and she hastened (from חוּשׁ) Jb 31<sup>5</sup>; וַיַּעַט (another reading is וַיַּעַט) 1 S 15<sup>19</sup>, 25<sup>14</sup> (14<sup>32</sup> *Q<sup>e</sup>rē*) from עוּט or עֵיט to fly at anything. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from חָשַׁה and עָטָה (ח"ה), but these stems only occur with a wholly different meaning.

*gg* 10. Verbs with a consonantal *Wāw* for their second radical, are inflected throughout like the strong form, provided the first or third radical is not a weak letter, e. g. חָוַר, imperfect יִחְוֹר to be white; גָּוַע, imperfect יִגְוַע to expire; רִוַח to be wide; צָוַח to cry; *Pi'el* עוּגַל, imperfect יַעְוֹל to act wickedly; עָוָה to bend, *Hithpa'el* הִתְעוּת to bend oneself; and this is especially the case with verbs which are at the same time ל"ה, e. g. צָוָה, *Pi'el* צִוָּה to command, קָוָה to wait, רָוָה to drink, *Pi'el* רָוָה (on אֲרִיָּה Is 16<sup>9</sup>, see § 75 *da*) and *Hiph'il* הִרְוָה to give to drink, &c.

§ 73. Verbs middle *i* (vulgo "ע"), e. g. בִּין to discern.

Paradigm N.

*a* 1. These verbs agree, as regards their structure, exactly with verbs ע"י, and in contrast to them may be termed ע"י, or more correctly, 'ayin-*i* verbs, from the characteristic vowel of the *impf.*, *imper.*, and *inf.* *constr.* This distinction is justified in so far as it refers to a difference in the pronunciation of the *imperfect* and its kindred forms, the *imperative* and *inf.* *constr.*—the ע"י verbs having *i* lengthened from original *ū* and ע"י having *i* lengthened from original *ī*. In other respects verbs ע"י simply belong to the class of really monosyllabic stems, which, by a strengthening of their *vocalic* element, have been assimilated to the triliteral form<sup>1</sup> (§ 67 *a*). In the *perfect Qal* the monosyllabic stem, as in ע"י, has *ā* lengthened from *ā*, thus: שָׁת he has set; *infinitive* שֵׁת, *infinitive absolute* שׁוּת, *imperative* שֵׁת, *imperfect* יִשֵּׁת, *jussive* יִשֵּׁת (§ 48 *g*), *imperfect consecutive* וַיִּשֵּׁת.—The *perfect Qal* of some verbs

<sup>1</sup> That verbs ע"י and ע"י are developed from biliteral roots at a period before the differentiation of the Semitic languages is admitted even by Nöldeke (*Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 34 ff.), although he contests the view that בִּינָתִי and רִיבֹתִי are to be referred to *Hiph'il* with the preformative dropped.

used to be treated as having a double set of forms, a regular series, and others like *Hiph'il* without the preformative, e. g. בָּיִן Dn 10<sup>1</sup>; בִּנְתִּי Dn 9<sup>2</sup>, also בָּנִיתָ ψ 139<sup>2</sup>; רִיבֹתָ thou *strivest*, Jb 33<sup>13</sup>, also רִבֵּתָ La 3<sup>58</sup>. The above *perfects* (בָּיִן, רִיב, &c.) might no doubt be taken as forms *middle ē* (properly *î*), the *î* of which has been lengthened to *î* (like the *û* lengthened to *û* in the *imperfect Qal* of קִים). It is more probable, however, that they are really shortened forms of *Hiph'il*. This is supported by the fact that, especially in the case of בָּיִן, the shortened forms are few and probably all late, while the corresponding unshortened forms with the same meaning are very numerous, e. g. *perfect* הִבֵּין (but בָּיִן only in Dn 10<sup>1</sup>), *infinitive* הִבֵּין (but *infin. abs.* בָּיִן only in Pr 23<sup>1</sup>), *imperative* הִבֵּן (only in Dn 9<sup>23</sup> immediately before וְהִבֵּן, also בָּיִן three times, and בִּינָה ψ 5<sup>2</sup>), *participle* יִמְבִּין.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere *Hiph'il*-forms are in use along with actual *Qal*-forms with the same meaning, thus: מָרִיב (also רָב), מָשִׂים *placing* (but only in Jb 4<sup>20</sup>, which, with the critically untenable הִשִּׂיב Ez 21<sup>21</sup>, is the only instance of שׂוּם in *Hiph'il*), מִנִּיחַ *breaking forth* Ju 20<sup>33</sup>, with *infin. Qal* מִנִּיחַ; הִרְשִׁיעוּ they *rushed forth* Ju 20<sup>37</sup>, with *imperat. Qal* מִצִּיץ *glancing*, also in *perfect* צָץ הִקִּיא he *spat out*, with *imperat. Qal* קִי. As *passives* we find a few apparent *imperfects Hoph'al*, which are really (according to § 53 u) *imperfects passive of Qal*, e. g. יָחַל Is 66<sup>8</sup> from חָל to *turn round*, יִשָּׁר from שָׁר to *sing*, יִשֵּׁחַ from שָׂח to *set*.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'il*-forms might equally well be derived *b* from verbs ע"י; and the influence of the analogy of verbs ע"י is distinctly seen in the *Niph'al* נָבֵן (ground-form *nabān*), *Pōlél* בּוֹגֵן, and *Hithpōlél* הִתְבּוֹגֵן. The very close relation existing between verbs ע"י and ע"י is evident also from the fact that from some stems both forms occur side by side in *Qal*, thus from חָל to *turn round*, *imperative* also חוּלִי Mi 4<sup>10</sup>; שִׂים to *place*, *infinitive construct* commonly שׂוּם (2 S 14<sup>7</sup> שִׂים *Qere*), *imperfect* יִשִּׂים, but Ex 4<sup>11</sup> יִשֵּׂם. In other verbs one form is, at any rate, the more common, e. g. גִּיל to *exult* (גִּיל only Pr 23<sup>21</sup> *Kethibh*); from לָח (perhaps denominative from לָלַח) to *spend the night*, לָלַח occurs six times as *infinitive construct*, לָלַח only in Gn 24<sup>23</sup>; but the *imperative* is always לָח, &c.—Of verbs ע"י the most common are שִׂית to *set*, רִיב to *strive*, דִּין to *judge*, שִׂישׁ to *rejoice*; cf. also *perfect* בָּל (*middle*

<sup>1</sup> Since בָּנִיתָ ψ 139<sup>2</sup> might be intended for בָּנִיתָ, there remains really no form of בָּיִן which must necessarily be explained as a *Qal*, except the *plur. plur.* בָּנִים Jer 49<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless it is highly probable that all the above instances of *Hiph'il*-forms, parallel with *Qal*-forms of the same meaning, are merely due to a secondary formation from the *imperfects Qal* יִבֵּין, יִשִּׂים, &c., which were wrongly regarded as *imperfects Hiph'il*: so Barth, *ZDMG.* xliii. p. 190 f., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 119 f.

*Yôdh* in Arabic) to *comprehend*, to *measure*, Is 40<sup>12</sup>; עִיט (as in Arabic and Syriac) to *rush upon*, and the denominative perfect קָץ (from קָצַץ) to *pass the summer*, Is 18<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, וְיִדְּגוּ and *they shall fish them*, Jer 16<sup>16</sup>, generally explained as *perfect Qal*, denominative from יָדַג *fish*, probably represents a denominative *Pi'el*, וְיִדְּגוּ.

c Corresponding to verbs properly ע"ו, mentioned in § 72 gg, there are certain verbs ע"י with consonantal *Yôdh*, as אָבַי to *hate*, עָפַי to *faint*, הָיָה to *become*, to *be*, חָיָה to *live*.

d Rem. 1. In the *perfect Qal* 3rd fem. sing. וְלָקְחָהּ occurs once, Zc 5<sup>4</sup>, for וְלָקְחָהּ, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* to *ē* (as in the fem. participle וּמְרָה Is 59<sup>5</sup>; cf. the analogous examples in § 48 l and § 80 i.—2nd sing. masc. שָׁתָה ψ 90<sup>8</sup>, Q<sup>ré</sup> (before ו; cf. § 72 s); 1st sing. once שָׁתִי ψ 73<sup>28</sup>, *milra'*, without any apparent reason; 1st plur. וְלָקְחוּ Ju 19<sup>13</sup> for *lān-nū*. The lengthened imperative has the tone on the ultima before gutturals, וְרִבְיָהּ יְהוּה ψ 35<sup>1</sup>; see further, § 72 s.—Examples of the *infinitive absolute* are: רַב *litigando*, Ju 11<sup>25</sup>, Jb 4c<sup>2</sup>; שׁוּם Jer 42<sup>15</sup>; שֵׁת *ponendo*, Is 22<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, רִיב יָרִיב (for רַב) Jer 50<sup>34</sup>, בֵּין תְּבִין Pr 23<sup>1</sup>, חוּל תְּחִיל Ez 30<sup>16</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>, are irregular and perhaps due to incorrect *scriptio plena*; for the last the Q<sup>ré</sup> requires חוּל תְּחִיל, but read חוּל; cf. § 113 x.

e 2. The shortened imperfect usually has the form יִשָּׁל, יִשָּׁל; more rarely, with the tone moved back, e.g. יִרְבַּ לֹּ Ju 6<sup>31</sup>, cf. Ex 23<sup>1</sup>, אֶל-תִּשָּׁת 1 S 9<sup>20</sup>. So with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּשֶׁם and *he placed*, וַיִּדְּבַן and *he perceived*; with a middle guttural וַיִּעַם בָּהֶם 1 S 25<sup>14</sup> (see § 72 ee); with ר as 3rd radical, וַיִּתְּשֶׁר Ju 5<sup>1</sup>. As jussive of לֵין, יִלֵּן is found in Ju 19<sup>20</sup> (in *pause*) and Jb 17<sup>2</sup>, for יִלֵּן.—For אֶל-תִּרְוֹב Pr 3<sup>30</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup> (Q<sup>ré</sup> תִּרְוֹב) read תִּרְבַּ.

f 3. As *participle active Qal* לֹן *spending the night*, occurs once, Neh 13<sup>21</sup>; *participle passive* שֵׁים Nu 24<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>24</sup>, Ob 4; *feminine* שֹׁמֶה 2 S 13<sup>32</sup>, in the Q<sup>ré</sup>, even according to the reading of the Oriental schools (see p. 38, note 2): the K<sup>ethibh</sup> has שִׁימָה. A *passive* of *Qal* (cf. above, § 52 e and s, and § 53 u) from שֵׁים may perhaps be seen in וַיִּישָׁם Gn 5c<sup>26</sup> (also Gn 24<sup>33</sup> K<sup>ethibh</sup> וַיִּישָׁם, Q<sup>ré</sup> וַיִּישָׁם; the Samaritan in both places has וַיִּוִּשָׁם), and also in יִסְכָּה Ex 3c<sup>32</sup>, Samaritan יִסְכָּה. Against the explanation of יִסְכָּה as a *Hoph'al*-form from סָכַח, Barth (*Jubelschrift* . . . Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a *Hiph'il* of סָכַח is the doubtful וַיִּסְכָּח, which is probably an *i*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of וַיִּשָּׁם, &c., as a *passive* of *Qal* arising from *yiysam*, &c. = *yuysam* (so Barth, *ibid.*, note 1), is certainly also unconvincing, so that the correctness of the traditional reading is open to question.

\* \* \* \* \*

g 4. In verbs ע"נ the נ always retains its consonantal value; these stems are, therefore, to be regarded as verbs *middle Guttural* (§ 64). An exception is נָאֵץ Ec 12<sup>5</sup> if it be *imperfect Hiph'il* of נָאֵץ (for נָאֵץ); but if the form has really been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to נָצַץ, and regarded as incorrectly written for נָצַץ. On נָאֵץ (from נָאֵץ), which was formerly treated here as ע"נ, see now § 75 x.

## § 74. Verbs נ"ל, e.g. מצא to find. Paradigm O.

The נ in these verbs, as in verbs נ"פ, is treated in some cases as *a* a consonant, i.e. as a guttural, in others as having no consonantal value (as a quiescent or vowel letter), viz.:

1. In those forms which terminate with the נ, the final syllable always has the regular vowels, if long, e.g. מִצָּא, מִצָּא, מִצָּא, הִמְצִיא, i. e. the נ simply quiesces in the long vowel, without the latter suffering any change whatever. It is just possible that after the altogether heterogeneous vowel *u* the נ may originally have preserved a certain consonantal value. On the other hand, if the final נ quiesces in a preceding *ā* (as in the *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *imperative Qal*, in the *perfect Niph'al*, and in *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*) this *ā* is necessarily lengthened to *ā*, by § 27 g, as standing in an open syllable; e.g. מִצָּא, מִצָּא, &c.

The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* invariably have *ā* in the final syllable, on *b* the analogy of verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*; cf., however, § 76 e.—In the *imperfect Hithpa'el* *ā* occurs in the final syllable not only (according to § 54 k) in the principal pause (Nu 31<sup>23</sup>), or immediately before it (Jb 10<sup>16</sup>), or with the lesser disjunctives (Lv 21<sup>1.4</sup>, Nu 19<sup>13.20</sup>), but even out of pause with *Mer'kha*, Nu 6<sup>7</sup>, and even before *Maggeph* in Nu 19<sup>12</sup>.

2. When נ stands at the end of a syllable before an affirmative *c* beginning with a consonant (ת, נ), it likewise quiesces with the preceding vowel; thus in the *perfect Qal* (and *Hoph'al*, see below) quiescing with *ā* it regularly becomes *Qames* (מִצָּאתָ, מִצָּאתָ, &c.); but in the *perfect* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, so far as they occur, it is preceded by *Sere* (נִמְצָאתָ, &c.), and in the *imperative* and *imperfect* by *S'ghöl*, מִצָּאנָה, תִּמְצָאנָה.

(a) The *S'ghöl* of these forms of the imperfect and imperative might be *d* considered as a modification, and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ā* (see § 8 a). In the same way the *ē* of the *perfect* forms in *Pi'el*, *Hithpa'el*, and *Hiph'il* might be traced to an original *i* (as in other cases the *ē* and *i* in the final syllable of the 3rd sing. masc. *perfect* of these conjugations), although this *i* may have only been attenuated from an original *ā*. According to another, and probably the correct explanation, however, both the *Sere* and the *S'ghöl* are due to the analogy of verbs ל"ה (§ 75 f) in consequence of the close relation between the two classes, cf. § 75 nn.—No form of this kind occurs in *Pu'al*; in the *perfect Hoph'al* only the 2nd masc. sing. הִמְצָאתָ Ez 40<sup>4</sup>, lengthened according to rule.

(b) Before suffixes attached by a connecting vowel (e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי) the נ *c* retains its consonantal value; so before ת, כּם, e.g. אֶמְצָאֲךָ Ct 8<sup>1</sup>; הִבְרָאֲךָ Ez 28<sup>13</sup> (cf. § 65 h), not אֶמְצָאֲךָ, &c., since these suffixes, by § 58 f, are likewise attached to the verb-form by a connecting vowel in the form of *S'wā mobile*.—As *infinitive Qal* with suffix notice מִצָּאֲךָ Ez 25<sup>6</sup>; *participle* with suffix בִּרְאֲךָ Is 43<sup>1</sup>; *infinitive Pi'el* בִּטְמָאֲכֶם.—The doubly anomalous form יִקְרָאֵי Jer 23<sup>6</sup> (for יִקְרָאֵהוּ or יִקְרָאֵנִי) is perhaps a *forma mixta* combining the readings יִקְרָאֵי and יִקְרָאֵי.

*f* 3. When א begins a syllable (consequently before affirmatives which consist of or begin with a vowel, as well as before suffixes) it is necessarily a firm consonant, and the form then follows the analogy of the strong verb, e.g. מַצָּאָה *māṣṣā*, מַצָּאִי, &c. (in *paruse* מַצָּאִי, מַצָּאִי).

## REMARKS.

*g* 1. Verbs middle *e*, like מִלֵּא *to be full*, retain the *Sere* also in the other persons of the *perfect*, e.g. מִלֵּאתִי (מִלֵּאוּ Est 7<sup>5</sup> has מִלֵּא owing to its transitive use; for יִרְאֶתֶם Jos 4<sup>24</sup> read with Ewald יִרְאֶתֶם). Instead of מַצָּאָה the form קִרְאָה *she names*, on the analogy of the ל"ה-forms noticed in § 75 *m*, occurs in Is 7<sup>14</sup> (from קִרְאָה, cf. § 44 *f*), and with a different meaning (*it befalls*) in Dt 31<sup>29</sup>, Jer 44<sup>23</sup>, in both places before א, and hence, probably, to avoid a hiatus (on the other hand, וְקִרְאָה Ex 5<sup>16</sup>, could only be the 2nd *sing. masc.*; the text which is evidently corrupt should probably be emended to וְקִרְאָה לְעַמְּךָ with the LXX); in *Niph'al* נִפְלְאָה ψ 118<sup>23</sup>; in *Hoph'al* הִכְאָה Gn 33<sup>11</sup>.—The 2nd *fem. sing.* is written קִרְאָה by Baer, Gen 16<sup>11</sup>, &c., according to early MSS.

*h* 2. The *infinitive Qal* occurs sometimes on the analogy of verbs ל"ה *נָלוּת*, &c., see § 75 *nn*) in the feminine form; so always מִלֵּאת *to fill* (as distinguished from מִלֵּא *fullness*), Lv 8<sup>33</sup>, 12<sup>4,6</sup>, 25<sup>30</sup>, Jer 29<sup>10</sup>, Ez 5<sup>3</sup>, also written מִלְּאוֹת Jer 25<sup>12</sup>, Jb 20<sup>22</sup>, &c., and מְלֹאֹת Est 1<sup>5</sup>. Cf. further, קִרְאָה Ju 8<sup>4</sup>; שִׁנְאָה Pr 8<sup>13</sup>; before suffixes, Ez 33<sup>12</sup>, and likewise in *Niph.* זִע 13<sup>4</sup>; also in *Piel* לְמִלְּאוֹת Ex 31<sup>5</sup>, 35<sup>33</sup>, or לְמִלְּאוֹת Dn 9<sup>2</sup>, &c. *Kethibh*; with suffix 2 S 21<sup>12</sup>.—On the (aramaizing) *infinitives* מִשְׁנֵא and מִשְׁנְאוֹת, see § 45 *e*; on לְקִרְאָה *obriam*, § 19 *k*.—בְּמַצְאֵכֶם *when ye find*, Gn 32<sup>20</sup>, stands, according to § 93 *g*, for מַצְאֵכֶם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רַפְּאֵה Ps 41<sup>5</sup> as *Mil'ra'* (before פִּשִּׁי) is to be explained on rhythmical grounds; cf. the analogous cases in § 72 *s*.—The 2nd *fem. plur. imperative* in Ru 1<sup>9</sup> has, according to Qimhi, the form מִצְּאֵי and in verse 20 קִרְאֵי; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מַצְּאֵי, קִרְאֵי.

*i* 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e.g. מַצְּאָה (for מַצְּאָהָ 2 S 18<sup>22</sup>, cf. Est 2<sup>15</sup>; so *Niph'al* נִפְלְאָה Dt 30<sup>11</sup>, Zc 5<sup>7</sup> (but נִשְׁאָה Is 30<sup>25</sup>), and *Hoph'al*, Gn 38<sup>25</sup>; less frequent forms are מוֹצְאָה Ct 8<sup>10</sup>; נִשְׁאָה 1 K 10<sup>22</sup> (cf. § 76 *b*, שְׂאָה beside לִשְׂאָה *as infinitive construct* from נִשָּׂא) and without א (see *k*) וֹצֵא (from וָצָא) Dt 28<sup>57</sup>. In the forms הַטְּאִים *sinning*, 1 S 14<sup>33</sup>, cf. ψ 99<sup>6</sup>; בִּרְאִים *feigning them*, Neh 6<sup>8</sup>, the א is elided, and is only retained orthographically (§ 23 *c*) after the retraction of its vowel; see the analogous cases in § 75 *oo*.—On the *plur. masc. ptcp. Niph.* cf. § 93 *oo*.

*k* 4. Frequently an א which is quiescent is omitted in writing (§ 23 *f*): (a) in the middle of the word, e.g. בָּנוּ 1 S 25<sup>8</sup>; מַצְתִּי Nu 11<sup>11</sup>, cf. Jb 1<sup>21</sup>; צִמְתִּי Ju 4<sup>19</sup>, cf. Jb 32<sup>18</sup>. In the *imperfect* תִּשְׁנֶה Jer 9<sup>17</sup>, Zc 5<sup>9</sup>, Ru 1<sup>14</sup> (but the same form occurs with *Yōdh* pleonastic after the manner of verbs ל"ה in Ez 23<sup>49</sup>, according to the common reading; cf. § 76 *b* and Jer 50<sup>20</sup>); in *Piel* אֶחְפְּנֶה (after elision of the א, cf. § 75 *oo*) Gn 31<sup>39</sup>; and also in *Niph'al* אֶחְפְּנֶה Lv 11<sup>43</sup>; cf. Jos 2<sup>16</sup>. (b) at the end of the word; וִיבוּ 1 K 12<sup>12</sup> *Kethibh*; *Hiph'il* הִחְלִי the *perfect Hiph'il* חָלָה formed

after the manner of verbs א"ל); in the *imperfect* Hiph'il *יָשִׁי* ψ 55<sup>18</sup> *Kethibh*; יָנִי ψ 141<sup>5</sup>; אָבִי 1 K 21<sup>19</sup>, Mi 1<sup>15</sup>; in the *infinitive*, Jer 32<sup>35</sup>; in the *participle*, 2 S 5<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>21</sup>, Jer 19<sup>15</sup>, 39<sup>6</sup>, all in *Kethibh* (מְבִי, always before א, hence perhaps only a scribal error).

5. In the *jussive*, *imperfect consecutive*, and *imperative* Hiph'il a number of cases *l* occur with *i* in the final syllable; cf. יָשָׁא Is 36<sup>14</sup> (in the parallel passages 2 K 18<sup>29</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>15</sup> יָשָׁא); וְיָבִיא Neh 8<sup>2</sup> (before *y*); וְיַחַטֵּא 2 K 21<sup>11</sup> (cf. 1 K 16<sup>2</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>); וְיַחַטֵּא 2 K 6<sup>29</sup>; וְיִוצֵא Dt 4<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>12</sup>, ψ 78<sup>16</sup>, 105<sup>43</sup>; *imperative* הָבִיא Jer 17<sup>18</sup>; הוֹצִיא Is 43<sup>8</sup> (in both cases before *y*). If the tradition be correct (which at least in the defectively written forms appears very doubtful) the retention of the *i* is to be attributed to the open syllable; while in the closed syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc. and fem.*, and the 2nd *sing. masc.* after *ו* consecutive, the *i* is always reduced to *e*. In the examples before *y* considerations of euphony may also have had some influence (cf. § 75 *hh*).—In Ez 40<sup>3</sup>, Baer reads with the Western school וְיַבִּיא, while the Orientals read in the *Kethibh* ויבוא, and in the *Qere* ויבא.

On the transition of verbs א"ל to forms of ה"ל see § 75 *nn*.

### § 75. Verbs ה"ל, e.g. גָּלָה to reveal. Paradigm P.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 149 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 618 ff.—G. R. Berry, 'Original Waw in ה"ל verbs' in *AJSL*. xx. 256 f.

These verbs, like the verbs פ"י (§§ 69, 70), belong to two different *a* classes, viz. those originally ה"ל and those originally ה"י, which in Arabic, and even more in Ethiopic, are still clearly distinguished. In Hebrew, instead of the original ו or י at the end of the word, a ה always appears (except in the *ptcp. pass. Qal*) as a purely orthographic indication of a final vowel (§ 23 *k*); hence both classes are called ה"ל, e.g. גָּלָה for גָּלַי *he has revealed*; שָׁלָה for שָׁלַי *he has rested*. By far the greater number of these verbs are, however, treated as originally ה"י; only isolated forms occur of verbs ה"ל.

שָׁלָה to be at rest may be recognized as originally ה"ל, in the forms in which *l* the *Wāw* appears as a strong consonant, cf. 1st *sing. perfect Qal* שָׁלַחְתִּי Jb 3<sup>26</sup>, the *participle* שָׁלֹחַ and the derivative שָׁלָחָה *rest*; on the other hand the *imperfect* is יִשְׁלִי (with *Yōdh*). In עָנָה (Arab. عَنِ) to answer, and עָנָה (Arab. عَنِ) <sup>2</sup> to be afflicted, are to be seen two verbs originally distinct, which have been assimilated in Hebrew (see the *Lexicon*, s. v. עָנָה).

<sup>1</sup> According to Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba' in his *Skizzen*, vi. p. 255 ff., the ה"ל verbs, apart from some true ה"ל and some probable ה"י, are to be regarded as originally biliteral. To compensate for their arrested development they lengthened the vowel after the 2nd radical, as the ה"י verbs did after the 1st radical. But although there is much to be said for this view, it fails to explain pausal forms like חָסְתָּה (see *u*). It seems impossible that these should all be late formations.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Mēša'* inscription, line 5, ויענו and he oppressed occurs as 3rd *sing. masc. imperfect Pi'el*, and in line 6, אענו I will oppress as 1st *sing.*

Of quite a different class are those verbs of which the third radical is a *consonantal* ה (distinguished by *Mappiq*). These are inflected throughout like verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*. Cf. § 65 note on the heading.

**C** The grammatical structure of verbs ה"ל (see *Paradigm P*) is based on the following laws:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would stand at the end of the word, it is dropped (cf. § 24 *g*) and ה takes its place as an orthographic indication of the preceding long vowel. Such an indication would have been indispensable, on practical grounds, in the still unvocalized consonantal text. But even after the addition of the vowel signs, the orthographic rule remained, with insignificant exceptions (see § 8 *k*, and *ā* in הַיְיִת, &c.), that a final vowel must be indicated by a vowel letter. In verbs ה"ל the ה which is here employed as a vowel letter is preceded by the same vowel in the same part of the verb throughout all the conjugations. Thus the endings are—

ה־ in all perfects, הָה, הֵה, הֶה, &c.

ה־ in all imperfects and participles, הֵה, הֶה, &c.

ה־ in all imperatives, הֵה, הֶה, &c.

ה־ in the infinitive absolute (הֵה, &c.), except in *Hiph'ûl*, *Hoph'ûl*, and generally also *Pi'ûl*, see *aa* and *ff*.

The *participle passive Qal* alone forms an exception, the original י (or ו, see *v*) reappearing at the end, הַיִּי, and so also some derived nouns (§ 84<sup>a</sup>, *c*, *e*, &c.).

The *infinitive construct* always has the ending וְ (with ה *feminine*); *Qal* הַיִּו, *Pi'ûl* הַיִּו, &c.; for exceptions, see *n* and *y*.

**d** These forms may be explained as follows:—in the *perfect Qal* הָה stands, according to the above, for (י)ה, and, similarly, in *Niph'ûl*, *Pu'ûl*, and *Hoph'ûl*. The *Pi'ûl* and *Hithpa'ûl* may be based on the forms הַיִּי, הַיִּי (§ 52 *l*; and § 54 *k*), and *Hiph'ûl* on the form הַיִּי, on the analogy of the *ā* in the second syllable of the Arabic *âqtālā* (§ 53 *a*). Perhaps, however, the final *ā* of these conjugations simply follows the analogy of the other conjugations.

**e** The explanation of the final tone-bearing ה־ of the *imperfect* is still a matter of dispute. As to the various treatments of it, see Barth, *Nominalbildung*, i. p. xxx ff., with § 136. Rem., and *ZDMG*. xlv. 695 f., against Philippi's objections in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 356 f.; also *ZDMG*. lvi. 244, where Barth appeals to the rule that, in the period before the differentiation of the North Semitic dialects, final *iy* becomes ה־ (*constr.* ה־), not *i*; M. Lambert, *Journ. Asiat.* 1893, p. 285; Prætorius, *ZDMG*. lv. 365. The most probable explanation now seems to be, first, that the uniform pronunciation of all imperfects and participles with *S'ghôl* in the last syllable merely follows the analogy of the *impf. Qal*, and secondly, that the *S'ghôl* of the *impf. Qal* does perhaps ultimately represent a contraction of the original termination י־ (= *ai*), although elsewhere (e.g. in the *imperative* of ה"ל) *ai* is usually contracted to *ê*.



*k* 5. Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs ל"ה is the rejection of the ending ה־ in forming the *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive*. This shortening curs in all the conjugations, and sometimes also involves further changes in the vocalization (see *o*, *y*, *bb*, *gg*). Similarly, in some conjugations a *shortened imperative* (cf. § 48 *k*) is formed by *apocope* of the final ה־ (see *cc*, *gg*).

*l* 6. The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending ה־ serves in verbs ל"ה to express the cohortative also (§ 48 *e*); cf. Gn 1<sup>26</sup>, 2<sup>18</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17</sup>, &c. With a final ה־ there occur only: in *Qal*, אֶשְׁעָה ψ 119<sup>117</sup>, אֶהְיֶה (with the ' retained, see below, *u*) ψ 77<sup>4</sup>; and in *Hithpa'el* וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה Is 41<sup>23</sup> (with *Tiphḥa*, therefore in lesser pause).

## REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

*m* 1. The older form of the *fem.* of the 3rd *sing. perf.* עָשָׂתָּ, mentioned above, under *i* (cf. § 74 *g*), is preserved in עָשִׂיתָ (before א) Lv 25<sup>21</sup> (cf. 2 K 9<sup>37</sup> *Keshibh*)<sup>1</sup>; likewise in *Hiph'il* הִרְצִיתָ (before א) Lv 26<sup>34</sup>; הִלָּאתָ Ez 24<sup>12</sup>; and in *Hoph'al* הִנָּלְתָּ (before י) Jer 13<sup>19</sup>.—The 2nd *sing. fem.* is also written יָתָּ; thus in the *textus receptus* וְהָיִיתָ 2 S 14<sup>2</sup>, and always in Baer's editions (since 1872), as in most other verbs; הָיִיתָ and גָּלִיתָ Is 57<sup>8</sup>; עָשִׂיתָ Jer 2<sup>23</sup>, Ez 16<sup>43</sup>, &c. (so הוֹצִאתָ 1 K 17<sup>13</sup> from יָצָא). In the 3rd *pers. plur.* the tone, instead of keeping its usual place (גָּלוּ, &c.), is retracted in ψ 37<sup>20</sup>, בָּלוּ, both on account of the *paize* and also in *rhythmical antithesis* to the preceding בָּלוּ; also in Is 16<sup>8</sup> תָּעֵז (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with נָעֵזוּ); and in Jb 24<sup>1</sup> תָּעֵז.—On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49 *k*.

*n* 2. The *infin. absol.* frequently has ה־ (probably a survival of the older orthography) for ה־, e. g. הָיוּ Gn 18<sup>18</sup>; עָשָׂו Jer 4<sup>15</sup>, &c., Ez 31<sup>11</sup>; קָנוּ 2 S 24<sup>24</sup>; רָאוּ Gn 26<sup>28</sup>, Is 6<sup>9</sup> (cf. 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>), &c., beside רָאָה. The form שָׁתוּ Is 22<sup>13</sup> (beside שָׁתוּ in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to שָׁחַט; so in Is 42<sup>20</sup> *Q're* and Ho 10<sup>4</sup>, אָלוּ (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*) and בָּרוּ; cf. also עָרוּ Hb 3<sup>13</sup>.—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* גָּלוּ such forms are occasionally found as גָּלוּ or גָּלוּ, cf. רָאָה Gn 48<sup>11</sup>; קָנוּ Pr 16<sup>16</sup>; עָשָׂה Gn 50<sup>20</sup>, ψ 101<sup>3</sup>, also עָשָׂו Gn 31<sup>28</sup> (cf. Pr 31<sup>4</sup>), and even with the *suffix* הָ the very remarkable form עָשָׂהוּ Ex 18<sup>18</sup>.<sup>2</sup>—The feminine form רָאוּהָ (for רָאוּתָּ) Ez 28<sup>17</sup>, analogous to nouns like גָּאוּהָ (cf. § 45 *d*), is strange, but הָיָה as *infin.* Ez 21<sup>15</sup> is quite inexplicable.—The forms הָיוּ and הָיוּ Is 59<sup>13</sup> are perhaps to be regarded with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 51 *a*, as *infinitives absolute* of the *passive* of *Qal* (see above, § 53 *u*), not of *P's'el*.—The 2nd *sing. masc. imperative* וְהִיָּה occurs in the principal pause in Pr 4<sup>4</sup> and 7<sup>2</sup>; but

<sup>1</sup> In the Siloam inscription also (see above, § 2 *d*), line 3, הִיתָ may be read הִיתָ quite as well as הִיתָ.

<sup>2</sup> All these infinitives construct in *o*, in the Pentateuch, belong to the document called E; cf. § 69 *m*, second note.

probably these forms are simply to be attributed to a Masoretic school, which in general marked the difference between certain forms by the use of *ê* for *ē*, and conversely *ē* for *ê*; cf. the analogous examples in § 52 n, and especially § 75 hh, also Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 17, 2, Rem. 1.—On the reading *וְיִרְאֶינָה* Ct 3<sup>11</sup> (for *וְיִרְאֵינָה*, on the analogy of the reading *וְיִצְאֶנָה*, &c., § 74 h), see Baer's note on the passage.

3. The shortening of the imperfect (see above, k, and the note on hh) occasions O in Qal the following changes:

(a) As a rule the first radical takes a helping *Sēghôl*, or, if the second radical is a guttural, a helping *Pathah* (according to § 28 e). Thus *וְיָבֹוּ* for *וְיָבֹל* and he despised, Gn 25<sup>34</sup>; *וְיָבֹוּ* and he built; *וְיִשְׁעוּ* he looks; *וְיָמַח* and he destroyed, Gn 7<sup>23</sup>.

(b) The *î* of the preformative is then sometimes lengthened to *ē*, e.g. *וְיָרָא* *P* he sees. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative *ת*, whilst after *י* the homogeneous *î* remains, e.g. *וְיָתְבֹל* (but *וְיָתְבֹל*), *וְיָתְפֹן* (but *וְיָתְפֹן*), *וְיָתְרֹב* (but *וְיָתְרֹב*); with middle guttural *וְיָתְרֹב*, *וְיָתְרֹב* Jb 17<sup>7</sup> (from *וְיָתְרֹב*). The unusual position of the tone in *וְיָתְרֹב* Ze 9<sup>8</sup>, *וְיָתְרֹב* Mi 7<sup>10</sup> (so Baer and Ginsb.; ed. Mant. *וְיָתְרֹב*) is best explained (except in *וְיָתְרֹב* Gn 41<sup>33</sup>, before *פ*) on the analogy of *וְיָתְרֹב*, &c., § 72 s, as due to the following *א*. But cf. also hh.

(c) The helping vowel is elsewhere not used under the circumstances mentioned in § 28 d; *וְיָשָׁב* Nu 21<sup>1</sup>, Jer 41<sup>10</sup>, cf. *וְיָשָׁב* Jb 31<sup>27</sup>; on the other hand, with *î* lengthened into *ē* (see p) *וְיָשָׁב*, *וְיָבֹוּ*, *וְיָרָא*. The form *וְיָרָא* he sees, occurs parallel with *וְיָרָא* and he saw (but 3rd fem. always *וְיָרָא*), the latter with the original *Pathah* on account of the following *ר*, and identical with the 3rd sing. masc. of the imperf. consec. *Hiph'il*, 2 K 11<sup>4</sup>.

(d) Examples of verbs *primae gutturalis* (§ 63), and at the same time *ל"ה*, *ר* are *וְיָעַשׂ*, in pause *וְיָעַשׂ* and he made, from *עָשָׂה*; *וְיָעַן* and he answered, from *עָנָה* (always identical with the corresponding forms in *Hiph'il*), *וְיָחַץ* and he divided, from *חָצַח*. On some similar forms of *פ"א* see § 76 d.—In the following cases the initial (hard) guttural does not affect the form: *וְיָחַר* and he was wroth, *וְיָחַן* and he encamped (3rd plur. *וְיָחַנו*), *וְיָחַד* (with *Dageš lene* and *Šewā*) let i rejoice, Jb 3<sup>6</sup>; cf. Ex 18<sup>9</sup>.—On *וְיָיִט*, *וְיָיִן* (*ל"ה* as well as *פ"א*), &c., see § 76 b, c, f.

(e) The verbs *וְיָחַד* to be, and *וְיָחַד* to live, of which the shortened imperfects *ס* ought to be *yihy* and *yihy*, change these forms to *יָחַי* and *יָחַי*, the second *Yôdh* being resolved into *î* at the end of the word; but in pause (§ 29 n) *וְיָחַי*, *וְיָחַי*, with the original *ā* modified to *Sēghôl* with the tone (cf. also nouns like *בָּכִי* for *bakhy*. in pause *וְיָחַי*, *וְיָחַי* for *ōny*, &c., § 84<sup>a</sup> c, and § 93 x). For *וְיָחַי*, however, in Dt 32<sup>18</sup>, since no verb *וְיָחַי* exists, we must read either *וְיָחַי*, or better *וְיָחַי* (Samaritan *וְיָחַי*), as imperfect Qal of *נָשָׂה* to forget.—Analogous to *יָחַי* from *יָחַי*, there occurs once, from *וְיָחַי* to be, the form *וְיָחַי* he will be, Ec 11<sup>3</sup>, but no doubt *וְיָחַי* is the right reading.

The full forms (without apocope of the *ו*, cf. § 49 c) not infrequently *י* occur after *wāw* consecutive, especially in the 1st pers. and in the later books, e.g. *וְיָרָא* and I saw, twenty times, and Jos 7<sup>21</sup> in *Ke'thibh*, but never in the Pentateuch (*וְיָרָא* fifteen times, of which three are in the Pent.); also in the

3rd pers. **וַיַּעַשׂ** Ez 18<sup>28</sup>, Jb 42<sup>16</sup> *Qere*; **וַיַּעַשׂ** and *he made*, four times (but **וַיַּעַשׂ** over 200 times); cf. also Ju 19<sup>2</sup> (**וַתַּעֲשֶׂה**); 1 K 10<sup>29</sup> (**וַתַּעֲשֶׂה**); Dt 1<sup>16</sup> (**וַתַּעֲשֶׂה**), and Gn 24<sup>48</sup>. So also occasionally for the *jussive*, cf. Gn 1<sup>3</sup>, 41<sup>34</sup>, Jer 28<sup>9</sup>.—For the well attested, but meaningless **וַתִּירָא** Jb 6<sup>21</sup> (doubtless caused by the following **וַתִּירָא**), read **וַתִּירָא** *ye see*, with Ginsburg.

u 4. The original *y* sometimes appears even before affirmatives beginning with a vowel (cf. above, *h* and *l*), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending **ִם**—, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. *Perfect* **וַתֵּשֶׁב** ψ 57<sup>2</sup>, **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Dt 32<sup>27</sup>, cf. ψ 73<sup>2</sup> *Qere*; *imperative* **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Is 21<sup>12</sup>. *Imperfect* **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Jb 16<sup>22</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup> (without the *pause*, ψ 68<sup>32</sup>); **וַתֵּשֶׁב** ψ 122<sup>6</sup>, Jb 12<sup>6</sup>, cf. ψ 77<sup>4</sup>; **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Dt 8<sup>13</sup>; ψ 36<sup>9</sup>: more frequently like **וַתֵּשֶׁב** ψ 75<sup>44</sup>; Is 17<sup>12</sup>, 21<sup>12</sup>, 26<sup>11</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>7</sup>, 41<sup>5</sup>, ψ 36<sup>8</sup>, 39<sup>7</sup>, 83<sup>3</sup>; before a suffix, Jb 3<sup>26</sup>. Also in Pr 26<sup>7</sup> **וַתֵּשֶׁב**, as *perf. Qal* from **וַתֵּשֶׁב**, was perhaps originally intended, but hardly **וַתֵּשֶׁב**, since these full forms, though they may stand out of *pause*, do not begin sentences; **וַתֵּשֶׁב** probably points to **וַתֵּשֶׁב** from **וַתֵּשֶׁב** as the right reading, since the sense requires an intransitive verb. Cf. further, *v*, *x*, *dd*, *gg*.

u 5. The *participle active* (cf. Vollers, 'Das Qatil-Partizipium,' ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff., and on the participles of **ל**, *ibid.*, p. 316 ff.), besides feminine forms like **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Ju 20<sup>21</sup>, &c., **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Pr 20<sup>12</sup>, has also a *feminine* which retains the 3rd radical *y*, viz. **וַתֵּשֶׁב** (= **וַתֵּשֶׁב**) *weeping*, La 1<sup>16</sup>; **וַתֵּשֶׁב** *tumultuous*, Is 22<sup>2</sup> (*plur.* Pr 1<sup>21</sup>); **וַתֵּשֶׁב** *spying*, Pr 31<sup>27</sup>, **וַתֵּשֶׁב** *fruitful*, ψ 128<sup>3</sup>, *plur.* **וַתֵּשֶׁב** *the things that are to come*, Is 41<sup>23</sup>. With the ordinary strong inflexion *y* appears in **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Ct 1<sup>7</sup>, but perhaps there also **וַתֵּשֶׁב** was intended, unless it should be **וַתֵּשֶׁב** *a wanderer*. For **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Is 47<sup>10</sup>, **וַתֵּשֶׁב** is to be read.—On **וַתֵּשֶׁב** 1 K 20<sup>40</sup> for **וַתֵּשֶׁב**, cf. § 116 *g*, note.—In the *participle passive* the 3rd radical still sometimes appears as *y* (§ 24 *b*), cf. **וַתֵּשֶׁב** *made*, Jb 41<sup>25</sup>, **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Jb 15<sup>22</sup>, contracted from **וַתֵּשֶׁב**, **וַתֵּשֶׁב**; and before a formative ending, it even has its consonantal sound, **וַתֵּשֶׁב** (read **וַתֵּשֶׁב**) 2 K 23<sup>4</sup>; **וַתֵּשֶׁב** (read **וַתֵּשֶׁב**) 1 S 25<sup>18</sup> *Kethibh*, **וַתֵּשֶׁב** (read **וַתֵּשֶׁב**) Is 3<sup>16</sup> *Kethibh*. The shortening of the *u* in **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Est 2<sup>9</sup> is irregular.

w 6. The defective writing is rare in such forms as **וַתֵּשֶׁב** 2 S 15<sup>33</sup>; **וַתֵּשֶׁב** 1 K 8<sup>44</sup>, cf. 1 K 9<sup>8</sup>; **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Ex 2<sup>16</sup> (cf. Jer 18<sup>21</sup>, 48<sup>6</sup>, 1 Ch 17<sup>13</sup>, Jb 17<sup>5</sup>, &c.), and the pronunciation **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, cf. **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Ju 5<sup>29</sup> (unless they are *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3rd *sing. fem.*). Both cases are probably to be explained according to § 20 *i*.

## II. On Niph'al.

x 7. Here the forms with *y* in the 1st and 2nd *pers. sing.* of the *perfect* predominate (*y* only in **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Gn 24<sup>8</sup>); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always *y*, as **וַתֵּשֶׁב** 1 S 14<sup>8</sup>. No examples of the 2nd *plur.* occur.—With *y* retained in *pause* **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Nu 24<sup>6</sup>; once with an initial guttural **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Ct 1<sup>6</sup> for **וַתֵּשֶׁב**, probably arising from the ordinary strong form *nihru*, but the harshness of *n* immediately followed by *r* is avoided by pronouncing the *n* with *Hateph-Pathah*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* **וַתֵּשֶׁב** Pr 27<sup>15</sup> (in *pause* for **וַתֵּשֶׁב**) *ו* and *n* may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read **וַתֵּשֶׁב**.—Among Niph'al forms of **וַתֵּשֶׁב** must be classed, with Buxtorf and

others (cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxx. 185), נִאֲוָה from נִאָוָה, not Pi'lel of נִאָו = נִאָו; hence, according to § 23 d, נִאָוָה they are beautiful (for נִאָוָה) Is 52<sup>7</sup>, Ct 11<sup>10</sup>; but in ψ 93<sup>5</sup>, where Baer requires נִאָוָה, read נִאָוָה with ed. Mant., Ginsb.

8. The apocope of the *imperfect* causes no further changes beyond the rejection *y* of the ה, e.g. יָנַל from יָנַלָה; in one verb *middle guttural*, however, a form occurs with the *Qameṣ* shortened to *Pathah*, viz. יָמַח (for יָמַח) ψ 109<sup>13</sup>, as in verbs ע"ע; but in *pause* הָמַח verse 14. Cf. bb.—The *infinitive absolute* נִגְלִית emphasizing an *infinitive construct*, 2 S 6<sup>20</sup>, is very extraordinary; probably it is a subsequent correction of an erroneous repetition of הנגלות.—The *inf.* constr. לְחַרְאָה occurs in Ju 13<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>21</sup> for לְהִרְאָת; cf. above, n.—On the *infinitive Niph'al* with the ה elided, see § 51 l.—The irregular הָעֵלָה Ez 36<sup>3</sup> has probably arisen from a combination of the readings הָעֵלָה (*Qal*) and הָעֵלָה (*Niph'al*). Similarly the solecism נִמְכְּרוּ 1 S 15<sup>9</sup> might be due to a combination of the *participle fem. Niph'al* נִמְכְּרָה, cf. נִחְלָה, נִחְפָה, נִעֲשָׂה with the *Hoph'al* (מְכֹרָה); but it is more correct, with Wellhausen, to explain the מ from a confusion with נָמַס and to read, in fact, נִבְּחוּ וְנִמְאַסְתָּ.

### III. On Pi'el, Pô'el, Pu'al, and Hithpa'el.

9. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the *perfect Pi'el* the second syllable in *z* most of the instances has ' on the analogy of *Qal* (see f), as קָוִיתִי, דָּפִיתִי (see f), always so in the first *plur.*, and before *suffixes*, e.g. כָּפִינוּ Gn 37<sup>28</sup>, דְּבִיתָנוּ ψ 44<sup>20</sup>. The form with ' is found only in the 1st *sing.* (e.g. Jo 4<sup>21</sup>; Is 5<sup>4</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup> along with the form with *i*). On the tone of the *perf. consec. Pi'el* of ל"ה, see § 49 k.—*Hithpa'el* has (besides ' Jer 17<sup>16</sup>) as a rule ' (Pr 24<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, Jer 50<sup>24</sup>). On the other hand, *Pu'al* always has ' , e.g. עָשִׂיתִי ψ 139<sup>15</sup>.—A 1st *sing. perfect Pô'el* שִׁוִּיתִי (= שִׁוִּיתִי) occurs in Is 10<sup>13</sup>.

10. The *infinitive absolute Pi'el* takes the form כָּלָה, קָוָה (like כָּפַל, the more *aa* frequent form even in the strong verb, see § 52 o); with *o* only in ψ 40<sup>2</sup> קָוָה; with *oth* Hb 3<sup>13</sup> עָוִית (cf. above, n). On הָוָו and הָוָו, *infinitives absolute* of the passive of *Qal*, not of *Pô'el*, see above, n.—As *infinitive construct* חָכִי occurs in *Pi'el*, Ho 6<sup>9</sup> (only orthographically different from חָכָה, if the text is correct); לָכֵלָה Dn 9<sup>24</sup> (on the *s* see rr); עָרַלְכֵלָה 2 Ch 24<sup>10</sup>, 31, for which in 2 K 13<sup>17,19</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>14</sup> עָרַלְכֵלָה with *inf.* *abs.*; in *Pu'al* עָנוֹת ψ 132<sup>1</sup>.

11. The apocopated *imperfect* must (according to § 20 l) lose the *Dageš forte* *bb* of the second radical, hence וַיִּצַּו and he commanded, הָעָרַ (for הָעָרָה = *h'arrè*) ψ 141<sup>8</sup>; cf. Gn 24<sup>20</sup>; even in the principal pause אֶל־תִּגְלַל Pr 25<sup>9</sup>; *Hithpa'el* וַיִּתְּצֵל and he uncovered himself, Gn 9<sup>21</sup>; וַיִּתְּצֵל Pr 22<sup>24</sup>; cf. ψ 37<sup>1,7,8</sup>. With the lengthening of *Pathah* to *Qameṣ*, וַיִּתְּצֵל and he made marks, 1 S 21<sup>14</sup> (but read with Thenius וַיִּתְּצֵל, and instead of the meaningless וַיִּשְׁנֵל *ibid.* read וַיִּשְׁנֵל). In *Hithpa'el* אֶל־תִּתְּצֵל, in close connexion, Dt 2<sup>9,19</sup>; תִּשְׁתַּעַץ Is 41<sup>10</sup>; according to Qimhi also וַיִּתְּצֵל, וַיִּתְּצֵל ψ 45<sup>12</sup>, Pr 23<sup>5,6</sup>, 24<sup>1</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>17</sup>, whilst Baer and Ginsburg read with the best authorities וַיִּתְּצֵל, וַיִּתְּצֵל (but cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 597).<sup>1</sup>—On וַיִּתְּצֵל Jb 15<sup>17</sup> (for וַיִּתְּצֵל) cf. § 20 m; on וַיִּתְּצֵל Ex 33<sup>3</sup>, see § 27 q;

<sup>1</sup> In Nu 34<sup>7 f</sup>, according to verse 10, וַיִּתְּצֵל (= וַיִּתְּצֵל) is intended to be read for וַיִּתְּצֵל (*imperfect Pi'el* from וַיִּתְּצֵל).

on יָרָר Ju 5<sup>13</sup>, see § 69 g. Finally, on דָּלִי, which is referred to *Pi'el* by some, as a supposed *imperative*, see above, u.

- CC 12. Examples of apocopated imperatives in *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* are: צִו, also צִוָּה *command thou*, פָּל open thou, ψ 119<sup>18,22</sup>; מִן prepare thou, ψ 61<sup>8</sup>; נִס prove thou, Dn 1<sup>12</sup>; הִתְחַל feign thyself sick, 2 S 13<sup>5</sup>; cf. Dt 2<sup>24</sup>.—On רָבָה Ju 9<sup>29</sup>, cf. § 48 l.—In ψ 137<sup>7</sup> עָרָר raise it, is found twice instead of עָרָו (for *arrû*) for rhythmical reasons (cf., however, וַיַּעֲרָר in the *imperfect*, 2 Ch 24<sup>11</sup>).

- dd 13. Examples of forms in which the *Yôdh* is retained are the *imperfects* הִרְמִיץ Is 40<sup>18</sup>, cf. verse 25 and 46<sup>6</sup>; יִכְסִימוּ they cover them, Ex 15<sup>5</sup>; *participle* פֹּאֵל Pu'al מִמְחִים Is 25<sup>6</sup>; for אֲרִיָּה Is 16<sup>9</sup> (from רָוָה) read with Margolis, אֲרִיָּה.

#### IV. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

- cc 14. The 3rd sing. perfect *Hiph'il* sometimes has *S'ghôl* in the first syllable instead of *i* (§ 53 p), especially in הִנֵּלָה (but perfect consecutive וְהִנֵּלָה 2 K 24<sup>14</sup>), הִרְאָה, הִלְאָה; also with suffixes, e.g. הִנֵּלְמָ 1 Ch 8<sup>7</sup>, הִלְאֵנִי Jb 16<sup>7</sup>, וְהִפְדָּה Ex 21<sup>8</sup>. The *S'ghôl* also occurs in the 1st sing., e.g. הִלְאֵתִיךְ Mi 6<sup>3</sup>. On וְהִרְאֵיתִי Na 3<sup>5</sup>, cf. § 53 p. The forms with *e* in the second syllable (also written defectively, as וְהִפְתִּי Jer 21<sup>6</sup>) are found throughout in the 1st sing. (except Pr 5<sup>13</sup>), rarely in the 2nd sing. masc., and never in the 1st plur. In the other persons they are about equally common with *i*, except in the 2nd plur., where *i* predominates. Before suffixes the forms with *i* predominate throughout; cf., however, *e* in Ex 4<sup>12</sup>, Mi 6<sup>3</sup>, Pr 4<sup>11</sup>. On the tone of the perf. consec. *Hiph.* of לָהֵא, see § 49 k. In *Hoph'al* only י occurs in the 2nd syllable.

- ff 15. In the infinitive *Hiph'il* of רָבָה to be abundant, besides the construct הרְבֹה we find the absolute הִרְבָּה taking the place of the common form הִרְבָּה, which had come to be used invariably (but König calls attention to its use as infinitive construct in Ez 21<sup>20</sup>) as an adverb, in the sense of much; in 2 S 14<sup>11</sup> the *Q're* requires הִרְבָּה for the *Kethibh* הִרְבִּית, an evident scribal error for הִרְבֹּה. Cf. Gn 41<sup>40</sup>, 22<sup>17</sup>, Dt 28<sup>63</sup>; the pointing הִרְבָּה Jer 42<sup>2</sup> probably arises from regarding this form as a noun.—On הִמְרוֹת Jb 17<sup>2</sup> (with Dageš f. *dirimens*) see § 20 h.—In 2 K 3<sup>24</sup> הִבֹּת (before א) is probably infinitive absolute, used in order to avoid the hiatus, cf. § 113 x, and on a similar case in *Qal*, see above, n.—On the infinitives with elision of the ה, cf. § 53 g.

- gg 16. The shortened imperfect *Hiph'il* either takes no helping vowel, as יַפֵּה let him enlarge, Gn 9<sup>27</sup>; יִרְדַּה he shall subdue, Is 41<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּשֶׁק and he watered, Gn 29<sup>10</sup>, &c.; וַיִּרְאֵה and he showed, 2 K 11<sup>4</sup> (see § 28 d): or else has a helping vowel, as יִגְלֵה (for יִגְלֵה, see § 27 r), e.g. 2 K 18<sup>11</sup>; וַיִּפְרַח ψ 105<sup>24</sup>; וַיִּתְמַר Ez 5<sup>6</sup>; וַיִּתְעַ 2 Ch 33<sup>9</sup>; וַיִּרְבַּ i.e. probably וַיִּרְבֵּה Jos 24<sup>3</sup> *Kethibh* וַיִּרְבֵּה *Q're*).—Examples of verbs first guttural: וַיַּעַל Nu 23<sup>2</sup>, וַיַּעֲלֵה, &c., which can be distinguished as *Hiph'il* from the similar forms in *Qal* only by the sense.—The apocopated imperative *Hiph'il* always (except in verbs פִּץ, e.g. הָפֵץ, § 76 c) has a helping vowel, *S'ghôl* or *Pathah*, e.g. הִרְבֵּה increase thou (for *harb*, הִרְבָּה, ψ 51<sup>4</sup> *Q're*, also Ju 20<sup>38</sup>; where, however, it cannot be explained the text stands; הִרְבֵּה let alone (for הִרְבָּה, הִרְבָּה Dt 9<sup>14</sup>, &c.; הִעֲלֵה (for הִעֲלָה) Ex 8<sup>1</sup>, 33<sup>12</sup>; but for הִשַּׁע ψ 39<sup>14</sup>, which could only be imperative *Hiph'il* of שָׁעַע (= smear over, as in Is 6<sup>10</sup>), read with Baethgen שָׁעָה look away.—The imperfect *Hiph'il* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in תוֹנִין Jb 19<sup>3</sup>, from יָנָה. Cf. u.

## V. In General.

17. In Aramaic the *imperfect* and *participle* of all the conjugations terminate *hh* in *hh* or *hh*. The Hebrew infinitives, imperatives, and imperfects in *hh*, less frequently *hh* or *hh*, may be due to imitation of these forms. On the infinitive construct *Pi'el* *hh*, see above, aa; imperative *Qal* *hh* Jb 37<sup>6</sup> (in the sense of *fall*); imperfect *hh* let him look out, Gn 41<sup>33</sup> (but see above, p); *hh* he will do, Is 64<sup>3</sup>; *hh* Jer 17<sup>17</sup>; *hh* consent thou not, Pr 1<sup>10</sup>; *hh* do thou not, 2 S 13<sup>12</sup> (the same form in Gn 26<sup>29</sup>, Jos 7<sup>9</sup>, Jer 40<sup>16</sup> *Qere*); *hh* (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) *I will be*, Jer 31<sup>1</sup>; *hh* Jos 9<sup>24</sup>; *hh* Dn 1<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also in *Niph'al* *hh* Lv 5<sup>9</sup>; *hh* (according to Qimhi) Nu 21<sup>27</sup>; in *Pi'el* *hh* Lv 18<sup>7, 12-17</sup>, 20<sup>19</sup>, in each case *hh*, beside *hh* with a minor distinctive; *hh* (Baer *hh*) Na 1<sup>3</sup>; *hh* Ez 5<sup>12</sup> (with *Zaqeph*; Baer *hh*). The fact, however, that a great number of these forms occur in *pause* and represent at the same time a *jussive* or *voluntative* (Jos 7<sup>9</sup>), suggests the view that the *Sere* is used merely to increase the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to make a distinction in sound between the *jussive* or *voluntative* and the ordinary *imperfect*.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere (Gn 26<sup>29</sup>, Lv 5<sup>9</sup>, Jer 40<sup>16</sup>, Dn 1<sup>13</sup>; according to Baer also Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, Zc 9<sup>9</sup>) the pronunciation with *e* is probably intended to soften the hiatus caused by a following *hh* or *y*; cf. the analogous cases above, § 74 l.

The ending *hh* appears to stand for *hh* in the *imperfect Qal* in *hh* and there hath she played the harlot, Jer 3<sup>6</sup>; perhaps, however, the 2nd sing. fem. is intended, or it may have been introduced into the text of Jeremiah from Ez 16<sup>15</sup>, &c. Still more strange is it in the *imperfect Hiph'il* *hh* Jer 18<sup>23</sup>; but the *Mi'el*-tone probably points to *hh* as the correct reading (cf. Neh 13<sup>14</sup>). The *hh* stands for *hh* in the *perfect Hiph'il* *hh* he made sick, Is 53<sup>10</sup>, which is probably for *hh* from *hh*, a secondary form of *hh*; see rr. The plur. *hh* (Baer *hh*) they made to melt, Jos 14<sup>8</sup>, is a purely Aramaic form.

18. In two verbs the rare conjugation *Pa'el* or its reflexive (§ 55 d) occurs: *hh* archers, Gn 21<sup>16</sup> (from *hh*); but most frequently in *hh* to bend, *Pa'el* *hh* not in use, whence reflexive *hh* to bow oneself, to prostrate oneself, 2nd pers. in *hh* and 1st pers. in *hh*, *imperfect* *hh*, consecutive 3rd sing. masc. *hh* for *wayyistahw* (analogous to the noun-forms, like *hh* for *sahw*); 3rd plur. *hh*.—Instead of the aramaizing infinitive with suffix *hh* 2 K 5<sup>18</sup> read with König *hh*; in Ez 8<sup>16</sup> *hh* is still more certainly a scribal error for *hh*.

19. Before suffixes in all forms ending in *hh*, a connecting vowel is employed *ll* instead of the *hh* and the connecting vowel which precedes it (§ 58 f), e.g. *hh* Gn 24<sup>27</sup>; in *pause* *hh* 1 K 2<sup>30</sup>, &c., even with lesser disjunctives, *hh* Pr 8<sup>22</sup>, or with a conjunctive accent, 1 S 28<sup>15</sup> (but Baer *hh*, Jb 30<sup>19</sup>; cf. § 59 h; *hh*, in *pause* *hh*, Is 30<sup>19</sup> (and even when not in *pause* Jer 23<sup>37</sup>) or like *hh* Dt 32<sup>6</sup>; *hh*, Gn 28<sup>8</sup>; cf. also *hh*, *imperfect* *hh*, *hh*, *Hiph'il* *hh*, *hh*.

Only very seldom does the *imperat.* or *impf.* end in *hh* before suffixes, e.g. *mm*

<sup>1</sup> Possibly these examples (like the cases of *S'ghol* in *pause*, see n) represent the view of a particular Masoretic school, which was intended to be consistently carried out.

אֶפְיָהֶם Dt 32<sup>26</sup>; יִרְפֵּימוּ ψ 140<sup>10</sup> *Qrê*; הִבֵּינִי smile me, 1 K 20<sup>35,37</sup>; cf. Hb 3<sup>2</sup>, Is 38<sup>16</sup>. Even in these examples a return to the original ending *ay* might be assumed; but perhaps they are merely due to a less correct *plene* writing. In the 3rd sing. *perf. fem.* the older form נָלַח (see i) is always used before a suffix, e. g. בָּלַחַו (for בָּלַחְהוּ) Zc 5<sup>4</sup>; in *pause* עֲשֵׂתִי Jb 33<sup>4</sup>; רָאִתְךָ 42<sup>5</sup>.

## VI. The Relation between Verbs ל"ה and ל"א.

nn 20. The close relation existing between verbs ל"ה and ל"א is shown in Hebrew by the fact that the verbs of one class often borrow forms from the other, especially in the later writers and the poets.

oo 21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל"א—

(a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל"ה, e. g. *perfect Qal* בָּלַאֲתִי I have refrained, ψ 119<sup>101</sup>; *participle* חוֹטֵא (חָטָא) sinning, Ec 2<sup>26</sup>, 8<sup>12</sup>, 9<sup>2,13</sup>; cf. Is 65<sup>20</sup>; מוֹצֵא Ec 7<sup>26</sup>; נוֹשֵׂא lending, 1 S 22<sup>2</sup>; *Pi'el perfect* מָלֵא he has filled, Jer 51<sup>34</sup>; cf. 1 K 9<sup>11</sup>, Am 4<sup>2</sup> (where, however, the *perfect Niph.* is perhaps intended), ψ 89<sup>11</sup>, 143<sup>2</sup>; רָפְאוּ I heal, 2 K 22<sup>1</sup>; cf. Jer 51<sup>9</sup>; *imperfect* יִנְפֵא Jb 39<sup>24</sup>; *Niph'al perfect* נִפְלְאַתָּה (like נִגְלַתָּה) it was wonderful, 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>; *Hiph'il perfect* הִפְלֵא Dt 28<sup>59</sup>; הִחְבֵּאתָה (not אָתָּה—, cf. above, 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>) she hid, Jos 6<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, forms like חָטָאִים 1 S 14<sup>38</sup>, קָרָאִים ψ 99<sup>6</sup>, נִרְפָּאִי Ez 47<sup>8</sup>, הִתְרַפְּאוּנִי, according to the correct reading, Jb 19<sup>2</sup> (cf. Gn 31<sup>39</sup> הִתְחַפְּנָה), and יִרְאוּ *imperative plur. masc.* from יָרָא Jos 24<sup>14</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>24</sup>, ψ 34<sup>10</sup>, are due to the elision of the א, see § 74 i. On יִנְשׂוּא Jer 10<sup>6</sup> and נִשְׂאוּ ψ 139<sup>20</sup>, see § 23 f.

pp (b) Forms in ה, but keeping their ל"א vowels, e. g. *imperfect Qal* אֲרַפָּה Jer 32<sup>2</sup>; *imperative* רַפֵּה heal thou, ψ 60<sup>4</sup>; *Niph'al* נִחְבֶּה Jer 40<sup>10</sup> (which must evidently be a *perfect*; read with Ewald the *infinitive absolute* נִחְבֶּה as in verse 23), and הִחְבֶּה to hide oneself, 1 K 22<sup>25</sup>, cf. Jer 19<sup>11</sup>; *Pi'el imperfect* יִמְלֶה he will fill, Jb 8<sup>21</sup>.

qq (c) Forms entirely of a ל"ה character, e. g. *perfect Qal* וְצַמְתָּ and when thou art athirst, Ru 2<sup>9</sup>, cf. 2 S 3<sup>8</sup>; בָּלוּ they shut up, 1 S 6<sup>10</sup>; cf. 25<sup>33</sup>; מָלוּ they are full, Ez 28<sup>16</sup>, cf. 39<sup>26</sup>; *infinitive* חָטוּ (see above, n) to sin, Gn 20<sup>6</sup> (on מָלֵאת see above, § 74 h); *imperative sing. fem.* חֲבִי Is 26<sup>20</sup>; *imperfect* יִכְלֶה (for יִכְלֵא) he will keep back, Gn 23<sup>6</sup>; תִּרְפְּיָנָה they heal, Jb 5<sup>18</sup>; *participle* בּוֹטֵה Pr 12<sup>18</sup>; *fem.* יִצֵּא Ec 10<sup>6</sup>; *plur.* צִבְיָה Is 29<sup>7</sup>; *participle passive* נִשְׁוִי ψ 32<sup>1</sup>; *Niph'al* נִרְפָּתָה Jer 51<sup>9</sup>; נְבִיתָּה thou hast prophesied, Jer 26<sup>9</sup> (cf. ψ 139<sup>14</sup>, Jb 18<sup>3</sup>); *imperfect* יִנְרַפּוּ 2 K 22<sup>22</sup> (*infinitive* Jer 19<sup>11</sup>); *Pi'el imperfect* יִרְפּוּ Jer 8<sup>11</sup>, cf. Gn 31<sup>39</sup>; *Hiph'il participle* מִקְנֶה Ez 8<sup>8</sup>; *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַבֵּיתָ 1 S 10<sup>6</sup>; *infinitive* הִתְנַבֵּוּ 1 S 10<sup>13</sup>. For the *Kethibh* להשוות 2 K 19<sup>25</sup>, Jablonski and others require as *Qrê* the form לְהִשְׁאוֹת (so Is 37<sup>26</sup>); the *Kethibh* would have to be read לְהִשּׁוֹת, with elision of the א and retraction of the vowel.

rr 22. On the other hand, there are forms of verbs ל"ה, which wholly or in part follow the analogy of verbs ל"א, e. g. in their consonants אָתָּא he comes, Is 21<sup>12</sup>; בָּרָא 2 S 12<sup>17</sup> (*textus receptus* בָּרָה); וְרָצֵאתִי Ez 43<sup>27</sup>; יִשְׁנָא Jb 8<sup>11</sup>; יִשְׁנָא La 4<sup>1</sup>; וְיִחְלֵא 2 Ch 16<sup>12</sup>; תִּקְרָאנָה Ex 10<sup>10</sup>, Lv 10<sup>10</sup>; תִּלְאִים Dt 28<sup>66</sup> (cf. Ho 11<sup>7</sup>); נִקְרָא (*inf. absol.* *Niph'al* beside נִקְרִיתִי) 2 S 1<sup>6</sup>; שָׁנָא 2 K 25<sup>29</sup>; מִרְפָּא

Jer 38<sup>4</sup>; יִשְׁנָא Ec 3<sup>1</sup>: in their vowels, אָתָנִי Jer 3<sup>22</sup>; יָקָרָה Dn 10<sup>14</sup>; תִּכְלֶה 1 K 17<sup>14</sup>: in both, יָקָרָה Gn 49<sup>1</sup>; cf. 42<sup>4</sup>, Is 51<sup>19</sup>; תִּלְאֹמֶם 2 S 21<sup>12</sup> Qerē; לִירֹא 2 Ch 26<sup>15</sup> (cf. וִירָאוּ הַמִּזְרָאִים 2 S 11<sup>24</sup> Kethibh); מִרְאָה (participle fem. Qal) Zp 3<sup>1</sup>; יִפְרִיא Ho 13<sup>15</sup>; מִסְלָאִים La 4<sup>2</sup>.—For פְּרָאוֹת (so Baer, Ez 17<sup>6</sup>, cf. 31<sup>8</sup>), which can only be intended for פְּרָאוֹת participle fem. plur. from פָּרָה = פָּרָה, read פְּאֹרוֹת branches, according to Ez 31<sup>5</sup>, &c.

## § 76. Verbs Doubly Weak.

1. In a tolerably large number of verbs two radicals are weak *a* letters, and are consequently affected by one or other of the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether one, or both, or neither of them, takes effect.

Thus e.g. from נָדַד to flee, the imperfect is יִדְּוֹר in Na 3<sup>7</sup> and יִדְּר in Gn 31<sup>40</sup> (on the analogy of verbs פ"ן); Hiph'il הִדְּר (like a verb ע"ע), but the imperfect Hoph'al again יִדְּר (as פ"ן).

2. The following are examples of difficult forms, which are derived *b* from doubly weak verbs:

(a) Verbs פ"ן and ל"ה (cf. § 66 and § 74), e.g. נִשָּׂא to bear, imperative נִשָּׂא (ψ 10<sup>12</sup> נִשָּׂא, of which נִסָּה ψ 4<sup>7</sup> is probably only an orthographic variation); infinitive construct שִׂאת (for שִׂאת; see the analogous noun-formations in § 93 t), also נִשָּׂא Is 1<sup>4</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup>; Gn 4<sup>13</sup> נִשָּׂא; ψ 89<sup>10</sup> שִׂוא (perhaps only a scribal error); after the prefix ל always לִשָּׂאת (otherwise the contracted form only occurs in מִשָּׂתוֹ Jb 41<sup>17</sup>, with rejection of the נ); imperfect תִּשָּׂאנָה for תִּשָּׂנָה Ru 1<sup>14</sup>; wholly irregular are תִּשָּׂאנָה Ez 23<sup>40</sup> (so Baer after Qimhi; textus receptus, and also the Mantua ed., and Ginsburg, תִּשָּׂאנָה) and נִשָּׂאת 2 S 19<sup>43</sup> as infinitive absolute Niph'al (on the analogy of the infinitive construct Qal?); but most probably נִשָּׂא is to be read, with Driver.

(b) Verbs פ"ן and ל"ה (cf. § 66 and § 75), as נָטָה to bow, to incline, נָכָה to C smite. Hence imperfect Qal נִטָּה, apocopated וָיִט (Gn 26<sup>25</sup> וָיִט) and he bowed; וָיִן (so, probably, also Is 63<sup>3</sup> for וָיִן) 2 K 9<sup>33</sup> and he sprinkled (from נָזָה); perfect Hiph'il הִכָּה he smote, imperfect יִכָּה, apocopated יָכָה, יָכָה (even with Athnah 2 K 15<sup>16</sup>; but also ten times יָכָה, יָכָה Dt 2<sup>33</sup>; so also וָיִן Lv 8<sup>11.30</sup>; ψ 141<sup>4</sup> (cf. Jb 23<sup>11</sup>); imperative הִכָּה, apocopated הָךְ smite thou (like הִטָּה incline, with הִטָּה), infinitive הִכּוֹת, participle מִכָּה; Hoph'al הִכָּה, participle מִכָּה.

(c) Verbs פ"ן and ל"ה (cf. § 68 and § 75), as אָכָה to be willing, אָפָה to bake, אָתָה to come. E.g. imperfect Qal יִאָּכָה, יִאָּפָה, plur. יִאָּכּוּ, יִאָּפּוּ (cf. § 68 h) Dt 33<sup>21</sup> for יִאָּתָה (= וִיאָתָה); imperfect apocopated יִאָּת Is 41<sup>25</sup> for וִיאָתָה; imperative אָתִי Is 21<sup>12</sup>, 56<sup>9.12</sup> (cf. אָפּוּ bake ye, Ex 16<sup>23</sup>) for אָתִי, אָתִי (2 S 23 h; § 75 u); Hiph'il perfect הִתִּי הִתִּי הִתִּי הִתִּי (הִתִּי) Is 21<sup>14</sup>; imperfect apocopated וָאָל and he adjured, 1 S 14<sup>24</sup>, properly יִאָּלָה (יִאָּלָה) from אָלָה, whence יִאָּלָה, and, with the obscuring to אָלָה; instead of the simple apocope (וָאָל) the א which had already become



§ 77. *Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another.*

The close relation which exists between some classes of the weak *a* verbs (e. g. between פ"ו and פ"י, פ"א and פ"ה, ע"ע and ע"י and ע"ה) appears not only in their similarity or identity of inflexion, or their mutual interchange of certain forms, but especially from the fact that frequently the same root (*radix bilittera*, see § 30 g) recurs in various weak stems of similar meaning. The meaning accordingly is inherent in the two constant root-consonants, while the third consonant, which is weak (and the particular class of weak verbs with it), does not establish any difference in the meaning. Thus from the root פך there occur with the same meaning פָּכַךְ, פָּיַךְ, פָּדָךְ to *strike*, to *crush*; and from the root נר there are נָרַד, נָרַד, נָרַד to *flee*.

In this manner the following classes are related in form and *b* meaning:

1. Verbs ע"ע and ע"י in which the first and third consonants are the same in both, as being essential to the meaning; e. g. מָכַךְ and מָכַךְ to *become poor*; מָשַׁע and מָשַׁע to *feel*; נָרַד and נָרַד to *flee*.
2. Verbs פ"י and פ"י; e. g. יָצַב and יָצַב to *place*, נָקַשׁ and יָקַשׁ (*yāqōš*) to *lay* *C* snares. Moreover, stems belonging to the classes mentioned in 1 (especially ע"י) are frequently related also to verbs פ"י and פ"י, e. g. יָנַח and יָנַח to *fear*; יָטַב and יָטַב to *be good*; נָפַח and נָפַח to *blow*; נָפַץ and נָפַץ to *dash to pieces*. Verbs פ"א are less frequently connected with these classes, e. g. אָרַשׁ and אָרַשׁ to *thresh*, &c.
3. Verbs ל"א and ל"ה (in which the first two consonants form the real *d* body of the stem) are sometimes related to each other, and sometimes to the above classes. To each other, in דָּכַח and דָּכַח to *crush*, קָרַח and קָרַח to *meet* (cf. § 75 nn); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצַח and מָצַח to *suck*, דָּחַח and דָּחַח to *thrust*, &c.
4. Verbs ע"ע and ע"ה, on which cf. Grimm, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1903, p. 196; *e* e. g. אָנַח and אָנַח to *sigh*, דָּמַח and דָּמַח to *be quiet*, חָנַח and חָנַח to *incline*, בָּלַח and בָּלַח to *end*, קָלַח and קָלַח to *despise*, שָׁנַח and שָׁנַח to *err*, שָׁחַח and שָׁחַח to *bend down*, שָׁסַח and שָׁסַח to *plunder*.
5. Verbs ע"י and ע"ה; e. g. מָהַל and מָהַל (New Hebrew; in O. T. only מָהַל *f* Is 1<sup>22</sup>) to *circumcise*, מָהַר and מָהַר to *exchange*, נָהַר (in מְנוֹרָה a light) and נָהַר to *shine*; cf. also לְהַמִּים *secret arts*, Ex 7<sup>11</sup> with לָט *secret*, from לָט.

§ 78. *Verba Defectiva.*

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use with *a* the same meaning, that both are *defective*, i. e. do not occur in all the forms. Since, however, those tenses and forms which are not in use in the one verb are generally supplied by the other, they mutually complete one another, and thus form together, as it were, an entire

verb, as in Greek *ἐρχομαι*, aor. *ἦλθον*, fut. *ἐλεύσομαι*, and in Latin *fero*, *tuli*, *latum*, *ferre*, &c., but with this difference, that in Hebrew the roots of these verbs are almost always closely related.

b The most common verbs of this kind are—

**בש** *to be ashamed*. *Hiph'il* הִבִּישׁ (inferred from הִבִּישׁוֹת), but also הִבִּישׁ, as if from יָבֵשׁ by analogy of verbs פִּי; also in Is 30<sup>5</sup> the *Qere* requires הִבִּישׁ, where the *Kethibh* has הִבְאִישׁ from בָּאֵשׁ.

**טוב** *to be good*. *Perfect* טוֹב; but *imperfect* יֵטֵב and *Hiph'il* הֵיטִיב from יָטַב (but cf. הִטִּיבָתָּ 2 K 10<sup>30</sup>).

**יָנַח** *to be afraid*. *Imperfect* יִנָּח (from יָנַח).

**יָקַץ** *to awake*, only in the *imperf.* יִיקַץ; for the *perfect*, the *Hiph'il* הֵקִיץ is used (from יָקַץ).

**נָפַץ** *to break in pieces*. *Imperfect* יִפְּצִי (from פָּצַץ). *Imperative* פֹּצֵץ. *Niph'al* נִפְּצָה. *Piel* נִפְּצָה (from פָּצַץ). *Pöel* פּוֹצֵץ (from פָּצַץ). *Reflexive* הִתְפַּצֵּץ. *Hiph'il* הִפְּצִי. Also פָּצַץ Jb 16<sup>12</sup>.

**נָצַב** (*Qal* in post-biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic and Arabic) *to place*, whence (possibly) *Niph'al* נִצַּב and *Hiph'il* הִצִּיב (see above, § 71); but *Hithpa'al* הִתְנַצַּב.

**שָׁתָה** *to drink*, used in *Qal*; but in *Hiph.* הִשְׁתָּה *to give to drink*, from a *Qal* שָׁתָה which is not used in Hebrew.

On הָלַךְ (יָלַךְ) *to go*, see above, § 69 x.

c Rem. 1. To the same category belong also, to a certain extent, those cases where the *tenses* or *moods* not in use in one conjugation, are supplied by forms having the same meaning in other conjugations of the same verb. Thus:

**יָסַף** *to add*. The *infinitive* (but cf. § 69 h, note) and *imperfect*, unused in *Qal*, are supplied by the *Hiph'il* הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיפָה (on יוֹסִיף as *imperfect indicative*, see § 109 d, cf. also § 109 e).

**כָּשַׁל** *to stumble*. *Perfect* from *Qal*, *imperfect* from *Niph'al*.

**נָגַשׁ** *to approach*, unused in *perf. Qal*, instead of which *Niph'al* נִגַּשׁ is used; but *imperfect* יִגַּשׁ, *imperative* נִגַּשׁ, and *infinitive* מִנִּשָּׁח from *Qal* only are in use.

**נָחָה** *to lead*. *Perfect* usually נָחָה in *Qal*, so *imperative* נָחָה, but *imperfect* and *infinitive* always in *Hiph'il*.

**נָתַךְ** *to be poured out*. *Perfect* *Niph'al* נִתְּךְ with *imperfect* *Qal* יִתְּךְ, but the *perfect* *Qal* and *imperfect* *Niph'al* are not in use.

2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formae mixtae*), i. e. forms which unite the supposed character and meaning of two different tenses, genders, or conjugations. Most of the examples adduced are at once set aside by accurate grammatical analysis; some others appear to have arisen from misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially from erroneous views of unusual *plene* forms. Others, again, are either merely wrong readings or represent an intentional conflation of two different readings.

## CHAPTER III

### THE NOUN

#### § 79. General View.

For the literature, see De Lagarde, *Uebersicht über die im Aram., Arab. und Hebr. übliche Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889; Index and Additions, 1891; J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, first half, *Simple nouns*, Leipzig, 1889; second half, *Nouns with external additions*, 1891; second edition, with indices of words and subjects, 1894; E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude*, &c., ii. 1, Leipzig, 1895, see above, § 3 f.—Of these three important works the first two especially have given rise to various articles. In support of De Lagarde: Hommel in *ZDMG.* xliv, p. 535 ff. (against De Lagarde and Hommel: Barth, *ibid.*, p. 679 ff.), and dealing with the Index, *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 340 ff.—Against Barth (though with many points of agreement): Philippi in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 344 ff. (answered by Barth in *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 692 ff.), and *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 149 ff. (answered again by Barth, *ibid.*, xlviii, p. 10 ff.), also in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii (1892), p. 359 ff. 'Die semitische Verbal- und Nominalbildung,' and lastly, in *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 187 ff.—Cf. also A. Müller, 'Semitische Nomina. Bemerkungen zu de Lagarde und Barth,' *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 221 ff.—The main points at issue in the works of De Lagarde and Barth are indicated below, § 83 d.—Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 104 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

1. Since, according to § 30 a, most word-stems are developed into *a* verbal stems as well as into noun-stems, it has become customary (especially in the *Lexicon*) to refer the noun to the most simple ground-form of the verbal formation, viz. the 3rd pers. sing. perfect *Qal*, and, as it were, to derive it from that form. This is usual, not only in those noun-stems which can be directly connected with a corresponding verbal stem (*Nomina verbalia* or *derivativa*, § 83 ff.), but also with *Nomina primitiva*, i. e. those of which no verbal stem is now found in Hebrew (see § 82), as well as finally with *Nomina denominativa*, which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

The adjective agrees in form entirely with the substantive. On the formation of adjectival ideas by giving to abstracts a concrete sense, see § 83 c.

2. A special inflexion of the noun to express the various cases does *b* not exist in Hebrew; only a few ancient and almost extinct traces of case-endings have survived (§ 90). The syntactical relation of a noun can therefore in general only be inferred from its position in the sentence, or from its being joined to prepositions. In either case, the form of the noun undergoes no change (except for the *construct*

state, § 89), and the representation of case-relations belongs therefore almost exclusively to the syntax (§ 117 ff.). The comparative and superlative of adjectives also can be expressed only by a syntactical combination (§ 133). On the other hand, several changes in the forms of nouns are occasioned by the additions of the plural, dual, and feminine terminations, as well as of the pronominal suffixes, and also by the close connexion of two nouns, by means of the *construct state*.<sup>1</sup>

### § 80. The Indication of Gender in Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 404 ff.; 'Ueber die Femininendung *at, ah, ā*' in *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 106 f.; *Grundriss*, pp. 105, 405 ff.; 'Die Femininendung *Tim Semit.*' (*Sitzung d. orient.-sprachwiss. Sektion d. schlesischen Gesellschaft*, Feb. 26, 1903); against him J. Barth, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 628 ff.; Brockelmann's reply, *ibid.*, p. 795 ff.; and Barth again, *ibid.*, p. 798 ff.

*a* 1. The Hebrew, like all Semitic languages, recognizes only two genders in the noun, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Inanimate objects and abstract ideas, which other languages sometimes indicate by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew either as masculine or feminine, more often the latter (see the Syntax, § 122 *q*).

*b* 2. The *masculine*, as being the more common and important gender, has no special indication.

Feminine nouns are also without an indication of gender when the meaning of the word naturally denotes a feminine, as אִם *mother*, אִמָּה *a she-ass*, יֵזָה *a she-goat*, רֵחַל *an ewe* (cf. § 122 *b*). As a rule, however, the *feminine* had originally the ending ם—, as in the 3rd *sing. perfect* of verbs (§ 44 *a*). This ם—, however, is regularly retained in Hebrew only in close connexion with a following genitive or suffix (cf. § 89 *e* and § 91 *o*), except where the form has arisen through the addition of a simple ם<sup>2</sup> (see below, *d*). Otherwise, the feminine ending of the independent form (the *absolute state*, § 89 *a*) is—

*c* (*a*) Most commonly a tone-bearing ה־, e.g. סוּסִים *equus*, סוּסָה *equa*. Of nouns ending in —, like עֲבָרִי, the feminine (by § 24 *b*) is עֲבָרִיָה, cf. § 86 *h*. As in the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* (קָטְלָהּ, &c.), this ה־ seems to have arisen by the rejection of the final ם, and the lengthening of the *ā* in the open syllable, whereupon the ה was added as an orthographic indication of the final long vowel: cf. the exactly similar origin of such forms as גִּלְהִי for גִּלְיָה, § 75 *c*. It must, however, be

<sup>1</sup> To speak of these changes as a declension of the Hebrew noun, as is usually done, is accordingly incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> In Mal 1<sup>14</sup> מִשְׁחָתָהּ (so e.g. ed. Mant.) would stand for מִשְׁחָתָהּ, the ptep. fem. Hoph'al; but מִשְׁחָתָהּ (so Baer and Ginsb.) is also supported by good authority.



survivals from a period when even final vowels were not supported by a vowel-letter. Cf. also פֶּרֶת *fecunda* (a fruitful tree) Gn 49<sup>22</sup>; יְתֵרֶת *abundance*, Jer 46<sup>36</sup> (before  $\epsilon$ ; but in Is 15<sup>7</sup> יְתֵרָה); שָׁנָה *sleep* (for שְׁנָה)  $\psi$  132<sup>4</sup>; and (unless the ה is radical) in prose קָאֵת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable, in Is 34<sup>11</sup>, to the form קָאֵת, also מִחֶרֶת *the morrow*, but in *construct state* always מִמְּחֶרֶת. <sup>1</sup>תְּהֵלֶת—Jer 45<sup>25</sup> *Q'rê* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading תְּהֵלֶת, parallel to מִשְׁוֹשֵׁי; cf. above, on וְזֶרֶת, &c.

*h* (c) אָ, the Aramaic orthography for הָ, chiefly in the later writers; אָרֶא *loathing*, Nu 11<sup>20</sup>; אָרֶא *a terror*, Is 19<sup>17</sup>; אָנָה *sleep*,  $\psi$  127<sup>2</sup>; אָבִיָּא *a lioness*, Ez 19<sup>2</sup> (unless אָבִיָּא is intended); אָמָרָא *a mark*, La 3<sup>12</sup>; cf. also אָשָׂא *threshing* (participle *Qal* from אָשָׂא) Jer 50<sup>11</sup>; אָמָרָא *bitter*, Ru 1<sup>20</sup>. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קָרָחָא *baldness* is to be read in Ez 27<sup>81</sup>; see Baer on the passage.

*i* (d) הָ, an obtuse form of הָ (§ 27 *u*), only in הָאָרֶה for הָאָרֶה Is 59<sup>5</sup> (unless it is again a *forma mixta* combining the active *ptcp. masc.* הָאָרֶה and the passive *ptcp. fem.* הָאָרֶה); cf. אָנָה for אָנָה Zc 5<sup>4</sup>; אָנָה 1 K 23<sup>642</sup> (§ 90 *i*, and § 48 *d*).

*h* (e) הָ, without the tone, e.g. רָחֶמָה Dt 14<sup>17</sup> [Lv 11<sup>18</sup> רָחֶם]; תִּנּוֹר בִּעְרָה *an oven heated*, Ho 7<sup>4</sup>; cf. Ez. 40<sup>19</sup>, 2 K 15<sup>29</sup>, 16<sup>18</sup>. In all these examples the usual tone-bearing הָ is perhaps intended, but the Punctuators, who considered the feminine ending inappropriate, produced a kind of *locative* form (see § 90 *c*) by the retraction of the tone. [In 2 K 16<sup>18</sup>, Is 24<sup>19</sup>, Ez 21<sup>31</sup> note in each case the following הָ, and in Jb 42<sup>15</sup>, Ho 7<sup>4</sup>, the text is probably in error.]

*l* (f) אָ, as an old feminine termination, preserved also in Syriac (*ai*; see examples in Nöldeke's *Syrische Gram.*, § 83), in Arabic and (contracted to *ā*) in Ethiopic, very probably occurs in the proper name שָׂרַי *Sarai*, cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. 183, and xlii. 484; also טַעֲנָה *ten* (*fem.*) undoubtedly arises from an original 'esray; so Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 138; König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 427.

*m* 3. It is wholly incorrect to regard the vowel-ending הָ<sup>2</sup> as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonantal ending הָ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the הָ throughout, so too the Assyrian (*ai*, *it*); in Phoenician also the feminines end for the most part in הָ, which is pronounced *at* in the words found in Greek and Latin authors; less frequently in אָ (see Gesenius, *Monum. Phoen.*, pp. 439, 440; Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 169 ff.). The ancient Arabic has the obtuse ending (*ah*) almost exclusively in *pause*; in modern Arabic the relation between the two endings is very much as in Hebrew.

<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 2c<sup>27</sup> also, where the Masora (see Baer on Jos 5<sup>11</sup>) for some unknown reason requires מִמְּחֶרֶת, read with ed. Mant., Jablonski, Opitius, and Ginsburg, מִמְּחֶרֶת.

<sup>2</sup> In this ending the הָ *h* can only be considered consonantal in the sense that the הָ was originally aspirated, and afterwards 'the mute הָ was dropped before *h*, just as the old Persian *mithra* became in modern Persian *mīhr*'; so Socin, who also points to the Arabic pausal form in *ah*, and observes that among some of the modern Beduin an *h* is still heard as a fem. ending, cf. Socin, *Divan aus Centralarabien*, iii. 98, ed. by H. Stumme, Lpz. 1901. In Hebrew this consonantal termination was entirely abandoned, at any rate in later times.

## § 81. Derivation of Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

Nouns are by their derivation either *primitive*, i. e. cannot be *a* referred to any verbal stem at present extant (see § 82), such as אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother* (but see both words in the Lexicon; according to Stade and others אָב, אִמָּה, &c., are children's words and terms of endearment, and so really primitive nouns), or *derivative*, i. e. either *Derivativa verbalia* (§§ 83-5), e. g. רָם *high*, רֶמֶה *high place*, מָרוֹם *height*, from רוּם *to be high*, or less frequently *Derivativa denominativa* (§ 86), e. g. מַרְגְּלוֹת *the place at the feet*, from רֶגֶל *foot*.

Rem. 1. The earlier grammarians consider the verb alone as stem, and *b* therefore all nouns as verbals, dividing them into (a) *Formae nudae*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) radicals, and (b) *Formae auctae*, such as have formative letters or syllables added at the beginning or end, e. g. מַמְלָכָה, מַלְכוּת. The formative letters used for this purpose are ה א מ נ ת י ו (הֶאֱמַנְתִּיו),<sup>1</sup> and the treatment of nouns formerly followed this order.

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* presented in § 30 *d*, nouns (other *c* than *denominatives*) are derived not from the verbal stem, but either from the (abstract) root or from the still undefined stem. In the following pages, however, the arrangement according to the verbal stem is retained as being simpler for the beginner. Cf. § 79 *a*.

2. Compound nouns as *appellatives* are very rare in Hebrew, e. g. בְּלִיעֵל *d* *worthlessness, baseness*. On the other hand, they very frequently occur as proper names, e. g. גִּבְרִיאֵל (*man of God*), יְהוֹרֵקִים (*Yahwe raises up*), יְהוֹנָתָן (*Yahwe gave*), &c.<sup>2</sup>

## § 82. Primitive Nouns.

The number of *primitive* nouns in the sense used in § 81 is small, since nouns, which in other languages are represented as independent noun-stems, can easily be traced back in Hebrew to the verbal idea, e. g. names of animals and natural objects, as שְׂעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שָׁעַר, שְׂעֵרָה *barley* (prop. *prickly*, also from שָׁעַר), חֲסִידָה *stork* (prop. *nia*, sc. *avis*), זָהָב *gold* (from זָהַב = צָהַב *to shine, to be yellow*). Thus there remain only a few nouns, e. g. several names of members of the body in men or beasts, to which a corresponding verbal stem cannot be assigned at all, or at any rate only indirectly (from other Semitic dialects), as קֶרֶן *horn*, עֵין *eye*.

<sup>1</sup> From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are also called by the older grammarians *nomina heemantica*.

<sup>2</sup> G. Rammelt (*Über die zusammengesetzten Nomina im Hebr.*, Halle, 1883, and Leipzig, 1884) recognizes as appellatives only צִפְרִיעַ (cf. below, § 85 *w*) and צִלְמֻת (the latter certainly incorrectly [see, however, Nöldeke, *ZATW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.]). In p. 8 ff. the author gives a list of 'logical compounds', i. e. new terms formed by composition with the negatives לֹא, בְּלִי, מְבִלִי.

## § 83. Verbal Nouns in General.

*a* 1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in form and meaning primarily with certain forms of the verb, especially the participles and infinitives, which are themselves, even in their ordinary form, frequently used precisely like nouns, e. g. **אֵיבֹן** *enemy*, **דַּעַת** *to know, knowledge*. Still oftener, however, certain forms of the infinitive and participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb, though in use in the weak verb and in the kindred dialects, came to be commonly used for the verbal noun; e. g. the participial form **קָטַל**, the infinitives of the (Aramaic) form **מְקַטֵּל** (as a noun also **מְקַטֵּל**), further **קָטִילָה**, **קָטִילָה**, **קָטִילָה**, **קָטִילָה** (§ 45 *d*), &c. Others (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the participle.

*b* 2. As regards their meaning, it follows from the nature of the case that nouns which have the form of the infinitive regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely related ideas, and are therefore mostly *abstract*; while the participial nouns, on the contrary, denote for the most part the *subject* of the action or state, and are therefore *concrete*. Moreover, it is to be noticed, that a particular meaning is attached to many of the special forms of derivative nouns, although it does not appear equally in them all.

*c* Rem. It need not appear strange, when we consider the analogy of other languages, that a noun which in form is properly *abstract* afterwards acquired a *concrete* sense, and vice versa. So in English, we say *his acquaintance*, for the *persons* with whom he is *acquainted*; the *Godhead* for *God* himself; in Hebrew **מֵדָעָה** *acquaintance* and *an acquaintance*.

*d* The inner connexion in thought between Semitic noun-forms and the corresponding verbal forms is investigated in the works of De Lagarde and Barth (see the titles at the head of § 79) on very different lines, but with many points of agreement. De Lagarde starts from the fact that language consists of sentences. A sentence which consists of only *one* word is called a verb, and anything which serves as a complement to it is a noun. The oldest form of the sentence is the imperative. Closely related to it are three kinds of sentences of the nature of verbal forms, differing according as the property of the particular object of sense is to be represented as invariable (form *qatula*), or as liable to change (form *qatila*), or, finally, as a circumstance which takes place before our eyes (form *qatala*). Like the imperative, these three forms of sentences have also been transformed into nouns, by means of certain phonetic changes,—especially by the omission of the final vowels and the addition of different terminations to the last consonant of the stem. But just as the forms of the verbal sentence undergo numerous modifications (in the tenses, moods, and conjugations), so also do the nouns, sometimes by assimilation of the unessential to the characteristic vowel (*qatul*, *qitil*), sometimes by the lengthening of the characteristic vowel (*qatûl*, *qatîl*, *qatâl*), or else through the displacement of the accent and the consequent reduction of the noun to a monosyllabic form (*qal*, *qul*, *qil*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e. g. *qattal*, *qattâl*; *qatîl*, *qittâl*, &c. Further modifications arise from the use of the various imperfect

and infinitive forms, and also from the employment of the prefix *m*. Lastly, *denominalia* are formed from *deverbalia* by appending certain suffixes.

De Lagarde does not, however, claim to be able to show in the case of each particular noun the sense it conveyed in primitive times; the origin of a number of nouns can now no longer be detected. In those, however, which are clearly derived from verbs, the original meaning is chiefly determined by the characteristic vowel.

Barth's system is based on the thesis that 'all Semitic nouns, adjectives, and participles are derived from either the perfect or the imperfect stem'. Thus, e. g. קָטַל is the infinitive of the perfect stem, קָטַל the infinitive of the imperfect stem, שָׁכַב infinitive of שָׁכַב, &c. In dissyllabic noun-forms the second vowel is always alone characteristic and essential, the first vowel unessential, and therefore variable. Further modifications of the simple form are effected by strengthening (sharpening) the second or third consonant, by lengthening the characteristic vowel (instead of which, however, the feminine termination may also be used), or by 'metaplasm', i. e. by the use of noun-forms derived from one of the two intransitive stems for the other, e. g. *qull* for *qīl*, and vice versa.

In nouns of the perfect stem, the vowels *i* and *u* indicate intransitive formations, the vowel *a* a transitive sense. In nouns of the imperfect stem on the contrary, *u* and *i*, being characteristic vowels, indicate a transitive and *a* an intransitive sense: for *yaqtūlū* is imperfect of the transitive perfect *qatala*, and *yaqtālū* imperfect of the intransitive perfects *qatila* and *qatula*, &c. This explains how nouns, apparently identical in form, may yet in sense belong to different classes: a *qull*-form from a *u*-imperfect has a transitive meaning, but the same form from a *u*-perfect has an intransitive meaning. This double system of perfect and imperfect forms runs through the whole scheme of noun-formation, not only the forms connected with the conjugations, but also the forms with prefixes and suffixes.

Against the whole theory it has been urged that it postulates for the development of the language a much too abstract mechanism, and further, that the meanings of words as we find them may in many cases be due to a modification of the original sense. But though many of the details (e. g. the alleged unessential character of the vowel of the first syllable) remain doubtful, yet the agreement between the characteristic vowel of certain noun formations and that of the perfect or imperfect stem, is supported by such a number of incontestable instances, that there can be no doubt as to a systematic, intimate connexion between the two. At the same time it must be admitted that De Lagarde has put forward many important and suggestive points, and both scholars agree in laying stress on *one* characteristic vowel as indicative of the meaning.

### § 84<sup>a</sup>. Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.

*Preliminary remark.*—From the statement made above, § 83 *d*, it follows that *a* an external similarity between forms is no proof of their similar origin, and, vice versa, external difference does not exclude the possibility of their being closely related both in origin and meaning.

#### I. Nouns with One Vowel, originally Short.

R. Růžicka, 'Beiträge zur Erklärung der nomina segolata,' in *Sitz.-ber. d. böhmischen Ges. d. Wiss.*, Prag, 1904.

1. Nouns with one of the three short vowels after the first radical: *present* ground-form *qāṣṣ*, *qīṣṣ*, *qūṣṣ*.

The supposition of *monosyllabic* ground-forms appeared to be required by the character of forms now existing in Hebrew, as well as in Arabic, &c. But there are strong reasons for believing that at least a large proportion of these forms go back to original dissyllabic bases with a short vowel in each syllable. When formative additions were made, the vowel of the 2nd syllable

was dropped, i.e. before case-endings in Assyrian and early Arabic, and before pronominal suffixes in Hebrew. From the forms thus produced, the bases *qatl*, *qitl*, *quṭl* have been assumed, although they never appear in Hebrew except in the singular and then in connexion with suffixes.

In support of this view of a large number of original dissyllabic bases, we must not, however, appeal to the *Ṣeghōl* or *Pathah* under the 2nd consonant of the existing developed forms, *יָרַע*, *יָרַע*, &c. These are in no sense survivals or modifications of an original full vowel in the 2nd syllable, but are mere helping-vowels (§ 28 e) to make the monosyllabic forms pronounceable,<sup>1</sup> and consequently disappear when no longer needed. Under certain circumstances even (e.g. in *קִשְׁט*) they are not used at all. Actual proofs of such original toneless full vowels in the 2nd syllable of existing *Segholates* are—

1. Forms like Arab. *mālik*, for which rarely *malik*, corresponding to the Hebrew ground-form; cf. De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 72 ff.

2. In Hebrew *יָרַע*, *יָרַע*, *יָרַע*, *יָרַע*, the connective forms of *יָרַע*, &c., which latter can only come from ground-forms *gādir*, *yārik*, *kābid*, *kātip*.

3. The forms treated under e, which are in many ways related to the *Segholates* proper, in so far as they are to be referred to original dissyllabic bases.

4. The plurals of Hebrew *Segholates*, since, with very rare exceptions, they take *Qameṣ* under the 2nd radical before the termination *ים*, fem. *ות*,

of the *absolute state*, as *מְלָכִים*, *מְלָכוֹת*, *כְּפָרִים*, &c. This *Qameṣ* (see note 1 on § 26 e) can only be due to a lengthening of an original short vowel in the 2nd syllable, and hence it would seem as though the vowel were always *a*. This is impossible from what has been said, especially under 1 and 2. Hence the explanation of the consistent occurrence of *Qameṣ* in the plurals of *all Segholates* can only be that the regularly formed plurals (i.e. from singulars with original *a* in the 2nd syllable) became the models for all the others, and ultimately even for some really monosyllabic forms.<sup>2</sup>

(a) From the strong stem the above three ground-forms are further developed to *קָטַל*, *קָטַל*, *קָטַל* (cf. § 27 r and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, a-c); without a helping vowel (§ 28 d) *קִשְׁט* *truth*. If the second

<sup>1</sup> According to Delitzsch (*Assyr. Gram.*, p. 157 f.) the same is true in Assyrian of the corresponding *qatl*-forms. Without case-endings they are *kalab*, *šamas*, *aban* (= *בָּלַב*, *שָׁמַש*, *אַבָּן*), with case-endings *kalbu*, *šamsu*, *abnu*.

On the other hand, acc. to Sievers, *Metrik*, i. 261, Hebrew ground-forms probably have a twofold origin: they are shortened according to Hebrew rules partly from old absolute forms like *kalbu*, *sifru*, *quḏšu*, and partly from old construct-forms like the Assyrian types *kalab*, *sifru*, *quḏšu*.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Ungnad, *ZA*. 1903, p. 333 ff., rejecting all previous explanations, maintains that the *a* in *m'lākhim*, *m'lākhōh* is inserted merely to facilitate the pronunciation. From *qatlim* arose *qat'ālim*, then *qatalim* and finally *q'atālim*. See, however, Nöldeke, 'Zur semit. Pluralendung,' *ZA*. 1904, p. 68 ff., who points out that the Semitic nouns *fa'l*, *fī'l*, *fu'l* with their corresponding feminines *fa'la*, &c., on assuming the plural termination commonly take an *a* before the 3rd radical, but that no satisfactory account can be given for it. M. Margolis, 'The plural of Segolates' (*Proc. of the Philol. Assoc. of the Pacific Coast*, San Francisco, 1903, p. 4 ff.), and S. Brooks, *Vestiges of the broken plural in Hebrew*, Dublin, 1883, explain *m'lākhim* as a *pluralis fractus*.

<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of notice that St. Jerome also (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 76) frequently represents the vowel of the first syllable by *a*, e.g. *gader*, *aben*, *ader*, *ared*, for *גָּדַר*, *אָבֵן*, *אָדַר*, *הָרַב*, but *cedem*, *secel*, *deber*, &c., for *צֶדֶק*, *שֶׁקֶל*, *דֶּבֶר*, &c.

or third radical be a guttural, a helping *Pathah* takes the place of the helping *Seghōl*, according to § 22 d, e.g. זֶרַע *seed*, עֶצֶם *eternity*, פֶּעַל *work*; but with middle ה or ח, note לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם (as well as רִחֶם) *womb*, אֶהָל *tent*, תְּבִיחַ *thumb*; so with final א, פֶּרָא *a wild ass*, &c.; with a middle guttural also the modification of the principal vowel *ā* to *ē* does not occur, e.g. נָעַר, רֶהֱב, לַחֲמִי (exceptions, again, לֶחֶם, רֶחֶם). On the inflexion, cf. § 93, Paradigm I, a-f, and the explanations. In חַטָּא *sin*, the א has wholly lost its consonantal value.

Examples of feminines: מַלְכָּה (directly from the ground-form *malik*, *king*), בֹּתֶרָה *a covering* (also בִּתְרָה), אֹכֶלָה *food* (also אֹכֵל); with a middle guttural נַעֲרָה *girl*, טָהֳרָה *purity* (also טָהָר). Cf. § 94, Paradigm I.

(b) From weak stems: (α) from stems ע"ו, e.g. אָף *nose* (from 'ānp, hence C with formative additions, e.g. אַפִּי for 'anpi, *my nose*); עֵז *a she-goat* (ground-form 'inz); fem. חֲטָה *wheat*; (β) from stems ע"ע (§ 93, Paradigm I, l-n); פֶּתַח *a morsel*, עַם *people* (so, when in close connexion with the next word; unconnected עָם; with article הָעָם, לָעָם, &c.); רַב in the sense of *much*, but רַב *great*, numerous (in close connexion also רַב); רָע *evil*, with the article in close connexion הָרָע, unconnected הֶרָע; with the *ā* always lengthened to *ā*, יָם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of the *ā* to *i*, מִדָּה *measure*; from the ground-form qūl, אִם *mother*; fem. נִזְהָה *a shearing*; from the ground-form qūl, חֹק *statute*, fem. חֻקָּה. (γ) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, g and i); מוֹת *death* (from mā-ut, the *u* passing into the corresponding consonant, as in מִתְּנָה *middle*) or contracted יוֹם *day*, שׁוֹט *whip*, שׂוֹר *a bull*; fem. עוֹלָה *perverseness* (also contracted עוֹלָה); from the ground-form qūl, צוֹר *a rock*; fem. סוּפָה *a storm*. (δ) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, h); זַיִת *an olive-tree* (with a helping *Hireq* instead of a helping *Seghōl*) from zā-it, the *i* passing into the corresponding consonant; or contracted חֵיק *bosom*, חֵיל 2 K 18<sup>17</sup> (elsewhere חַיִּל) *host*; fem. שֵׁבִיעַ *grey hair*; from the ground-form qūl, דִּין *judgement*; fem. בִּינָה *understanding*. (ε) from stems ל"ה (Paradigm I, k); partly forms such as בִּכָּה *weeping*, הִנָּה *murmuring*, נִנָּה *a present*, קִצָּה *the end*, partly such as אֶרֶי, בְּכִי *a lion* (ground-form bākya, 'āry); cf. also the forms from stems originally ל"ו, שָׂהַד *swimming* (ground-form sāḥw); fem. שָׁלוֹחַ *rest*, נִשְׁאָה *exaltation*; from stems ל"י, אֵלִיהָ *a fat tail*, and with attenuation of *ā* to *i* שְׁבִיבָה *captivity*, also נִשְׁבִּית, formed no doubt directly from the masc. נִשְׁבִּי with the fem. termination ת; from the ground-form qūl, חֲצִי (from ḥiṣy); fem. חֵדוֹה *joy*, עֲרִיָה and עָרְוָה *nakedness*; from the ground-form qūl, בָּהוּ (from bōhw) *waste*, תֹּהוּ *emptiness*; דְּלִי, for דִּלִּי, *bucket*; fem. אֲנִיָּה *a ship* (directly from אֲנִי *a fleet*).

The masculines as well as the feminines of these *segholate* forms may have *d* either an *abstract* or a *concrete* meaning. In the form קָטַל the *passive* or at any rate the *abstract* meaning is by far the more common (e.g. נָעַר *youthfulness*, abstract of נָעַר *boy*; אָכַל *food*, &c.).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Lambert also (*REJ.* 1896, p. 18 ff.), from statistics of the *Segholates*, arrives at the conclusion that the *qatl*-form is especially used for *concretes* (in nouns without gutturals he reckons twenty *concretes* as against two *abstracts*), and the *qūl*-form, and less strictly the *qūl*, for *abstracts*.

*e* 2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form *q<sup>e</sup>tāl*, *q<sup>e</sup>tīl*, *q<sup>e</sup>tūl*), e. g. דְּבַשׁ *honey*, דִּי *sickness*, חֶתֶת *terror*; and so always with middle א, בָּאֵר *a well*, זֶאֵב *a wolf*, בֹּאֵשׁ *stench*. In reality these forms, like the segholates mentioned in No. 1 (see above, a), are, probably, for the most part to be referred to original dissyllabic forms, but the tone has been shifted from its original place (the penultima) on to the ultima. Thus *dibāš* (originally *dibaš*) as ground-form of דְּבַשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דְּבַשְׁי (with suffix of the first person), and by the Arabic *dibs*, the principal form; *bī'ir* (according to Philippi with assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first) as ground-form of בָּאֵר is attested by the Arabic *bī'r*; for בֹּאֵשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'ūs* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qātāl* underlies the infinitives of the form קָטַל.<sup>1</sup>

## II. Nouns with an original Short Vowel in both Syllables.

*f* 3. The ground-form *qātāl*, fem. *qātālāt*, developed in Hebrew to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, a, b) and קָטְלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, a, b), mostly forms intransitive adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, נָדָב *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דְּבַר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אָשָׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שָׂבַע *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צִדְקָה *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אֲדָמָה *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs עָנַע are בָּדָד *alone*, עָנָן *cloud*; passive חָלַל *pierced*.—In verbs ל"ה a final *Fódh* is almost always rejected, and the *ä* of the second syllable lengthened to *è*. Thus שָׂדֵי *field*, after rejection of the *'* and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׁדֶה (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, f); fem. e. g. שָׁנָה *year*; cf. § 95, Paradigm II, c. From a verb ל"ו the strong form עָנָו *afflicted* occurs.

*g* 4. The ground-form *qātīl*, fem. *qātīlāt*, developed to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, c-e) and קָטְלָה, is frequently used as participle of verbs middle *e* (§ 50 b), and hence mostly with an intransitive meaning; cf. זָקֵן *old*, an old man; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, אֲפֵלָה and חֹשֶׁכָה *darkness*.—From verbs פ"ו: irregularly, דְּלִיּוֹתָיו *the branches of it*, Jer 11<sup>16</sup>, &c., generally referred to a sing. דְּלִית (stem רלה), and הָרִיּוֹתָיו Ho 14<sup>1</sup> *their women with child* (from הָרָה, st. constr. הָרָת, plur. st. absol. and constr. הָרוֹת).—From a verb ל"ו with consonantal Wāw: שָׁלוֹ *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלְיוֹ Jb 21<sup>28</sup>.

*h* 5. The ground-form *qāfūl*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטַל), generally forms adjectives, e. g. אֵים *terrible*, בָּרָד *piebald*, מְחֹק *sweet*, נֶקֶד *speckled*, עֵבֶת *interwoven*, עֹגֵל *round*, עֶמֶק *deep*, עֵקֶב *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קָטָן *small*, only in sing. masc., with a parallel form קָטַן of the class treated under *f*, fem. קָטְנָה, plur. קָטְנִים. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from

<sup>1</sup> On this theory cf. Stade, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 199 b; De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 57 f.; A. Müller, *ZDMG*. xlv, p. 226, and especially Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> In St. Jerome's time these forms were still pronounced *šadaca* (צִדְקָה), *šaaca* (צַעֲקָה), *nabala* (נִבְלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e. g. even קִצְפָּה *a splintering*, צִוּחָה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qātāl*, the lengthening of the second syllable being balanced, as in other cases, by the addition of the feminine termination.

the ground-form *qāṭāl*.—Fem. *עֲנִינָה*, *עֲבִיבָה* (*glorious*), *עֲנִינָה* (*delicate*), *עֲנִינָה*, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ā* short, and similarly in the plurals *עֲנִינִים*, *עֲבִיבִים*, *stores*, &c.

6. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to *קָטַל* (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), *i* e. g. *לֵב* heart, *עֵנַב* a bunch of grapes, *שֵׁכָר* strong drink; from a verb *לָה*, probably of this class is *רֵעָה*, generally contracted to *רֵעַ* friend, ground-form *ri'ay*: the full form is preserved in *רֵעֵהוּ* his friend, for *רֵעֵהוּ*.

### III. Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.

7. The ground-form *qāṭāl* in Hebrew always develops to the form *קָטַל*, the *k* *ā* becoming an obscure *ô*. The fact that this form is also written *קָטַל* must not lead to the confusion of these forms with those mentioned in No. 5, from the ground-form *qāṭūl*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the *qāṭāl*-class includes forms of various origin, and therefore of various meaning, as (a) intransitive adjectives like *גָּדוֹל* great, *קָדוֹשׁ* holy, fem. *גְּדוּלָה*, the short vowel becoming *Š<sup>w</sup>a*, whereas in *גָּדוֹל*, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; (b) the infinitives absolute of the form *קָטַל* (§ 45 a) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like *כְּבוֹד* honour, *שָׁלוֹם* peace (Arab. *sālām*); (c) substantives and adjectives in an active sense, as *בַּחֹן* assayer (of metals), *עֹשֶׁק* an oppressor, *חֲמוּץ* oppressing; in the feminine *בְּגוּדָה* treacherous Jer 3<sup>7,10</sup>, the irregular retention of the *ā* in the third syllable from the end is no doubt to be explained, with Brockelmann, from Aramaic influence, the punctuator having in mind the Aramaic nomen agentis *qāṭōl*.

8. The ground-form *qāṭīl* develops to *קָטִיל* (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, a and b). *l* Here also forms of various origin and meaning are to be distinguished: (a) adjectives used substantively with a passive meaning to denote duration in a state, as *אֲסִיר* a prisoner, *מְשִׁיחַ* an anointed one. These proper *qāṭīl*-forms are parallel to the purely passive *qāṭūl*-forms (see m), but others are due to a strengthening of original *qāṭīl*-forms. These are either (b) intransitive in meaning, as *צָעִיר* small, and, from *לָ* stems, *נָקִי* pure, *עָנִי* poor (see § 93 *vv*), or (c) active, as *נְבִיא* a speaker (prophet), *פֶּקִיד* an overseer.—Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, infinitives) are (d) forms like *אֲסִיף* the ingathering, *בְּצִיר* vintage, *חֲרִישׁ* ploughing time, *קָצִיר* harvest. On *qāṭīl* forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84<sup>b</sup> f.

9. The ground-form *qāṭūl* develops to *קָטוּל*. As in the *qāṭāl* and *qāṭīl*-forms *m* (see k and l), so here forms of various kinds are to be distinguished: (a) *qāṭūl*-forms proper, with passive meaning, especially all the passive participles of Qal; fem. e. g. *בְּתוּלָה* virgin (properly secluded). On the other hand, by strengthening an original *qāṭūl*-form we get (b) certain stative adjectives (§ 50 f), as *אֲנִישׁ* incurable, *עָצוּם* strong, *עָרִים* subtil, or even transitive, as *אֲחִיז* holding; (c) active substantives, as *יָקוֹשׁ* a Fowler. Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84<sup>b</sup> g belong to this class; see above, the remark on l.

10. The ground-form *qāṭāl* or *qāṭūl*<sup>2</sup> in Hebrew changes the *i* to vocal *Š<sup>w</sup>a*, *n*

<sup>1</sup> In Na 1<sup>3</sup> only the *Qerê* requires *גָּדֹל־* (in the constr. state) for the *Kethibh* *גָּדוֹל*.

<sup>2</sup> On the *fu'āl*-forms (regarded by Wellhausen as original diminutives) see Nöldeke, *Beiträge* (Strassb. 1904), p. 30 ff. He includes among them *נְעֻרָת* *twow*, and *טַחְרִים* *hemorrhoids*.

and develops to קָטַל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, c) or קָטוּל, with *á* obscured to *ó* (as above, *k*). Cf. שְׂאָר *remnant*, יָקָר *honour*, כְּתָב *book* (Arab. *kiláb*), מִלְחָמָה *war* (the last three probably loan-words from the Aramaic); of the other form, חֲלוֹם *a dream*, חֲמֹר *an ass* (Arab. *ḥimār*), אֱלֹהִים *God* (Arab. *'iláh*); with *א* prosthetic (§ 19 m), אֶזְרָע *arm* (twice: usually *אֶזְרָע*); fem. בְּשׂוּרָה *good news* (Arab. *bšārāt*); עֲבוּדָה *service*, כְּתָבָה *tattooing* (Arab. *kilābāt*).

o 11. The ground-form *qīṭīl* seems to occur e.g. in Hebrew אֲוִיל *foolish*, אֲוִילִים *vanity*, בְּרִיל *lead*, פֶּסִיל *a fool*, חֲוִיר *a swine* (the prop. name חֲוִיר points to the ground-form *qīṭīl*, cf. Arab. *ḥinzīr*).

p 12. The ground-form *qīṭūl* or *qūṭūl*, Hebr. קָטוּל, e.g. גְּבוּל *a boundary*, לְבָשׁ *a garment*; fem. גְּבוּרָה *strength*, אֱמוּנָה *faithfulness*.

q Rem. When the forms *qīṭūl* and *qīṭōl* begin with *א*, they almost invariably take in the singular a *Ṣere* under the *א* instead of the ordinary *Haṭeph-Seghōl*; cf. אֲכֹס *a crib*, אֲמִן *thread*, אֲמוּנָה *faithful*, אֲזוּב *hyssop*, אֲזוּרָה *a waist-band*, אֲסוּר *a bond*, אֲפֹדָר *an 'ephod'*; cf. § 23 h, and the analogous cases of *Ṣere* for *Haṭeph-Seghōl* in verbal forms § 52 n, § 63 p, § 76 d.

#### IV. Nouns with a Long Vocal in the First Syllable and originally a Short Vowel in the Second Syllable.

r 13. The ground-form *qāṭāl*, in Hebrew, always changes the *á* into an obscure *ô*, קֹטֵל (קָטַל), e.g. עוֹלָם (§ 93, Paradigm III, a), Arab. *'ālam*, *eternity*; חֹתֵם (Arab. *ḥātām*) *a seal* (according to Barth a loan-word of Egyptian origin), fem. חֹתֶמֶת (from *ḥōtāmt*); חֹלֶעַץ *worm* (unless from a stem *ḥōl*, like חֹשֶׁב from *ḥōšb*; see the analogous cases in § 85 b). On the participles *Qal* of verbs *lāh* (§ 93, Paradigm III, c), cf. § 75 e; on the feminines of the participles *Qal*, which are formed with the termination *ת*, see below, s.

Rem. Of a different kind (probably from a ground-form *qauṭal*) are such forms as אֹפֶן (or אֹפֶן Ez 10<sup>9</sup> in the same verse) *a wheel*, צוּל *a young bird*, דוֹנָה *wax*, &c.

s 14. The ground-form *qāṭīl* also becomes in Hebrew almost invariably קֹטֵל (קָטַל). Besides *participles active masc. Qal* this class includes also feminines of the form קֹטֵלָה, if their ground-form *qōṭalt* (§ 69 c) goes back to an original *qāṭīlt*. The substantives of this form, such as כֹּהֵן *priest* (Arab. *kāhin*), were also originally participles *Qal*. The fem. of the substantives has *ē* (lengthened from *i*) retained before the tone, e.g. יֹלֶדָה *a woman in travail* (cf. also בִּגְדָה *the treacherous woman*, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>; הַצֹּלֶחַה *her that halleth*, Mi 4<sup>8</sup>, Zp 3<sup>10</sup>; סִחְרָה *a buckler*, ψ 91<sup>4</sup>); the participles as a rule have the form יֹלֶדָה, &c., the original *i* having become *Ṣeghōl*; however, the form with *Ṣere* occurs also in the latter, Is 29<sup>8,9</sup>, 34<sup>9</sup>, ψ 68<sup>26</sup>, 118<sup>16</sup> (all in principal pause; in subordinate pause 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, Is 33<sup>14</sup>; with a conjunctive accent, Ct 1<sup>8</sup>).

t 15. The ground-form *qūṭāl*, Hebrew קֹטֵל (as יוֹבֵל *river*, Jer 17<sup>8</sup>) or קָטַל e.g. עֹנֵב *a pipe*, commonly עֹנֵב, and to be so read, with Baer, also in ψ 150<sup>6</sup>, not עָנֵב.

#### V. Nouns with a Long Vowel in each Syllable.

u 16. קִטוּל, e.g. קִטוּר *smoke*. The few forms of this kind are probably derived from the ground-form *qīṭāl* (*qīṭāl* ?), i. e. the original *á* has become an obscure *ô*.

§ 84<sup>b</sup>. *Formation of Nouns from the Intensive Stem.*

This includes all forms which have arisen, either through the *a* doubling of the middle radical, or the repetition of one or of two consonants of the simple stem.

VI. *Nouns with the Middle Consonant sharpened.*

As in the corresponding verbal stems (cf. § 52 *f*), so also in some noun-formations of this class, the Dageš in the second radical expresses an intensification of the idea of the stem, either emphasizing the energy of the action or relation, or else indicating a longer continuance of the relation or state. Other nouns of this character are evidently only by-forms of the nouns derived from the simple stem, which were treated in the last section: cf. the instances adduced under *f* and *g*, and Barth, *Nominalbildung*, Introd., p. x.

17. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl* is mostly lengthened in Hebrew to קָטַל; cf. *b* אֵיל *a stag*, fem. אֵילָה, constr. st. אֵילָה (from 'āyyālt); cf. also the fem. (originating from *Qal*) לָהֶבֶת *a flame* (according to § 27 *q* for lāhhābhā), חֶרֶב *dry land* (for ḥarrābhā), דֶּבֶר and קֶרֶח *a burning fever*, יִבְשָׁה and יִבְשֻׁת *dry land*, טַבַּעַת *a seal-ring*, שֹׁרֶפֶת *consumption*. Adjectives of this class ('intensified participles of the active verb', Barth, *ibid.*, § 33) are חַטָּא *sinful*, נָנַח *wont to gore*, קָנָא *jealous*, בָּהָשׁ (for kahhāš, by § 22 *c*) *lying*. Nomina opificum also, curiously enough, are so treated in Hebrew (at least in the constr. state of the sing.), although the corresponding Arabic form *qāṭṭāl* points to an original (unchangeable) *ā* in the second syllable; cf. נָבֵב *a thief*, דִּין *a judge* (constr. st. דִּינִי ψ 68<sup>a</sup>), חָרָשׁ *a cook*, חָרָשׁ (for ḥarrāš) *artificer* (constr. st. חָרָשׁ, but plur. constr. חָרָשִׁי); פָּרָשׁ *horseman* (for parrāš), constr. st. פָּרָשׁ Ez 26<sup>10</sup>.

18. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl* appears in צָחָה *dry*, גָּאָה *haughty* (the *i* being *C* lengthened to *e* according to § 22 *c*), if these forms go back to original *ṣihhāy*, *gi'āy*. On the analogy, however, of the adjectives denoting defects (see *d* below), we should rather expect a ground-form *qāṭṭūl*; moreover, יוֹרְוַל *ground-form of the fem.* אִלְלָה *foolishness*, goes back to an original *iurwīl*, see § 69 *c*.

19. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl* and *qāṭṭūl*; cf. the fem. בִּסְמָת *spelt*, בִּחְנִית *coat*.

20. The ground-form *qāṭṭūl*; from the intensive stem, the infinitives *Pi'el* of *d* the form קָטַל.

21. The ground-form *qāṭṭūl*, in Hebrew lengthened to קָטַל. Of this form are a considerable number of adjectives which denote a bodily or mental fault or defect. Cf. אֵסֵר *disabled*, אֵלֵם *dumb*, הֶבֶן *hump-backed*, עֵוִר *blind*, חֵרֵשׁ *deaf* (for ḥirreš), פֶּסֶח *lame*, קָרַח *bald*, עָקָשׁ *perverse*; פֶּקַח *open-eyed* follows the same analogy.

22. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, cf. the remarks in *b* above, on the nomina opificum; moreover, to this class belong infinitives *Pi'el* of the Aramaic form בִּקְרָה *a searching out*, בִּקְשָׁה *a request*; with middle guttural (see § 22 *c*) נִאֲצָה *contumely*; but cf. also נִאֲצוּחִי Ez 35<sup>12</sup>, with full lengthening of the original *ā* before *N*; נִחְמָה *comfort*. From the attenuation of the *ā* of this form to *i*, arises undoubtedly:

23. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, e. g. אֶכָר *husbandman* (Arab. 'akkār).

24. The ground-form *qāṭṭūl*, most probably only a variety of the form *qāṭṭāl* with the *ā* attenuated to *i* (as in No. 23), and the *ā* obscured to *ō* (as in *n* and

r); cf. **גִּבּוֹר** *hero* (Arab. *gäbbär*), **צִפּוֹר** *caviller*, **צִפּוֹר** (*pip*er or *chirp*er) a *bird*, **שִׁכְמוֹר** *drunkard*. On the other hand, **יָלוּד** *born* probably arises from *yullód*, an old participle passive of *qal*, the *ü* being dissimilated in the sharpened syllable before *ó*: so Barth, *ibid.*, p. 41 f.

f 25. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, **קָטִיל**, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e.g. **אֲבִיר** *strong*, **צַדִּיק** *righteous*, **בָּרִיחַ** *fugitive* (for *barri<sup>ah</sup>*), **עָרִיץ** *violent* (for *‘ārrīṣ*).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class (see above, remark on a), appears from the constr. st. **פָּרִיעַ** *ravenous*, Is 35<sup>o</sup> (but **פָּרִיעִים**, **פָּרִיעִי** always), and according to Barth (*ibid.*, 35 a) also from the constr. st. **אֲבִיר** (but also **אֲבִיר** 1 S 21<sup>8</sup>) of **אֲבִיר**. However, the form **אֲבִיר**, as a name of God, may be intentionally differentiated from **אֲבִיר**, a poetic term for the bull.

In the same way **אֲסִיר** *prisoner*, **סָרִיס** *eunuch* (constr. st. always **סָרִיסִים**, plur. **סָרִיסִים**, constr. st. **סָרִיסִי** Gn 40<sup>7</sup>, but in the book of Esther always **סָרִיסִי**, with suffix **סָרִיסִיו**, &c.), and **עָתִיק** *weaned*, may be regarded as by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class **טָטִיל** passive meaning, see § 84<sup>a</sup> l.

g 26. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, **קָטִיל**, e.g. **חַנּוּן** *gracious*, **רַחוּם** *compassionate* (with virtual strengthening of the ח), **חָרִיץ** *diligent* (for *harrūs*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class, § 84<sup>a</sup> m. The same applies to substantives like **אֶשֶׁר** *a step* (in **אֶשְׁרֵי**, as well as **אֶשְׁרֵי**, &c.), **עֲמֹד** *pillar*; fem. **חֲבוּרָה** *a stripe* (also **חֲכֻרָה** *security*: cf. Barth, *ibid.*, § 84.

h 27. The ground-form *qāṭīl*; besides the infinitives absolute *Pīl* of the form **קָטַל**, also **קָנוֹא** *jealous* (as well as **קָנָא**, an obscured form of *qāṭīl*, see e).

i 28. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, **קָטִיל**, e.g. **צָפוּי** *a coating of metal*, **שָׁלוּם** *requital*, **שָׁקִי** *drink*, **שָׁקִיץ** *detestable thing*; with concrete meaning **לָמוּד** *a disciple*, **עָזוֹ** *strong*; frequently in the plural in an abstract sense, as **נְדוּפִים** *reproach*, **מְלֵאִים** *filling* (the induction of a priest), **נְחֻמִּים** *consolations, compassion*, **שְׁבִלִים** *bereavement*, **שְׁלָחִים** *dismissal*, **שְׁפָרִים** *obserrance*.

#### VII. Nouns with the Third Consonant repeated.

k 29. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. **שָׁאֵן** *quiet*, fem. **שָׁאֲנָה** (with sharpening of the second *Nūn*, in order to keep the preceding vowel short); **רָעֵן** *green*, plur. **רָעֲנָנִים**.

l 30. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, in Hebrew **קָטַל**; of this form are e.g. the infinitives *Pīl* (prop. *Paṭl*), cf. § 55 d.

m 31. The ground-form *qāṭīl*; so the plur. **גִּבְנִים** *ridges* (with sharpening of the *Nūn*, as in No. 29).

32. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, in **פָּרָחַח** *a brood*.

33. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, in **אֲמִלֵּל** *faint*.

34. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. **עֲבָטִיט** *plunder*, **כִּנְרִיר** *rain-storm*, **שִׁפְרִיר** *glittering tapestry*, Jer 43<sup>10</sup> *Q<sup>re</sup>*; with attenuation of the *ā* to *i* **בְּמִרְיָם** *all that maketh black*, Jb 5<sup>5</sup> (but the better reading is **בְּמִרְיָר**).

35. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. **שִׁפְרוֹר** Jer 43<sup>10</sup> *K<sup>th</sup>*; **נִאֲפֹפִים** *adulteries*.

#### VIII. Nouns with the Second and Third Consonants repeated.

n 36-39. *Q<sup>1</sup>āṭṭāl*, *Q<sup>2</sup>āṭṭāl*, *Q<sup>1</sup>āṭṭāl*; *Q<sup>2</sup>āṭṭāl*, *Q<sup>1</sup>āṭṭāl* (in fem. and plur. often with the last consonant sharpened for the reason given in a above); cf. **הַפְּכָפֶךְ**

crooked, חֲלָקָהוּ slippery places, עֲקָלָלוֹת crooked (ways); חֲתָלָהּ tortuous; also words denoting colours, אֲדָמָה (Lv 13<sup>42,49</sup> in pause) reddish, fem. אֲדָמָה, plur. אֲדָמָה; יִרְקָה greenish, plur. fem. יִרְקָה; q<sup>e</sup>tal'il, יִפְיָה very fair (to be read in Jer 46<sup>20</sup> for יִפְהָיָה); q<sup>e</sup>tal'ül, שְׁחֲרָתָה (fem.) blackish; אֲסָפָה a rabble (augmented from אָסַף collected). From a verb פִּי with aphaeresis of the initial syllable צִאצָּאִים offspring. Moreover, of the same form, probably, is חֲצוּצָה a trumpet (for חֲצוּצָה, cf. § 55 e). Also in Is 2<sup>20</sup> חֲפְרָה is to be read instead of פְּרוֹת (from the sing. חֲפְרָה a digging or burrowing animal, perhaps the mole). But פְּחָקָה opening, Is 61<sup>1</sup> (ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb. פְּחָקָה), is an evident mistake due to dittography; read פָּחָה as in 42<sup>7</sup>.

IX. *Nouns in which the Whole (Biliteral) Stem is repeated.*

Naturally this class includes only isolated forms of the stems ו"ע and ע"ע O (on פִּיפִיּוֹת see § 96 under פִּה). Thus:—

40. גִּלְגָּל a wheel, and, with attenuation of the first ā to ī, גִּלְגָּל (from גִּלְגָּל); fem. חֲלָהּ anguish (from חוּל or חִיל); כֶּכֶר (for kirkar) a talent; cf. also כּוֹכֵב a star (from kawkāb, Arabic kaukāb, for כֶּכֶב, טַבַּטָּה bands, for טַבַּטָּה; צִלְצִל probably a whirling locust.

41. פִּלְפֵּל infin. Filpēl (prop. Palpīl) from פוּל; fem. טַלְטֵלָה a hurling (from פּ טוּל).

42. כֶּדָר perhaps a ruby (for kădkūd), from כדר.

43. קִדְקִד the crown of the head (for qūdqud), from קדר; fem. גִּלְגֻּלְתָּה a skull (for gūlgūlt), from גלל.

44. זָרָר girded, from זור; בִּקְבֹּקֶה a bottle, from בקק; פִּרְפִּירִים fattened birds(?).

§ 85. *Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives.*

These include nouns which are directly derived from verbal forms α having preformatives (*Hiph'il, Hoph'al, Hitpa'el, Niph'al, &c.*), as well as those which are formed with other preformatives (א, י, מ, נ, ת), and finally those which are formed with affirmatives. The quadriliterals and quinqueliterals also are taken in connexion with these formations, inasmuch as they arise almost always by the addition or insertion of one or two consonants to the triliteral stem.

X. *Nouns with Preformatives.*

45. Nouns with א prefixed. Cf. the substantives with א prosthetic (§ 19 m), b such as אֶרֶץ arm (Jer 32<sup>21</sup>, Jb 31<sup>22</sup>; elsewhere always וֶרֶץ); אֶצֶבֶע a finger, אֶרְבֶּה a locust, אֶרְוֹף fist (others mailcoat, or clod), אֶשְׁמִירָה or אֶשְׁמִרָתָה a watch. In these examples the א is a 'euphonic' prefix (Barth, *ibid.*, § 150 b); in other cases it is 'essential'; cf. especially the adjectives, אֶכְזֹב deceitful, אֶכָּזֵר cruel, אֶחָד perennial (for 'aitun) [=the Arab. 'elative', used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אֶפְרָה fragrant part<sup>1</sup> (of the meal-

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps more correctly with Jacob, *ZAW.* 1897, p. 79, 'declaration,' i.e. the part of the meal-offering which 'announces the sacrifice and its object'.

offering) is a *nomen verbale* of *Hiph'il*, answering to the Aramaic infinitive of the causal stem ('*Aph'el*), hence with suff. אֶכְרֶתָהּ Lv 2<sup>2</sup>, &c.

**c** 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'il* הִקְטִיל and הִקְטִיל, of *Niph'al* הִקְטַל, הִקְטַל (for *hinq.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix הִתְ, this class also includes some rare *nomina verbalia* derived from *Hiph'il* (cf. § 72 z), viz. הִתְהַרֵּה appearance (from הִרָּה), Is 3<sup>9</sup>; הִתְנַפֵּה a swinging (from הִנִּיף), [Is 30<sup>28</sup>; הִתְנַחֵה a rest-giving, Est 2<sup>18</sup>]; הִתְנַחֵה deliverance (from נָצַל), [Est 4<sup>14</sup> an Aram. form: cf. הִתְנַחֵה Dn 5<sup>20</sup>]; perhaps also הִתְכַּל palace, from *haikāl*, unless it is borrowed from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.

**d** 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as יִצְהָר oil, יִלְקוּט wallet, יִנְשׁוּף owl(?); from verbs יָעַר, e. g. יָקוּם a living thing, יָתַר a range; from a verb יָרִיב, יָרִיב an adversary. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as יַעֲקֹב, יִצְחָק, &c.

**e** 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This *preformative Mēm*, which is no doubt connected with מִי who, and מָה what (see § 37 and § 52 c), appears in a very large number of nouns, and serves to express the most varied modifications of the idea of the stem: (1) מ subjective, when preformative of the participles *Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*, *Hithpa'el*, and other active conjugations. (2) מ objective, when preformative of the participles *Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and other passive conjugations, as well as of numerous nouns. (3) מ instrumental, as in מִפְתֵּחַ a key, &c. (4) מ local, as in מִדְּבָר a drive for cattle, &c.

**f** As regards the formation of these nouns, it is to be remarked that the preformative מ was originally in most cases followed by a short *ā*. This *ā*, however, in a closed syllable is frequently attenuated to *i*; in an open syllable before the tone it is lengthened to *ā* (so also the *i*, attenuated from *ā*, is lengthened to *ē*), and in מִגֶּן shield (with suff. מִגְנִי) it even becomes unchangeable *ā*. But in an open syllable which does not stand before the tone, the *ā* necessarily becomes *Segholā*.

**g** The following forms are especially to be noticed: (a) ground-form *māqtāl*, in Hebrew מִקְטָל, <sup>1</sup> e. g. מִאֲכָל food; fem. מַמְלָכָה kingdom, מִאֲכָלָה a knife, מִלְאָכָה (for מִלְאָכָה by § 23 c) business; from a verb פָּתַן a gift; from verbs פָּתַן, מוֹצֵא a going forth, מוֹשֵׁב a seat; from verbs פָּתַן, מִיטָב the best (from *maīṭāb*); with י (or ו) assimilated, מִצֵּעַ a bed; from verbs עָעַע a screen, and with the shortening of the *ā* under the preformative, מִמָּר bitterness (from מָמַר developed to a *segholate*), fem. מִשְׁמֶמָה desolation; from a verb יָעַר, probably of this class is מִקּוֹם place, the *ā* lengthened to *ā* and obscured to *ō* (Arabic *māqām*); from verbs לָהֵא appearance, מִעֵן (for מִעֵנָה) prop. intention, only in מִעֵן on account of, in order that.

**h** (b) Ground-form *miqtāl* (the usual form of the infin. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. מִקְטָל, e. g. מִדְּבָר (in Jer 2<sup>31</sup> also, where Baer requires מִדְּבָר, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מִדְּבָר) a cattle-drive, fem. מִלְחָמָה war, מִרְכָּבָה a chariot (with *Segholā* instead of *i*, but in constr. st. מִרְכָּבָה Gn 41<sup>43</sup>; cf. מִרְחָק distance), מִשְׁמֶרֶת a watch; from verbs יָעַר, e. g. מִסָּב surroundings (from *mi-sāb*; *i* in the open syllable being lengthened to *ē*; but cf. also מִשְׁק Is 33<sup>4</sup> as constr. state from שָׁקַק with sharpening of the first radical; cf. § 67 g); from verbs לָהֵא, מִקְנָה a possession, fem. מִקְנָה.

<sup>1</sup> In מִמְחָקִים Ct 5<sup>16</sup>, Neh 8<sup>10</sup>, the first syllable is artificially opened to avoid the cacophony; on the *ā* of the second syllable cf. § 93 ee.

(c) Ground-form *māqtīl*, Hebr. מִקְטֵל, e.g. מִשְׁעָן *a support* (fem. מִשְׁעָנָה), *i* מִסְנֵר *a smith*, מַעֲשֵׂר *a tithe*; fem. מִכְשֵׁלָה *a ruin*; from a verb פִּן *an overthrow*, מַצָּבָה *a pillar*; from verbs עָוַן *a shield*; fem. מִנְלָה *a roll* (from בָּלַל), מִאָּרָה *a curse* (for *m<sup>e</sup>irrā* from אָרַר); from a verb פָּוַשׁ *a snare* (from *māwqīš*).

(d) Ground-form *māqtīl*, Hebr. מִקְטֵל, e.g. מִסְפָּד mourning, מִזְבֵּחַ *an altar* *h* (place of sacrifice); from a verb עָנַן, e.g. מִסָּב (מִסָּב?) *consensus*; (e) ground-form *māqtīl*, Hebr. מִקְטֵל; fem. מִאֲכָלָת *food*, מִשְׁכָּרָת *wages*; from a verb עָוַן, fem. מִסְכָּה *a covering* (from סָכַף). Also from עָוַן, according to the Masora, מָעוֹן *a refuge*, with suffixes מַעֲוִי and מַעֲוִיָּה, plur. מַעֲוִים, but, very probably, most if not all of these forms are to be referred to the stem עָוַן *to flee for safety*, and therefore should be written מַעֲוִי, &c. The form מַעֲוִי, if derived from the stem עָוַן, would mean *stronghold*.—Cf. also מִרְיָה *faintness*, developed to a segholate, probably from מָרַף, for *mārōkh* from רָכַף, like מָחַם *soundness of body*, from חָמַם.

With a long vowel in the second syllable: (*f*) ground-form *maqṭāl*, with *ā* *l* always obscured to *ô*, e.g. מַחְסֹר *want*, מִלְקוֹחַ *booty*; from verbs עָוַן, e.g. מִגּוֹר *fear*, fem. מִגּוֹרָה and מִגּוֹרָה (with the *ô* depressed to *û* in a toneless syllable; cf. § 27 n), מִהוּמָה, &c., Is 22<sup>5</sup>. (*g*) Ground-form *māqtāl*, in Hebr. again מִקְטֵל, e.g. מִסְתָּר *a covert*, מִכְשֹׁל *a stumbling-block* (cf. above under *i*, *mākhšēlā*); fem. מִכְמֹרֶת *a fishing-net*; (*h*) the ground-forms *maqṭīl*, *miqtīl* (cf. מִקִּים) are found only in participles *Hiph'il*; the fem. מִבְּלִיגִית *cheerfulness*, is a denominative formed from a participle *Hiph'il*; (*i*) ground-form *māqtāl*, as מִלְבָּשׁ *a garment*.

Rem. On מ as preformative of the participles of all the conjugations except *Ni* *Qal* and *Niph'al*, cf. § 52 c. Many of these participles have become substantives, as מוֹפְרָת *snuffers*, מִשְׁחִית *destroyer, destruction*.

49. Nouns with נ prefixed. Besides the participles *Niph'al* (ground-form *n* *nāqtāl*, still retained e.g. in נֹלֵד for *nāwlād*, but commonly attenuated to *niqtāl*, Hebr. נִקְטַל) and the infinitive *Niph'al* of the form נִקְטַל, the prefix נ is found in נִפְתָּלִים *wrestlings*, Gn 30<sup>8</sup>, which is also to be referred to *Niph'al*, and נִיד *boiled pottage* (stem וִיד).

50. With ש prefixed, e.g. שִׁלְהֶבֶת *a flame*. On this *Šaph'el* formation, cf. § 55 i. *o*

51. Nouns with ת prefixed. Examples of this formation are numerous, *p* especially from weak stems, for the purpose of strengthening them phonetically (see Barth, *ibid.*, p. 283), and notably from verbs פָּוַשׁ and פָּוַשׁ. They may be classified as follows:—(a) the ground-form *tāqtāl* in תִּחְמָם *ostrich* (?); from verbs פָּוַשׁ *a settler*; fem. תִּחְלָת *expectation*, תִּוְכַחַת (from the *Hiph'il* הוֹכִיחַ) *correction*; from a verb פָּוַשׁ *the south*; from verbs פָּוַשׁ and פָּוַשׁ, לִיָּה *thanksgiving*, and תִּוְרָה *law*, both from *Hiph'il*; from a verb פָּוַשׁ and פָּוַשׁ, תִּצְאוֹת *issues*; probably belonging to this class, from verbs עָוַן *confusion*, and תִּמָּס *a melting away* (developed from תָּבַל and תָּמַס, from בָּלַל and תָּמַס).

(b) *Tiqtāl*, e.g. fem. תִּפְאָרֶת and תִּפְאָרֶת *glory*; from a verb לָהַ, e.g. תִּקְוָה *hope*; (c) *tāqtāl*, e.g. תִּשְׁבֵּץ *chequer work*; fem. תִּרְדָּמָה *deep sleep* (probably from the *Niph'al* תִּרְדַּם); from a verb פָּוַשׁ *correction* (from the *Hiph'il*-stem, like the constr. st. plur. תִּוְלָדוֹת *generations*); from verbs עָוַן *praise*, תִּפְלָה *prayer* (from the *Pī'el* of the stems הָלַל and פָּלַל).

- 7 With a long vowel in the second syllable: (d) *tīqāl*, as תְּהוֹם *the ocean, the deep* (for *tihām*; in Assyrian the fem. *tīāmtu*, constr. st. *tīāmat*, is the usual word for *sea*), unless it is to be derived with Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 113, from the stem תהם; (e) *tāqīl* (in Arabic the usual form of the infinitive of conjugation II. which corresponds to the Hebrew *Pī'el*), e.g. from a verb לָהֵךְ, fem. תְּכָלִית completeness; מְרִבִּית increase, usury, with a parallel form מְרִבִּית; in a passive sense, תַּלְמִיד a disciple; (f) תַּקְטִיל, e.g. תַּפְחִי an apple (for *tānpā<sup>ah</sup>*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e.g. תַּנְמוּל a benefit (also תַּנְמוּל); from verbs עָרַו תְּבוּסָה a treading down, תְּנוּפָה a waving (like תְּרוּמָה a lifting up, from the *Hiph'il* stem), תִּשְׁוָקָה a longing, &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e.g. תַּפְּחוּתָּהּ perverseness, תַּחְבּוּלוֹת guidance, תַּמְרוּרִים bitterness, תַּנְחִימִים and תַּנְחִימוֹת consolation; from a verb עָוָה תַּאֲנִים toil.

#### XI. Nouns with Affirmatives.

- s 52. Nouns with ל affixed. Perhaps חֲשֵׁמֶל *amber* (?), and probably בְּרוֹץ *iron*, בְּרָמֶל *garden-land* (*S<sup>g</sup>hōl* in both cases is probably a modification of the original *ā* in the tone-syllable), גִּבְעֵל *bloom*, cf. § 30 g.—According to Prätorius, *ZDMG*. 1903, p. 530 ff., *al* is an affix of endearment in the proper names מִיכָל, חֲמוּטָל (*little lizard* ?) אֲבִיגַיִל (also אֲבִיגַיִל).
- t 53. Nouns with ם affixed. With an original *ām* as affirmative, אֵילָם *vestibule* (although the *ā* in the *sing.* remains unchangeable), plur. אֵילָמִים; but in בָּנָם *a swarm of gnats*, the ם is radical. With original affirmative *um*, עִירָם (also עָרָם) *naked* (from עוּר), plur. עִירָמִים Gn 37, parallel form עָרוּם, plur. עָרוּמִים Gn 25.—To this class also belong the adverbs in *ām* and *ōm*, mentioned in § 100 g, and many proper names, as גִּרְשָׁם, also גִּרְשֹׁם, and גִּרְשֹׁן (*patronymic* גִּרְשָׁנִי, מֶלֶכָם, עֲמָרָם, &c.; but for פְּדִיּוֹם *ransom* (?), Nu 349, probably פְּדוּיָם is to be read.
- u 54. Nouns with ך affixed. The ך is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנָעַן *Canaan*, and צִפְרֶן *a finger nail*; more frequently the addition is made by means of a tone-bearing *ā*, which in Hebrew is modified to *S<sup>g</sup>hōl* (as גִּרְן *axe*) or lengthened to *ā* (but cf. also אֲחֵרְנִית and אֲחֵרְנִית); e.g. קִנְיָה *a possession*, שִׁלְחָן *a table*, קָרְבָן *an offering*. From an original *ā* being changed into an obscure *ō* we may probably explain such forms as דָּאֲבוֹן *a pining away*; דָּרְבָן (also דָּרְבָן) *a goad*; רָעֲבוֹן *hunger*; from verbs לָהֵךְ גָּאוֹן *pride*, הָמוֹן *noise*, חֲזוֹן *a vision*; שִׁרְיוֹן *a coat of mail*; from a verb פָּאֵן מִשְׁאָן *guile* (the only instance with both *m* preformative and *ōn* affirmative)<sup>1</sup>; very frequently from the simple stem with an unorganic sharpening of the second radical, e.g. בְּלִיּוֹן *memorial*, דִּבְרוֹן *destruction* (constr. st. וְכָרוֹן and בְּלִיּוֹן, &c.; cf. also הָרִיּוֹן *pregnancy* (for הָרָה) and § 93 uu; קִלְקָלוֹן *shame*, for קִלְקָלוֹן. Proper names occur with the termination *ūn*, as יִשְׂרָאוֹן, § 86 g, and others.

<sup>1</sup> The plurals נִצְנִים *flowers*, Ct 212, and קִשְׁשִׁים *thorns* appear to be formed directly from the singulars נִץ (cf. נִצָּה) and קִשׁ with the insertion of *ān* (which in קִשׁ is obscured to *ōn*). See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 169, Rem. 3; similarly, according to Hoffmann, 'Einige phöniz. Inschriften,' p. 15 (*Abh. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, xxxvi), עֲבוּנִים *wares*, Ez 27<sup>14,16</sup> from עֹבָה = עֲבָה.

Rem. A large number of proper names now ending in ה־ or ו־ used to be classed as nouns originally formed with the affix מְנֻחֵם. The subsequent rejection of the final *Nûn* seemed to be confirmed by the form מְנֻחֵם, once used (Zc 12<sup>11</sup>) for מְנֻחֵם (and conversely in Pr 27<sup>20</sup> מְנֻחֵם אֶבְרָהָם, *Qere* מְנֻחֵם for מְנֻחֵם destruction), also by the fact that for שְׁלֹמֹה the LXX give the form Σολωμών or Σαλωμών, and especially that in patronymics and tribal names (§ 86 h) a *Nûn* appears before the termination י, as גִּילֹנִי *Gilonite* from גִּלָּה and שִׁילֹנִי from שִׁילָה (modern name *Sailûn*). Wetzstein, however (in Delitzsch's *Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the *Nûn* in מְנֻחֵם as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination ה (יְרֵחוֹ, עֵכוֹ, רְמוֹנִי, &c.), and Barth (*Nominalbildung*, § 224 b) has since shown the unsoundness of the prevailing view on other grounds: the rejection of the *Nûn* would be much more likely to occur in the numerous appellatives in *ôn* than in proper names, and גִּילֹנִי and שִׁילֹנִי are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as *gilô-i*, *šilô-i*, &c.; cf. also שִׁילֹנִי from שִׁילָה.

On the affirmatives י־, ו־, וְח־, יְח־, see below, § 86 h-l.

## XII. *Quadriliterals and Quinqueliterals.*

55. גִּלְמֵי barren, חֲלָמִישׁ a *flint*, and the fem וְלֶעֱפָה *heat*, &c., have probably arisen from the insertion of a ל; חֲרָגַל a *locust*, קֶרֶם an *axe*, קֶרְעָפָה a *branch*, Ez 31<sup>6</sup> (verses 6, 8 סְעָפָה, שְׁעָפִים, also שְׁעָפִים) *anxious thoughts*, שֶׁבֶט sceptre, from insertion of a ר, which is common in Aramaic. Cf., moreover, חֲרָמִישׁ a *sickle*, סִמְרֵר vine-blossom; with an initial ע, עֲטָלָה a *bat*, עֲכָבִישׁ a *spider*, עֲכָבֵר a *mouse*, עֲקָרָב a *scorpion*,<sup>1</sup> &c.—Quinqueliteral, צַפְרִידֶּה a *frog*.

## § 86. *Denominative Nouns.*

1. Such are all nouns formed *immediately* from another noun, *a* whether the latter be primitive or derived from a verb, e.g. קֶרְמוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קָרַם the *east* (verbal stem קָרַם to be in front).

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already been given in §§ 84 and 85, since the denominatives, as secondary (although in some cases very old) forms, invariably follow the analogy of the verbal derivatives. As, for instance, the verbals with a prefixed מ (§ 85 e to m) express the place, &c., of an action, so the denominatives with מ *local* represent the place where a thing is found or its neighbourhood (see e).

The most common forms of denominatives are—

1. Those like the participle *Qal* (§ 84<sup>a</sup> s), e.g. שֹׁעֵר a *porter*, from שָׁעַר a *gate*; בָּקָר a *herdsman*, from בָּקָר a *herd*; בֹּרֵם a *vinedresser*, from בָּרַם a *vineyard*.
2. Those like the form *qāṭṭāl* (§ 84<sup>b</sup> b), e.g. קֹשֶׁת an *archer*, from קָשָׁה a *bow*.

<sup>1</sup> Derenbourg (*REJ.*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic *ʿusfūr*, *sparrow* (from *šafara*, to chirp), that ע was especially employed to form quadriliteral names of animals.

Both these forms (c and d) indicate customary occupations, inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in *της, τὸς*, e. g. *πολίτης, γραμματεὺς*.

- c 3. Nouns with מ prefixed, denoting the place where a thing is (cf. § 85 e), or its neighbourhood, e. g. מַעֵין *a place of fountains*, from עֵין *the place about the feet*, מִרְאֵשׁ *the place about the head*, from רֵגֶל *the place about the feet*, מִקְשָׁה *a cucumber field*, from קֶשֶׂא *cucumber*. Cf. ἀμπελῶν from ἀμπελος.

- f 4. Nouns with the termination יָ or יִן expressing adjectival ideas: קֶדְמוֹן *eastern*, from קָדַם; אַחֲרוֹן *posterior*, from אָחַר; חִיצוֹן *exterior*, from חָצַן; probably also לִיָּיתָן *coiled*, hence *coiled animal, serpent*, from לָיָה *a winding*; נְחֹשֶׁתָן *brazen*, from נָחַשׁ *brass*. Also abstracts, e. g. עֵצְרוֹן *blindness*, from עָרָה. Cf. § 85 u.—With a double termination (ōn or ān with i) אֲדָמְנִי *reddish*, יְדַעְנִי *a knowing (spirit)*; צַפְעִנִי *basilisk*; רַחֲמִינִי *merciful [fem. plur.]*.

- g ין appears to be used as a diminutive ending (cf. the Syriac יָן) in אֵישׁוֹן *little man (in the eye), apple of the eye*, from אִישׁ<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand שְׂפִיפָן *adder*, which was formerly regarded as a diminutive, is properly an adjectival form from שָׁפַף *to rub* (hence, as it were, a *rubbing creature*); in the same way יִשְׁרוֹן is a denominative from יָשַׁר (= יֹשֶׁר), properly *upright (righteous people)*, and not a diminutive (*pious little people*, and the like); finally, שֶׁהָרוֹן is not *lunula*, but an *artificial moon* (used as an ornament), and צִוְּרָנִים *not little neck*, but *necklace* (from צָוָר *neck*). Cf. Delitzsch on Ct 4<sup>o</sup>.

- h 5. Peculiar to denominatives is the termination יָ, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form ordinals, patronymics, and tribal names; e. g. רִגְלִי *footman*, plur. רִגְלִים, from רֵגֶל *foot*; אֲכֹרִי *cruel*, נָכְרִי *strange*, from נָכַר *strangeness*, תַּחְתִּי *lower*, from תַּחַת *below*, fem. תַּחְתִּיָּה and plur. תַּחְתִּיָּים; שֵׁשִׁי *the sixth*, from שֵׁשׁ *six*; מוֹאבִי *Moabite*, from מוֹאָב, plur. מוֹאבִּים, fem. מוֹאבִּיָּה and plur. מוֹאבִּיָּת; עִבְרִי *Hebrew*, plur. עִבְרִיִּם, fem. עִבְרִיָּה, plur. עִבְרִיִּת; יִשְׂרָאֵלִי *Israelite*, from יִשְׂרָאֵל. When the original substantive is a compound, it is resolved again into two words, e. g. בְּנֵי־יָמִינִי *Benjamite*, from בְּנֵי־יָמִין (cf. on the use of the article in such cases, § 127 d).

- i Instead of יָ we find in a few cases (a) the ending יָ (as in Aram.), e. g. כִּילִי *(crafty, or, according to others, churlish)* if it stands for כְּבִילִי and is not rather from a stem כָּלַא or כָּלָה; חוּרִי *white cloth*, Is 19<sup>9</sup> in pause; perhaps also גְּבִי *a swarm of locusts*, Am 7<sup>1</sup> (גֹּבִי Na 3<sup>17</sup>); hardly גְּבִינֹתִי Is 38<sup>20</sup>, Hb 3<sup>19</sup>; but certainly in proper names as בְּרוּזִי *(ferreus) Barzillai*;<sup>2</sup> and (b) הָ,

[<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barth, § 212; König, ii. 1, 413. Diminutives in Semitic languages are, however, most commonly formed by inserting a *y* after the second radical, e. g. Aram. עוּלְיָמָא, Syr. حَكَمَلَا, Arab. غُلَيْمٌ *a very young man*, كَلْبَايَ *a little dog*, &c. Since Olshausen (§ 180) וְעִיר *a little* (Is 28<sup>10.18</sup>, Jb 36<sup>2</sup>) has commonly been regarded as an example of the same form, to which others have added שְׁבִיכִים Is 3<sup>18</sup> (as though a foreign dialectical form for *šumais, little sun*), and אֲמִנּוֹן 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, as a contemptuous diminutive form of אֲמִנוֹן; cf. Ewald, § 167, W. Wright, *Arab. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> i. § 269, De Lagarde, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 85–87, König, ii. 1, p. 143 f. The existence of the form in Hebrew is disputed by Barth, § 192 d.]

<sup>2</sup> On יָ as an old fem. ending, see above, § 80 l.

arising from *ay*, in *אֵשׁ* *belonging to fire* (אֵשׁ), i. e. *a sacrifice offered by fire*; לִבְנָה (prop. *milky*) *the storax-shrub*, Arabic *lubnay*.

6. Abstract nouns formed from concretes by the addition of וֵת, הַ [יֵּת, הַ] k (§ 95 t), cf. our terminations -dom, -hood, -ness, e.g. יְלֻדוֹת *youth*, מְלֻכּוֹת *kingdom* (the omission of the *Dages* in כ shows that the *Šwā* is weakened from a full vowel; on *malik* as underlying the present form מְלִיכָה cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> a); אִלְמָנוּת *widowhood*, from אִלְמָן *widower*, אִלְמָנָה *widow*. In Aram. this fem. ending וֵת (or יֵת with rejection of the ת) is a common termination of the infinitive in the derived conjugations (cf., as substantival infinitives of this kind, הַשְׁמָעוּת *the announcing*, Ez 24<sup>26</sup>, and הַתְּחַבְּרוּת *the making of a league*, Dn 11<sup>23</sup>); in Hebr. וֵת as a termination to express abstract ideas (including some which appear to be directly derived from the verbal stem, as רְפָאוּת *healing*<sup>1</sup>) becomes more common only in the later books. It is affixed to adjectives ending in י (see above, h) in אֲכִזְרִיּוֹת *cruelty*, and קוֹמְמִיּוֹת *upright position* (Lv 26<sup>18</sup>, used adverbially).

The ending יֵת is found earlier, e.g. in שְׂאִירִית *remainder*, רִאשִׁית *principle*, from רִאשׁ = ראש (head) *princeps*. The termination *ôth* seems to occur in חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (in Pr 1<sup>20</sup>, g<sup>1</sup>, joined to a singular; so also חֲכָמוֹת Pr 14<sup>1</sup>, where, probably, חֲכָמוֹת should likewise be read) and in הוֹלָלוֹת Ec 1<sup>17</sup>, &c., with the parallel form הוֹלָלוֹת Ec 10<sup>18</sup>.

### § 87. Of the Plural.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 426 ff., and on the feminines, p. 441 ff.; M. Lambert, 'Remarques sur la formation du pluriel hébreu,' *REJ.* xxiv. 99 ff., and 'Les anomalies du pluriel des noms en Hébreu,' *REJ.* xliii. 206 ff.; P. Lajčák, *Die Plural- u. Dualendungen im semit. Nomen*, Lpz. 1903; J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Pluralbildung des Semit.,' *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff., i. 'the *ai* of the constr. st.'

1. The regular plural termination for the masculine gender is יִם, *a* always with the tone, e.g. סוּס *horse*, plur. סוּסִים *horses*; but also very often written defectively יִם, especially when in the same word one of the vowel letters, ו or י, precedes, e.g. גִּנּוּ תַנִּינִים. Nouns in יֵת make their plural in יִם, e.g. עֵבְרִי *a Hebrew*, plur. עֵבְרִיִּים (Ex 3<sup>18</sup>); but usually contraction takes place, e.g. עֵבְרִים; שָׁנִים *crimson garments*, from שָׁנִי.

Nouns in הֵת lose this termination when they take the plural הִם ending, e.g. חֹהֵה *seer*, plur. חוֹהִים (cf. § 75 l).—In regard to the loss of the tone from the יִם in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, cf. § 88 d and § 96.

The termination יִם is sometimes assumed also by feminines (cf. c שִׁים *women*, § 96 under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים *years*, from שָׁנָה; רְחֵלִים *ewes*, from רָחֵל), so that an indication of gender is not necessarily implied in it (cf. also below, m-p).—On the use of this termination יִם to express abstract, extensive, and intensive ideas, cf. § 124.

<sup>1</sup> [See a complete list of instances in König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 1, p. 205 f.]

*d* The ending *im* is also common in Phoenician, e. g. צִדְנִים *Sidonii*; Assyrian has *āni* (acc. to P. Haupt originally *āmi*, cf. § 88 d); Aramaic has *in*; Arabic *āna* (nominative) and *ina* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *in* is also used for the nominative); Ethiopic *ān*. Cf. also the verbal ending *in* in the 3rd plur. perf. (§ 44 l) and in the 3rd and 2nd plur. impf. (§ 47 m).<sup>1</sup>

*e* Less frequent, or only apparent terminations of the plur. masc. are—

(a) *im*—, as in Aramaic,<sup>2</sup> found almost exclusively in the later books of the O. T. (apart from the poetical use in some of the older and even the oldest portions), viz. מְלָכִין *kings*, Pr 31<sup>3</sup>, צָרִיךְ 1 K 11<sup>33</sup>, רָצִין *the guard*, 2 K 11<sup>13</sup>, חֲטִין *wheat*, Ez 4<sup>9</sup>; defectively אִיָּן *islands*, Ez 26<sup>18</sup>; יָמִין *days*, Dn 12<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also מְרִין *carpets*, Ju 5<sup>10</sup>, in the North-Palestinian song of Deborah, which also has other linguistic peculiarities; עֵיין *heaps*, Mi 3<sup>12</sup> (before ת; cf. § 44 k); מְלִין *words* (from the really Aram. מְלָה), Jb 4<sup>2</sup>, and twelve other places in *Job* (beside מְלִים, ten times in *Job*); further, חֵין Jb 24<sup>22</sup>, אֲחֵרִין 31<sup>10</sup>, and שׁוֹמְמִין La 1<sup>4</sup>, תִּנִּין 4<sup>8</sup>.—The following forms are doubtful:

*f* (b) *im* (with the *im* rejected, as, according to some, in the *dual* יָדִים for יָדִים Ez 13<sup>18</sup>, cf. § 88 c), e. g. מְנִין *stringed instruments*, ψ 45<sup>9</sup> for מְנִים (unless it is to be so written)<sup>3</sup>; עַמִּין *peoples*, ψ 144<sup>2</sup>, and, probably, also La 3<sup>14</sup> in 2 S 22<sup>44</sup> it may be taken as עַמִּי *my people*; cf. in the parallel passage ψ 184<sup>4</sup> עַם; also in Ct 8<sup>2</sup> the *i* of רַמְנִי is better regarded as a *suffix*; see also 2 S 23<sup>8</sup> as compared with 1 Ch 11<sup>11</sup>, and on the whole question Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 524 ff. More doubtful still is—

*g* (c) *im* (like the constr. state in Syriac), which is supposed to appear in e. g. שָׂרִין *princes*, Ju 5<sup>15</sup> (perhaps *my princes* is intended: read either the constr. st. שָׂרִי, which also has good authority, or with LXX שָׂרִים); for חֲלוֹנֵי וֹם Jer 22<sup>14</sup> (according to others *dual*, see § 88 c, or a loan word, cf. ZA. iii. 93) read חֲלוֹנֵי קַפֹּן. On חֲלוֹרִי and חֲלוֹרִי, which have also been so explained, see above, § 86 i.—חֲשׁוּפִי Is 20<sup>4</sup> (where the right reading is certainly חֲשׁוּפִי must be intended by the Masora either as a singular with the formative syllable *im* = *bareness* or, more probably, as a constr. st. with the original termination *ay* (cf. § 89 d) to avoid the harsh combination *h<sup>u</sup>sifi šet*<sup>4</sup>; in אֲדֹנִי *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the plur. *majestatis*, אֲדֹנִים *lord*), the *ay* was originally a *suffix*, § 135 g.

*h* (d) *im*— a supposed plural ending in בָּנִים = בָּנִים *gnats* (or *lice*), and סֻלָּם *ladder* (supposed by some to be a plur. like our *stairs*); but cf. on the former, § 85 t.

*i* 2. The plural termination of the *feminine gender* is generally indicated by the termination וֹת (often written defectively תֹּת—, e. g. תְּהִלָּה *song of praise, psalm*, plur. תְּהִלוֹת (only in post-biblical Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> On the connexion between all these endings see Dietrich's *Abhandl. zur hebr. Gramm.*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 51 ff.; Halévy, *REJ.* 1888, p. 138 ff. [cf. also Driver, *Tenses*, § 6, Obs. 2].

<sup>2</sup> So also always in the Meša' inscription, e. g. line 2 שְׁלֹשָׁן *thirty*; line 4 מְלָכִין *kings*; line 5 יָמִין *many days*, &c.

<sup>3</sup> According to some this *i* is simply due to a neglect of the point (§ 5 m), which in MSS. and elsewhere marked the abbreviation of the plur. ending.

<sup>4</sup> Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 525, regards חֲשׁוּפִי as an instance of the affix of endearment (cf. אֲחוּמִי, כְּלוּבִי) transferred to an appellative, but such an explanation is rendered unlikely by the meaning of this isolated instance.

תְּהִלִּים, as in the headings of the printed editions, as well as סֵפֶר תְּהִלֹּת (the *Book of Psalms*); אֵלֶּךָ *a letter*, plur. אֵלֶּיךָ; בְּאֵר *a well*, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in יָת־ form their plural in יָת־, e.g. מִצְרִיָּה *an Egyptian woman*, plur. מִצְרִיּוֹת; and those in יָת־ either make יָת־, as מַלְכוּת *kingdom*, plur. מַלְכוּתֹת, Dn 8<sup>22</sup> (cf. חֲנוּיֹת *cells*, Jer 37<sup>16</sup>), or are inflected like עֲדוּת *testimonies* (pronounced *ēdhwōth* for *ēdhūwōth*).

It is only from a mistake or disregard of these feminine endings יָת־ and לִי־ that some words ending with them form their plural by the addition of יָת־ or לִי־, e.g. חֲנִית *spear*, plur. חֲנִיתוֹת; וְנִתָּה *whoredom*, plur. וְנִתָּהּ (by the side of וְנִתָּהּ); אֲלֻמְנוֹתָיִם *widowhood*; שְׁחִיתוֹת *pits*, plur. שְׁחִיתוֹת (if connected with Assy. *kāsu*, to bind), &c.

The termination *-ōth* stands primarily for *-āth* (which is the form it has in Arab., Eth., in the *constr. st.* of Western Aramaic, in Eastern Syriac, and also in Assyrian; on the change of *ā* into an obscure *ō*, see § 99). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this *āth* is to be regarded as a lengthened and stronger form of the singular fem. ending *āth* (cf. § 80 b).

How the changeable vowels of a noun are shortened or become *Šewā* in consequence of the addition of the plural endings is explained in §§ 92-5.

3. Words which in the singular are used both as masculine and *m* feminine (§ 122 d), often have in the plural parallel forms with the masculine and feminine terminations, e.g. עָבֹד *cloud*, plur. עָבֹדִים and עָבֹדוֹת; and each form may be treated either as masculine or feminine, according to the usage of the particular word.—But even those words, of which the gender is invariable, sometimes have both plural forms, e.g. דּוֹר masc. *a generation*, plur. דּוֹרִים and דּוֹרוֹת; שָׁנָה fem. *a year*, plur. שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת (see the Rem.). In these words the gender of both plural forms remains the same as in the singular, e.g. אֶרֶץ masc. *a lion*, plur. אֶרֶצוֹת masc., Zp 3<sup>3</sup>, דּוֹרוֹת masc., Jb 42<sup>16</sup>.

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יָמִים *days*, שָׁנִים *years* are the usual, but יָמוֹת (only twice, in the *constr. st.* Dt 32<sup>7</sup>, ψ 90<sup>15</sup>) and שָׁנוֹת (also only in the *constr. st.* and before suffixes) are rarer poetic forms.

A difference of meaning appears in several names of members of the body, *o* the dual (see § 88) denoting the living members themselves, while the plur. in יָת־ expresses something like them, but without life (§ 122 u), e.g. יָדַי *hands*, יָדוֹת artificial hands, also e.g. the arms of a throne; כַּפָּיִם *hands*, כַּפּוֹת handles (Lat. *manubria*); רַגְלִי *foot*, רַגְלֹת artificial feet (of the ark), קַרְנֵי *horns*, קַרְנוֹת (Lat. *manubria*); עֵינַי *eyes*, עֵינֹת *fountains*; cf. also אֲרִיִּים *lions*, אֲרִיּוֹת the figures of lions on Solomon's throne, תְּמָרָה *palm*, תְּמָרֹת *a palm-like column*, plur. תְּמָרִים and תְּמָרוֹת.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in יָת־ *p* while many feminines have a plural in יָת־. The gender of the singular, however, is as a rule retained in the plural.

Undoubted instances of masculines with (masculine) plural in **ות** are: **אב** father, **אוצר** treasure, **באר** and **בור** cistern, **זנב** tail, **חלום** dream, **כסא** throne, **לב** and **לִבָּב** heart, **לִיחַ** tablet, **לַיִל** and **לַיְלָה** night, **מִזְבֵּחַ** altar, **מָקוֹם** place, **נֹאד** skin-bottle, **נֵר** lamp, **עוֹר** skin, **קוֹל** voice, **שֻׁלְחָן** table, **שֵׁם** name, **שׁוֹפָר** trumpet.

**q** Feminines ending in **ה** which take in the plural the termination **ים** are **אֵלֶּה** terebinth, **אִמָּה** terror (but also **אִמּוֹת**), **דְּבָלָה** a cake of figs, **חֲטָה** wheat, **לִבְנָה** a brick, **מִלָּה** (only in poetry) a word, **סֵאָה** seā, a dry measure, **שְׁעוּרָה** barley, and the following names of animals **דְּבוּרָה** a bee and **יוֹנָה** a dove; also, for **בִּיצִים** fem. eggs, a singular **בִּיצָה** is to be assumed. **אֶלְמָה** sheaf and **שָׁנָה** year (see above, *n*) take both **ים** and **ות**; cf. finally **שֶׁבֶלֶת** an ear of corn, plur. **שֶׁבֶלֶתִים**, and without the fem. termination in the singular **פִּילִגֶּשֶׁת** concubine, plur. **פִּילִגֶּשֶׁתִּים**.

**γ** 5. A strict distinction in gender between the two plural endings is found, in fact, only in adjectives and participles, e.g. **טוֹבִים** *boni*, **טוֹבוֹת** *bonae*, **קָטָלִים** masc., **קָטָלוֹת** fem. So also in substantives of the same stem, where there is an express distinction of sex, as **בָּנִים** *fili*, **בָּנוֹת** *filiae*; **מַלְכִּים** *reges*, **מַלְכוֹת** *reginae*.

**δ** Rem. 1. In some few words there is added to the plural ending **ות** a second (masculine) plural termination (in the form of the constr. st. **ים**, cf. § 89 c), or a dual ending **ים**, e.g. **בָּמָה** a high place, plur. **בָּמֹת**, constr. st. **בָּמוֹתַי** (also **בָּמֹתַי** *bāmōthē*, Is 14<sup>14</sup>, Jb 9<sup>8</sup>, &c., sometimes as *Qérē* to the K<sup>thibh</sup> **בָּמוֹתַי**; see § 95 o); **מִרְאֲשֵׁתִי שָׂאוּל** from Saul's head, 1 S 26<sup>12</sup>; **חוֹמָה** wall, plur. **חוֹמוֹת** *moenia*, whence dual **חוֹמֹתַיִם** double walls. This double indication of the plural appears also in the connexion of suffixes with the plural ending **ות** (§ 91 m).

**t** 2. Some nouns are only used in the singular (e.g. **אָדָם** man, and collectively *men*); a number of other nouns only in the plural, e.g. **מְתִים** *men* (the old sing. is only preserved in proper names, see § 90 o; in Eth. the sing. is *mēt*, man); some of these have, moreover, a singular meaning (§ 124 a), as **פָּנִים** face. In such cases, however, the same form can also express plurality, e.g. **פָּנִים** means also faces, Gn 40<sup>7</sup>, Ez 1<sup>6</sup>; cf. **אֱלֹהִים** God, and also gods (the sing. **אֱלֹה**, a later formation from it, occurs only ten times, except in Job forty-one and in Daniel four times).

## § 88. Of the Dual.

Cf. the literature on the Semitic dual in Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.* (Wien, 1886), p. 21; Rockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 455 ff.

**a** 1. The dual is a further indication of number, which originated in early times. In Hebrew, however, it is almost exclusively used to denote those objects which naturally occur in pairs (see e). The dual termination is never found in adjectives, verbs, or pronouns. In the noun it is indicated in both genders by the termination **ים**.

appended to the ground-form,<sup>1</sup> e.g. יָדַי *both hands*, יוֹמַי *two days*. In the feminine the dual termination is always added to the old ending *ath* (instead of הַ־), but necessarily with *ā* (since it is in an open syllable before the tone), thus הַיָּמִים, e.g. שְׂפָה *lip*, שְׂפָתַי *both lips*. From a feminine with the ending הַ־, e.g. נְהַשֶּׁת (from *nēḥušē*) the dual is formed like נְהַשֶּׁתַּי *double fetters*.

With nouns which in the singular have not a feminine ending, the <sup>b</sup> dual termination is likewise really added to the ground-form; but the latter generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the shifting of the tone, e.g. כַּנָּף *wing* (ground-form *kānāph*), dual כַּנְּפַיִם, the first *ā* becoming *šewā*, since it no longer stands before the tone, and the second *ā* being lengthened before the new tone-syllable. In 1 K 16<sup>24</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>23b</sup> the form כַּנְּפַיִם (which should be כַּנְּפַיִם) evidently merely points to the *const. st.* כַּנְּפַי, which would be expected before כֶּקֶף; cf. כַּנְּפַיִם in 2 K 5<sup>23a</sup>, and on the syntax see § 131 d. In the segholate forms (§ 84<sup>a</sup> a) the dual ending is mostly added to the ground-form, e.g. רַגְלַי *foot* (ground-form *rāgl*), dual רַגְלַיִם; cf., however, קַרְנַיִם (only in the book of Daniel), as well as קַרְנֵי from קַרְנֵי *horn*, and לְחַיִּים from לְחִי *cheek* (as if from the plurals קַרְנוֹת, קַרְנֵי).—A feminine dual of an adjective used substantively occurs in עַצְלָתַי *a sluggish pair* (of hands) Ec 10<sup>18</sup> from the sing. עַצֵּל.

Rem. 1. Certain place-names were formerly reckoned as dual-forms (so in <sup>c</sup> earlier editions of this Grammar, and still in König's *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 437), viz.—(a) those in יָ־ and יָ־, e.g. דִּתְיִן Gn 37<sup>17a</sup> (locative דִּתְיָה, but in <sup>17b</sup> דִּתְיָה), and דִּתְיִן 2 K 6<sup>13</sup>; קִרְיָה Jos 21<sup>32</sup>, identical with קִרְיָה in 1 Ch 6<sup>61</sup> (cf. also the Moabite names of towns in the Mēša' inscription, line 10 קִרְיָה = Hebrew חֲרוֹנִים; line 30 דִּבְלָתַיִם = בת דִּבְלָתַיִם Jer 48<sup>22</sup>; lines 31, 32 חֲרוֹנִים = חֲרוֹנִים Is 15<sup>6</sup>, &c.); (b) in יָ־, Jos 15<sup>84</sup> הָעֵינִים (= עֵינַיִם Gn 38<sup>21</sup>). The view that יָ־ and יָ־ arise from a contraction of the dual terminations יָ־ (as in Western Aramaic, cf. also nom. *āni*, accus. *aini*, of the dual in Arabic) and יָ־ seemed to be supported by the Mēša' inscription, where we find (line 20) מֵאָתַיִן *two hundred* = מֵאָתַיִן, Hebrew מֵאָתַיִם. But in many of these supposed duals either a dual sense cannot be detected at all, or it does not agree at any rate with the nature of the Semitic dual, as found elsewhere. Hence it can hardly be doubted that יָ־ and יָ־ in these place-names only arise from a subsequent expansion of the terminations יָ־ and יָ־: so Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, xxi. 433; Philippi, *ZDMG*. xxxii. 65 f.; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 319, note 5; Strack, *Kommentar zur Genesis*, p. 135. The strongest argument in favour of this opinion is that we have a clear case of such an expansion in the *Qerā perpetuum* (§ 17 c) יְרוּשָׁלַיִם for יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (so, according to Strack, even in old MSS. of the Mišna; cf. *Urusalim* in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and the Aramaic form יְרוּשָׁלַיִם): similarly in

<sup>1</sup> On dual endings appended to the plural see § 87 s and § 95 o at the beginning.

the Aramaic שְׁמָרִין = שְׁמֶרֶן for the Hebrew שְׁמָרֶן *Samaria*.—We may add to this list אֶפְרַיִם, נַחֲלִיִּים the river country (in the Tel-el-Amarna letters *nārīma*, *na'rima*), מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, Phoenician מִצְרִם; also the words denoting time, צַהֲרַיִם *midday* (Meša' inscription, line 15 צַהֲרִם), and perhaps עֶרְבַיִם in the evening, if the regular expression בֵּין-הָעֶרְבַיִם Ex 12<sup>6</sup>, 16<sup>12</sup>, &c., is only due to mistaking עֶרְבַיִם for a dual: LXX πρὸς ἑσπέραν, τὸ δειλινόν, ὕψι, and only in Lv 23<sup>5</sup> ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν. The Arabs also say *el 'išā'an*, the two evenings, cf. Kuhn's *Literaturblatt*, iii. 48.

Instead of the supposed dual יְרֵי Ez 13<sup>18</sup> read יְרִים. On חַלְוֵי (generally taken to be a double window) Jer 22<sup>14</sup>, see above, § 87 g.

- d 2. Only apparently dual-forms (but really plural) are the words מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*. According to P. Haupt in *SBOT*. (critical notes on Isaiah, p. 157, line 18 ff.), they are to be derived from the old plural forms (found in Assyrian) *māmi*, *šamāmi*, whence the Hebr. מַיִם, שָׁמַיִם arose by inversion of the *i*, *māmi*, *māmi*, *māim*. It is simpler, however, to suppose that the primitive singulars *may* and *šamay*, when they took the plural of extension (§ 124<sup>b</sup>), kept the tone on the *ay*, thus causing the *im* (which otherwise always has the tone, § 87 a) to be shortened to *im*. Cf. the analogous formations, Arab. *tarḡaina*, 2nd fem. sing. imperf. of a verb *لأى*, for *tarḡay* + *ina*, corresponding to *taḡtulina* in the strong verb; also bibl.-Aram. בְּרִינָן the abs. st. plur. of the *ptcp.* Qal of בָּנָה (לָּבִי), which otherwise always ends in *in* with the tone, e.g. in the *p'cp.* Qal of the strong verb, דְּבַחִין *sacrificing*.

- e 2. The use of the dual in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, &c. (see § 97), practically to those objects which are by nature or art always found in *pairs*, especially to the double members of the body (but not necessarily so, cf. יָדַיִם and יָרְעוֹת *arms*, never in the dual), e.g. יָדַיִם *both hands*, אָזְנוֹיִם *both ears*, שִׁנָּיִם *teeth* (of both rows), also נַעֲלָיִם *a pair of sandals*, מִאֲזָנוֹיִם *a pair of scales*, Lat. *bilanx*, &c.; or things which are at least thought of as forming a pair, e.g. יוֹמִים *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*; שָׁבָעִים *two weeks*; שָׁנָתַיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*; אַמְתָּיִם *two cubits*.<sup>1</sup>

- f In the former case the dual may be used for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, where it is thought of in a double arrangement, e.g. אַרְבַּע רַגְלִים *four feet*, Lv 11<sup>23</sup>; שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם *six wings* (i.e. three pairs), Is 6<sup>2</sup>, Ez 1<sup>6</sup>; even שִׁבְעָה עֵינָיִם *seven eyes*, Ze 3<sup>9</sup>, כָּל-בִּרְכָּיִם *all knees*, Ez 7<sup>17</sup>; כָּל-יָדַיִם *all hands*, Ez 21<sup>12</sup>; מִצְלָתַיִם *cymbals*, Ezr 3<sup>10</sup>; שְׁפָתַיִם *double-hooks*, Ez 40<sup>43</sup>.—To express a certain emphasis the numeral *two* is used with the dual, as in Ju 16<sup>28</sup>, Am 3<sup>12</sup>.—See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87 o and s.

- g It is not impossible that Hebrew at an earlier period made a more extensive and freer use of the dual, and that the restrictions and limitations of its use, mentioned above, belong to a relatively later phase of development. The

<sup>1</sup> But for דְּרָכַיִם Pr 28<sup>0.18</sup> (which the Masora takes as two roads leading from the cross-ways) דְּרָכַיִם is to be read.

Arabic literary language forms the dual in the noun, pronoun, and verb, almost as extensively as the Sanskrit or Greek; but in modern Arabic it has almost entirely disappeared in the verb, pronoun, and adjective. The Syriac has preserved it only in a few stereotyped forms, with which such duals as the Latin *duo*, *ambo*, *octo* may be compared. In the same way, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the modern Indian languages, and its full use in Old Slavonic has been restricted later, e.g. in Bohemian, just as in Hebrew, to *pairs*, such as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see Grimm's *Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. p. 814.

### § 89. The Genitive and the Construct State.

Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Stat. Constr. im Hebr. . .*, Weimar, 1871, p. 98 ff: on which cf. Nöldeke in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, p. 23.—Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 459 ff.

1. The Hebrew language no longer makes a living use of *case-endings*,<sup>1</sup> but either has no external indication of case (this is so for the *nominative*, generally also for the *accusative*) or expresses the relation by means of prepositions (§ 119), while the *genitive* is mostly indicated by a close connexion (or interdependence) of the *Nomen regens* and the *Nomen rectum*. That is to say, the noun which as genitive serves to define more particularly an immediately preceding *Nomen regens*, remains entirely unchanged in its form. The close combination, however, of the governing with the governed noun causes the tone first of all to be forced on to the latter,<sup>2</sup> and the consequently weakened tone of the former word then usually involves further changes in it. These changes to some extent affect the consonants, but more especially the vocalization, since vowels which had been lengthened by their position *in* or *before* the tone-syllable necessarily become shortened, or are reduced to *Šewā* (cf. § 9 a, c, k; § 27 e-m); e.g. דָּבָר word, אֱלֹהִים word of God (a sort of compound, as with us in inverted order, *God's-word*, *house-op*, *landlord*); יָד hand, יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ the hand of the king; דְּבָרִים words, דְּבָרֵי הָעָם the words of the people. Thus in Hebrew only the noun which stands *before* a genitive suffers a change, and in grammatical language is said to be dependent, or in the *construct state*, while a noun which has not a genitive after it is said to be in the *absolute state*. It is sufficiently evident from the above that the *construct state* is not strictly to be regarded as a *syntactical* and *logical* phenomenon, but rather as simply *phonetic* and *rhythmical*, depending on the circumstances of the tone.

<sup>1</sup> On some remains of obsolete case-endings see § 90.

<sup>2</sup> The same phenomenon of the tone may also be easily seen in other languages, when two words are closely connected in a similar way. Observe, for example, in German the natural stress on the last word in 'der Thron des Königs'; though here the other order of the words (inadmissible in Hebrew) 'des Königs Thron' exhibits the same peculiarity.

*b* Very frequently such interdependent words are also united by *Maqqeph* (§ 16 a); this, however, is not necessary, but depends on the accentuation in the particular case. On the wider uses of the *constr. st.* see the Syntax, § 130.

*c* 2. The vowel changes which are occasioned in many nouns by the *construct state* are more fully described in §§ 92-5. But besides these, the *terminations* of the noun in the *construct state* sometimes assume a special form. Thus:

(a) In the *construct state*, plural and dual, the termination is '—, e.g. סוסים horses, פֶּרָעִה סוּסִי the horses of Pharaoh; עֵינִי עֵינִי eyes, עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ the eyes of the king.

*d* Rem. The '— of the dual has evidently arisen from '— (cf. יָדַיְךָ), but the origin of the termination '— in the *constr. st. plur.* is disputed. The Syriac *constr. st.* in *ay* and the form of the plural noun before suffixes (סוּסֵיךָ, סוּסֵי, § 91 h) would point to a contraction of an original '—, as in the dual. But whether this *ay* was only transferred from the dual to the plural (so Olshausen, and Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 48 ff.), or is to be regarded as the *abstract, collective* termination, as in מִשְׁפָּחָה (see *f*) and חוֹרֵי (so Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1890, col. 419; Barth, *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff.), must be left undecided.

*e* (b) The original ׀— is regularly retained as the feminine termination in the *construct state* sing. of those nouns which in the *absolute state* end in ׀—, e.g. מַלְכָּה queen, מַלְכַּת שֶׁבַע the queen of Sheba. But the feminine endings ׀—, ׀—, and also the plural ׀—, remain unchanged in the *construct state*.

*f* (c) Nouns in ׀— (cf. § 75 e) from verbs ל"ה (§ 93, Paradigm III c) form their *constr. st.* in ׀—, e.g. רֹאֶה seer, constr. רֹאֶה. If this ׀— is due to contraction of the original '—, with ה added as a vowel letter, we may compare יָד, constr. יָד sufficiency; חַי, constr. חַי life; נָחַל (נָחַל), constr. נָחַל (נָחַל) valley.

On the terminations י and '— in the *constr. st.* see § 90.

### § 90. Real and Supposed Remains of Early Case-endings.

׀— local, י in compound proper names, '— and י in the *Construct State*.

K. U. Nylander, *Om Kasusändelserna i Hebräiskan*, Upsala, 1882; J. Barth, 'Die Casusreste im Hebr.', *ZDMG.* liii. 593 ff.

*a* 1. As the Assyrian and old Arabic distinguish three cases by special endings, so also in the Hebrew noun there are three endings which, in the main, correspond to those of the Arabic. It is, however, a question whether they are all to be regarded as real remnants of former case-endings, or are in some instances to be explained other-

wise. It can hardly be doubted (but cf. *h*, Rem.) that the (locative) termination  $\text{ןֿ}$  is a survival of the old accusative termination *a*, and that *י* in certain compound proper names is the old sign of the nominative. The explanation of the *י* as an old genitive sign, which, as being no longer understood in Hebrew, was used for quite different purposes, and the view that *י* is a form of the nominative termination  $\text{ןֿ}$ , are open to grave doubts.

In Assyrian the rule is that *u* marks the nominative, *i* the genitive, and *a* the accusative,<sup>1</sup> 'in spite of the many and various exceptions to this rule which occur' (Dehitzsch, *Assyrische Gramm.*, § 66). Similarly, the Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptotes*) are: *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative; in the *Diptotes* the ending *-a* represents the genitive also. In modern Arabic these endings have almost entirely disappeared, and if they are now and then used, as among the Beduin, it is done without regularity, and one is interchanged with another (Wallin, in *ZDMG*. v, p. 9, xii, p. 874; Wetzstein, *ibid.*, xxii, p. 113 f., and especially Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialekts von Ägypten*, Lpz. 1880, p. 147 ff.). Even as early as the Sinaitic inscriptions, their regular use is not maintained (Beer, *Studia Asiatica*, iii. 1840, p. xviii; Tuch, *ZDMG*, iii. 139 f.). Ethiopic has preserved only the *-a* (in proper names *-hā*), which is, however, still used for the whole range of the accusative, and also (the distinction of case being lost) as a termination of the *constr. st.* to connect it with a following genitive.

2. As remarked above, under *a*, the accusative form is preserved *C* in Hebrew most certainly and clearly in the (usually toneless) ending  $\text{ןֿ}$ , originally *ā*, as in the old Arabic accusative. This is appended to the substantive:

(a) Most commonly to express direction towards an object, or motion to a place,<sup>2</sup> e. g.  $\text{יָמָה}$  seaward, westward,  $\text{קָרְמָה}$  eastward,  $\text{צָפוֹנָה}$  northward,  $\text{אַשּׁוּרָה}$  to Assyria,  $\text{בָּבֶלָה}$  to Babylon,  $\text{הָרָה}$  (from  $\text{הָר}$ ) to the mountain, Gn 14<sup>10</sup>,  $\text{אֶרֶץ}$  to the earth,  $\text{בֵּיתָה}$  to the house,  $\text{תִּרְצָה}$  to Tirzah ( $\text{תִּרְצָה}$ ) 1 K 14<sup>17</sup>, &c.,  $\text{עֵזָה}$  to Gaza ( $\text{עֵזָה}$ ) Ju 16<sup>1</sup>; with the article  $\text{הָהָרָה}$  to the mountain,  $\text{בֵּיתָה}$  into the house,  $\text{חֲמֻרָה}$  into the chamber, 1 K 1<sup>16</sup>;  $\text{הָאֹהֶלָה}$  into the tent, Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, &c.; similarly with adverbs, as  $\text{שָׁמָּה}$  thither,  $\text{אֵינָה}$  whither?; even with the *constr. st.* before a genitive  $\text{יֹסֶף}$  into Joseph's house, Gn 43<sup>17,24</sup>;  $\text{הָאֶרֶץ}$  toward the land of the south, Gn 20<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{מִצְרַיִם}$  to the land of Egypt, Ex 4<sup>20</sup>;  $\text{דַּמָּשְׁקַם}$  to the wilderness of Damascus, 1 K 19<sup>15</sup>;  $\text{שָׁמֶשׁ}$  toward the sun-rising, Dt 4<sup>41</sup>; and even with the plural  $\text{בְּשָׁרֵיהֶם}$  into Chaldea, Ez 11<sup>24</sup>;  $\text{הַשָּׁמַיִם}$  towards the heavens.

<sup>1</sup> This rule is almost always observed in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (see § 2 f); cf. the instances cited by Barth, l. c., p. 595, from Winckler's edition.

<sup>2</sup> On this meaning of the accusative see the Syntax, § 118 d, and cf. the Latin accusative of motion to a place, as in *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire*.

<sup>3</sup>  $\text{הָאֹהֶלָה}$  in Baer's text, Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, is an error, according to his preface to Isaiah, p. v.

Rem. The above examples are mostly rendered definite by the article, or by a following genitive of definition, or are proper names. But cases like *יָמָה, הָרָה, בֵּיתָה* show that the locative form of itself possessed a defining power.

d (b) In a somewhat weakened sense, indicating the place *where* something is or happens (cf. § 118 d), e.g. *מִחַנֵּימָה* in *Maḥanaim*, 1 K 4<sup>14</sup>; *שָׁמָּה* *there* (usually *thither*, see c), Jer 18<sup>2</sup>, cf. 2 K 23<sup>9</sup>, and the expression *to offer a sacrifice הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*, properly *towards the altar* for *on the altar*. On the other hand, *בָּבֶלָה* Jer 29<sup>15</sup>, and *וּבְלָה* Hb 3<sup>11</sup>, are to be regarded as ordinary accusatives of direction, *to Babylon, into the habitation*; also expressions like *פָּאָת צָפוֹנָה* *the quarter towards the north*, Jos 15<sup>5</sup> (at the beginning of the verse, *גְּבוּל הַיָּרְמָה* *the border toward the east*), cf. 18<sup>15,20</sup>, Ex 26<sup>18</sup>, Jer 23<sup>8</sup>.

e (c) The original force of the ending *ה־* is also disregarded when it is added to a substantive with a preposition prefixed (cf. also *עַד-אֵנָה* *how long?*), and this not only after *לְ*, *אֶל-* or *עַד-* (which are easily explained), e.g. *לְמַעַלָּה* *upwards*, *לְמַטָּה* *downwards*, *לְשִׂאוֹלָה* *to Sheol*, ψ 9<sup>18</sup>; *עַד-אַפְהֶקָה* *unto Aphek*, Jos 13<sup>4</sup>, *אַל-הַצָּפוֹנָה* *toward the north*, Ez 8<sup>14</sup>, cf. Ju 20<sup>16</sup>; but also after *בְּ*, and even after *בִּן*, e.g. *בְּיָנֶכָה* *in the south*, Jos 15<sup>21</sup>, cf. Ju 14<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>15,19</sup>, 31<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>15</sup>, Jer 52<sup>10</sup>; *מִבְּבֶלָה* *from Babylon*, Jer 27<sup>16</sup>; cf. 1<sup>13</sup>, Jos 10<sup>36</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>, Ju 21<sup>19</sup>, Is 45<sup>6</sup>.

f Rem. Old locative forms (or original accusatives) are, according to the Masora, still to be found in

(a) *לַיְלָה*, in pause *לַיְלָה*, the usual word in prose for *night*, which is always construed as masculine. The nominative of this supposed old accusative<sup>1</sup> appeared to be preserved in the form *לַיִל*, only used in poetry, Is 16<sup>3</sup>, *constr. st. לַיִל* (even used for the *absol. st.* in pause Is 21<sup>11</sup>). Most probably, however, *לַיְלָה* is to be referred, with Nöldeke and others, to a reduplicated form *לַיְלִי*; cf. especially the western Aramaic *לַיְלִי*, Syr. *lilya*, &c.—Another instance is *מֵאוֹמָה* *something*, probably from *מֵאוֹמָה* *spot, point*, generally with a negative = *nothing*. Similarly *אַרְצָה* Is 52<sup>3</sup> and (in pause) Jb 34<sup>13</sup>, *סוּפָתָה* Ho 8<sup>7</sup>, and the place-name *הַרְצָה* 1 Ch 6<sup>68</sup>, might be explained as accusatives. Elsewhere, however, the toneless *ה־* can be regarded only as a meaningless appendage, or at the most as expressing poetic emphasis; thus *אַרְצָה* (in pause) Jb 37<sup>12</sup>; *הַמּוֹתָה* *death*, ψ 116<sup>16</sup>; *נְגִידָה-נָא* ψ 116<sup>14,18</sup>; *נַחֲלָה* *stream*, ψ 124<sup>4</sup>; *הַחֲשִׁמְלָה* *amber*, Ez 8<sup>2</sup> [in 1<sup>4</sup> *הַחֲשִׁמְלָה*, cf. § 80 k], &c. In Jos 15<sup>12</sup> *הַיָּמָה* is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Ju 14<sup>18</sup> instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word *הַחֲרָמָה* (*towards the sun??*) read as in 15<sup>1</sup> *הַחֲרָמָה* *to the bride-chamber*.

<sup>1</sup> Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 113, also takes it as such, *laylā* being properly *at night*, then *night* simply. Barth, however (*Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, note 1), refers it to an original *לַיְלָה*, like *אָנָה* from *אָנָה*.

(b) In the termination  $\text{הַֿ}$  often used in poetry with feminines, viz.  $\text{יְשׁוּעָה}$  *terror* ( $= \text{אַיִמָּה}$ ), Ex 15<sup>16</sup>;  $\text{עֹזֶרֶת}$  *help* ( $= \text{עֹזָה}$ ),  $\psi$  44<sup>27</sup>, 63<sup>8</sup>, 94<sup>17</sup>;  $\text{יְשׁוּעָה}$  *salvation* ( $= \text{יְשׁוּעָה}$ ),  $\psi$  3<sup>3</sup>, 80<sup>3</sup>, Jon 2<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{עֲוֹלָה}$  *unrighteousness* ( $= \text{עֲוֹלָה}$ ), Ez 28<sup>15</sup>, Ho 10<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  125<sup>3</sup>;  $\text{עֲלָתָה}$   $\psi$  92<sup>18</sup> *Keil*. Jb 5<sup>16</sup>;  $\text{צָרָתָה}$   $\psi$  120<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{עֵיפָתָה}$  *darkness*, Jb 10<sup>22</sup>;  $\text{הַמְּוִתָה}$  Jer 11<sup>15</sup> is corrupt, see the LXX and Commentaries. These cases are not to be taken as double feminine endings, since the loss of the tone on the final syllable could then hardly be explained, but they are further instances of an old accusative of direction or intention. In examples like  $\text{עֹזֶרֶת}$  *for help* ( $\psi$  44<sup>27</sup>) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and is used merely for the sake of poetical emphasis.<sup>1</sup>

This termination  $\text{הַֿ}$  usually has reference to *place* (hence called *h locale*<sup>2</sup>); sometimes, however, its use is extended to time, as in  $\text{יָמִים מִמִּיָּה}$  *from year to year*. Its use in  $\text{הַלֵּילָה}$ , properly *ad profanum* / *absit*! is peculiar.

As the termination  $\text{הַֿ}$  is almost always toneless (except in  $\text{מִזְרָחָה}$  *constr. st.* i Dt 4<sup>41</sup>;  $\text{גִּתָּה}$  and  $\text{עִמָּה}$  Jos 19<sup>13</sup>) it generally, as the above examples show, exercises no influence whatever upon the vowels of the word; in the *constr. st.*  $\text{מִזְרָחָה}$  Jos 18<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 19<sup>15</sup>, and in the proper names  $\text{גִּתָּה}$  1 K 2<sup>40</sup>,  $\text{יָדָה}$  2 S 24<sup>6</sup> (so Baer; ed. Mant. and Ginsb.  $\text{יָדָה}$ ),  $\text{צָרָתָה}$  2 Ch 14<sup>9</sup>,  $\text{צָרָתָה}$  1 K 17<sup>9</sup>,  $\text{צָרָתָה}$  1 K 4<sup>12</sup>, an *ä* is retained even in an open tone-syllable (cf., however,  $\text{הָרָה}$  Gn 14<sup>10</sup>,  $\text{פִּדְיָה}$  Gn 28<sup>2</sup> from  $\text{פִּדְן}$ , with modification of the *a* to *ë*; also  $\text{בְּרָמָלָה}$  1 S 25<sup>5</sup> from  $\text{בְּרָמֶל}$ ). In segholate forms, as a general rule, the  $\text{הַֿ}$  *local* is joined to the already developed form of the *absol. st.*, except that the helping-vowel before  $\text{הַֿ}$  naturally becomes *Šewā*, e.g.  $\text{בִּיתָה}$   $\text{הָאֵלֶּה}$  Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, &c.;  $\text{הַשְּׁעָרָה}$  Jos 17<sup>15</sup>,  $\text{הַשְּׁעָרָה}$  Ju 20<sup>18</sup>, &c., but also  $\text{נָחָלָה}$  Nu 34<sup>5</sup> (*constr. st.*; likewise to be read in the *absolute* in Ez 47<sup>19</sup>, 48<sup>28</sup>) and  $\text{שְׁעָרָה}$  Is 28<sup>6</sup> (with *Silluq*); cf.  $\text{גִּבְיָה}$  Ez 47<sup>19</sup> and  $\text{גִּבְיָה}$  (Baer, incorrectly,  $\text{גִּבְיָה}$ ) Mi 4<sup>12</sup> (both in *pause*).—In the case of feminines ending in  $\text{הַֿ}$  the  $\text{הַֿ}$  *local* is added to the original feminine ending  $\text{הַֿ}$  (§ 80 b), the *ä* of which (since it then stands in an open tone-syllable) is lengthened to *ā*, e.g.  $\text{תִּרְצָתָה}$ .—Moreover the termination  $\text{הַֿ}$  is even weakened to  $\text{הַֿ}$  in  $\text{נָבָה}$  *to Nob*, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>9</sup>;  $\text{אָנָה}$  *whither*, 1 K 2<sup>36, 42</sup> and  $\text{דִּדְנָה}$  *to Dedan*, Ez 25<sup>13</sup>.

3. Of the three other terminations <sup>3</sup> may still be regarded as a *survival* of the old nominative ending. It occurs only in the middle

[<sup>1</sup> The form clings also to a few place-names, as  $\text{גִּבְיָה}$  Dt 10<sup>7</sup>;  $\text{שָׁלֵשָׁה}$  1 S 9<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>42</sup>;  $\text{קְהֵלָתָה}$  Nu 32<sup>22 f.</sup>;  $\text{יִטְבָּתָה}$  *verso* 33 f.;  $\text{תְּמִנָּתָה}$  Jos 19<sup>43</sup>, &c.;  $\text{אֶפְרָתָה}$  Mi 5<sup>1</sup>, &c.]

[<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sarauw, 'Der hebr. Lokativ,' ZA. 1907, p. 183 ff. Ho derives the  $\text{הַֿ}$  from the adverbs  $\text{שָׁמָּה}$ ,  $\text{אָנָּה}$  and holds that it has nothing whatever to do with the old accusative.]

[<sup>3</sup> So Qimhi, and the Mant. ed. (Baer  $\text{הַשְּׁעָרָה}$ ), i.e. locative from  $\text{שָׁעַר}$  (Is 7<sup>20</sup>). The reading  $\text{הַשְּׁעָרָה}$  (Opit., Ginsb.) implies a feminine in  $\text{הַֿ}$ .

of a few (often undoubtedly very old) proper names,<sup>1</sup> viz. אֶחָוִי (if compounded of אָחוּ and מִי), חַמּוּטָל (for which in Jer 52<sup>1</sup> *Keth.* חַמּוּטָל), מְחַנְשָׁאֵל and מְחַנְשָׁלָה (otherwise in Hebrew only in the plur. מְחַנְשִׁים *men*; to מְחַנְשִׁי corresponds most probably בְּתוּיָאֵל in בְּתוּיָאֵל Gn 32<sup>31</sup> (but in ver. 32 פְּנֵיָאֵל) *face of God* (otherwise only in the plur. פְּנֵים *constr. st.* פְּנֵי).<sup>2</sup>—בְּשָׁמוֹ Neh 6<sup>6</sup> (elsewhere בְּשָׁם), is the name of an Arab, cf. 6<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand the terminations '— and י are most probably to be regarded (with Barth, l. c., p. 597) as having originated on Hebrew soil in order to emphasize the *constr. st.*, on the analogy of the *constr. st.* of terms expressing relationship.

In view of the analogies in other languages (see b) there is nothing impossible in the view formerly taken here that the *litterae compaginis* '— and י are obsolete (and hence no longer understood) case-endings, י being the old genitive and ם for the nominative sign *u*. Barth objects that the י and ם almost invariably have the tone, whereas the accusative ך is toneless, and that they are long, where the Arab. *ī* and *ū* are short. Both these objections, however, lose their force if we consider the special laws of the tone and syllable in Hebrew. The language does not admit a final *ī* or *ū*, and the necessarily lengthened vowel might easily attract the tone to itself. On the other hand a strong argument for Barth's theory is the fact that these *litterae compaginis* are almost exclusively used to emphasize the close connexion of one noun with another, hence especially in the *constr. st.* Consequently it seems in the highest degree probable that all these uses are based upon forms in which the *constr. st.* is expressly emphasized by a special termination, i. e. the *constr. st.* of terms of relationship, אָבִי, אָחִי, חָמִי from אָב father, אָח brother, חָם father-in-law (cf. § 96). The instances given under *l* and *m* followed this analogy.

Like *ī*, י is also used only to emphasize the *constr. st.* (see o), and must therefore have a similar origin, but its exact explanation is difficult. According to Barth, this י corresponds to a primitive Semitic *ā* (cf. § 9 q) and is traceable to 'abā, 'ahā, the accusatives of terms of relationship in the *constr. st.*, which have *ā* only before a genitive. Against this explanation it may be objected that there is no trace of the supposed Hebrew accusatives אָבִי, אָחִי, חָמִי, and only of the analogous בְּנִי. It is also remarkable that so archaic a form should have been preserved (except in בְּנִי) only in two words and those in quite late passages. However we have no better explanation to offer in place of Barth's.

Finally we cannot deny the possibility, in some cases, of Barth's explanation of the י in compound proper names like בְּתוּיָאֵל, &c. (see above), as due to the analogy of terms of relationship with nominative in י. But this in no way militates against the view expressed above, that in some very old names, like פְּנֵיָאֵל, בְּתוּיָאֵל, &c., the original common nominative sign has simply been preserved.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the list in L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im alttest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> The name שְׁמוּאֵל formerly regarded as a compound of שָׁמוּ = שֵׁם *name* and אֵל, is better explained with Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 777, as a name of affection, for אֵל שְׁמוּעָא = יְשֻׁעָאֵל [but see Driver on 1 S 1<sup>20</sup>]; similarly, according to Prätorius, פְּתוּחָאֵל = אֵל פְּתוּחָא and many others.

The instances found are:

(a) Of the ending '—: *אֶתְנִי בְנֵי אִשְׁסִּי* *his ass's colt*, Gn 49<sup>11</sup>; *לְעֹבֵי הַצֹּאן* *that leaveth the flock*, Zc 11<sup>17</sup> (cf. the preceding *רֹעֵי הָאֵלִיל*); *שֹׁכֵנִי סִנָּה* *the dweller in the bush*, Dt 33<sup>16</sup> (on *שֹׁכֵנִי* cf. below Jer 49<sup>16a</sup>, Ob<sup>3</sup>); appended to the feminine *לַיְלָה* *יֹם וַיִּגְנַבְתִּי* *whether stolen by day or stolen by night*, Gn 31<sup>39</sup> (in prose, but in very emphatic speech); *מִשְׁפָּט מִלְּאֵתִי* *plena iustitiae*, Is 1<sup>21</sup>; *עַם רַבָּתִי* *full of people*, La 1<sup>1</sup> (on the retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, cf. § 29 e; in the same verse the second *רַבָּתִי* and *שְׁרָתִי*, see below, follow the example of *רַבָּתִי*, although no tone-syllable follows; cf. also Ho 10<sup>11</sup> below); *עַל־דְּבָרֵי מֶלְכִּי־צֶדֶק* *after the order of Melchizedek*, ψ 110<sup>4</sup>; cf. also ψ 113<sup>3</sup>, Jer 49<sup>16b</sup>. To the same category belong the rather numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the *construct state* and its genitive (cf. § 130 a), without actually abolishing the dependent relation, e. g. *בְּנוֹיִם רַבָּתִי* *she that was great among the nations*, *שְׂרָתִי בְּמִדְיָנוֹת* *princess among the provinces*, La 1<sup>1</sup>; *אֹהֲבָתִי לְרוּשׁ* *that loveth to tread*, Ho 10<sup>11</sup>; cf. also Jer 49<sup>16a</sup>, Ob<sup>3</sup>.—In Ex 15<sup>6</sup> *נֶאֱדָרִי* can only be so explained if it is a vocative referring to *יהוה*, but perhaps we should read *נֶאֱדָרָה* as predicate to *יְהוָה*.

Further, the *Hireq compaginis* is found with certain particles which are really also nouns in the *constr. st.*, as *וְלֹאֲתִי* (= *וְלֹאֲתִי*) *except*, *מִזֵּי* (poetical for *מִזֵּי*) *from*, *בְּלֹאֲתִי* *not*, *אֶפְסִי* *not* (thrice in the formula *אֲנִי אֶפְסִי* *I am, and there is none else beside me*; but many take the '— as a suffix here), Is 47<sup>8,10</sup>, Zp 2<sup>15</sup>. [The above are all the cases in which this '— is attached to independent words in the O.T.; it occurs, however, besides] in compound proper names (again attached to the *constr. st.*), as *מֶלְכִּי־צֶדֶק* (*king of righteousness*), *גִּבְרִיאֵל* (*man of God*), *חַנְיָאֵל* (*favour of God*), and others (cf. also the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. *חַנְיָאֵל* *favour of Ba'al*).

Otherwise than in the *constr. st.* the *Hireq compaginis* is only found *m* in participial forms, evidently with the object of giving them more dignity, just as in the case of the construct forms in *z*. We must distinguish, however, between passages in which the participle nevertheless does stand in close connexion, as Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, Is 22<sup>16</sup> (*הִקְמִי* and *הִצְבִּי*), also in impassioned speech), Mi 7<sup>14</sup> (probably influenced by Dt 33<sup>16</sup>), ψ 101<sup>5</sup>, 113<sup>7</sup>; and passages in which the *z* added to the participle with the article merely serves as an ornamental device of poetic style, e. g. in the late Psalms, 113<sup>5,6,7,9</sup> (on verse 8 see *n*), 114<sup>8</sup>, 123<sup>1</sup>.

In *Kethibh* the termination *i* also occurs four times in *יוֹשְׁבֵתִי*, i. e. *יוֹשְׁבֵתִי*, *n* Jer 10<sup>17</sup>, 22<sup>23</sup> (before *בְּ*), Ez 27<sup>8</sup> (before *עַל־*), La 4<sup>21</sup> (before *בְּ*). The *Qere* always

requires for it  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּת}$  (or  $\text{יִשׁ}$ ), except in Jer 22<sup>23</sup>  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּת}$ ; cf. *ibid.*  $\text{מִקְנֵנִי}$  *Keth.*,  $\text{מִקְנֵנִי}$  *Qere*, and finally Jer 51<sup>13</sup>  $\text{שִׁכְנֵנִי}$  *Keth.*,  $\text{שִׁכְנֵנִי}$  *Qere*. Perhaps  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּתִי}$  and  $\text{שִׁכְנֵנִי}$  are *formae mixtae*, combining the readings  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּת}$ , &c. and  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּת}$  (2nd fem. perf.), &c., but  $\text{מִקְנֵנִי}$  may be merely assimilated to  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּתִי}$  which immediately precedes it.

The following are simply textual errors: 2 K 4<sup>23</sup>  $\text{הַהִלְכֵתִי}$  *Keth.*, due to the preceding  $\text{אִתִּי}$ , and to be read  $\text{הַהִלְכֵתִי}$  as in the *Qere*;  $\psi$  30<sup>8</sup> (read  $\text{הָרָרִי}$ ), 113<sup>6</sup> (read  $\text{לְהוֹשִׁיבִי}$ ), 116<sup>1</sup> (read  $\text{קוֹל תַּח'}$ , as in five other places). On  $\text{בְּרִיתִי}$ , thrice, in Lv 26<sup>42</sup>, cf. § 128 d.

- o (b) Of the ending  $\text{י}^1$  (always with the tone): in prose only in the Pentateuch, but in elevated style, Gn 1<sup>24</sup>  $\text{חַיְת־אֶרֶץ}$  *the beast of the earth* (=  $\text{חַיֵּית הָאָרֶץ}$  ver. 25); similarly in  $\psi$  50<sup>10</sup>, 79<sup>3</sup>, 104<sup>11,20</sup>, Is 56<sup>9</sup> (twice), Zp 2<sup>14</sup>; otherwise only in  $\text{בְּנוֹ צִפּוֹר}$  *son of Zippor*, Nu 23<sup>18</sup>;  $\text{בְּנוֹ בְּעֹר}$  *son of Beor*, Nu 24<sup>3,15</sup>; and  $\text{מַעְיֵנו מַיִם}$  *a fountain of waters*,  $\psi$  114<sup>3</sup>.

### § 91. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes.

W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suffixum 2 u. 3 pers. plur. des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895; A. Ungnad, 'Das Nomen mit Suffixen im Semit.,' *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xx, p. 167 ff.

- a With regard to the connexion of the noun with pronominal suffixes, which then stand in a genitive relation (§ 33 c) and are, therefore, necessarily appended to the *construct state* of the noun, we shall first consider, as in the verb (§ 57 ff.), the forms of the suffixes themselves, and then the various changes in the form of the noun to which they are attached. The nouns are also tabulated in the Paradigms of the flexion of the noun in § 92 ff. Cf. also Paradigm A in the Appendix. We are here primarily concerned with the different forms of the suffixes when added to the singular, plural, and dual.

- b 1. The Suffixes of the singular are—

With nouns ending in a—

Vowel.			Consonant.	
Sing.	1.	c. $\text{י}$	$\text{יְ-}$	<i>my.</i>
	2.	$\text{מ. ה}$	$\text{הְ-}$	$\text{(pause הְ-)}$ <i>thy.</i>
		$\text{פ. ה}$	$\text{הֶ-}$	
	3.	$\text{מ. הו, ו}$	$\text{וְ (ה') הוְ-}$	<i>his.</i>
		$\text{פ. ה}$	$\text{הוְ- הוְ-}$	<i>her.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaila, l. c., p. 59 ff.

Vowel.			Consonant.	
Plur. 1.	c.	נִי	נִי	our.
2.	m.	כֶּם	כֶּם	your.
	f.	כֶּן	כֶּן	
3.	m.	הֶם	הֶם	eorum.
		מוֹ	(poet. מוֹ)	
	f.	הֶן (הֵן)	הֶן	

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms in these than in the verbal suffixes; *c* the particular forms are used as follows:—

(a) Those without a connecting vowel (on the derivation of these 'connecting vowels' from original stem-vowels, see note on § 58 *f*) are generally joined to nouns of a peculiar form (see § 96), the *constr. st.* of which ends in a vowel, as אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיָּהּ, אֲבִיָּהּ, אֲבִיָּהּ, אֲבִיָּהּ, אֲבִיָּהּ, אֲבִיָּהּ, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *i* from ל"ה stems (see § 93 *x, y*), e. g. פְּרִיָּהֶם *the fruit of them*, Am 9<sup>14</sup> (also פְּרִיָּהֶם Is 37<sup>30</sup>, &c.), פְּרִיָּהֶן Jer 29<sup>28</sup> (also פְּרִיָּהֶן verse 5); cf., moreover, חֶלְבָּהֶן Lv 8<sup>16, 25</sup> and similar examples with הֶן (Is 3<sup>17</sup> הֶן) Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, Ez 13<sup>17</sup>, 16<sup>53</sup>, <sup>1</sup>. Also in Gn 1<sup>21</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, Ez 10<sup>12</sup>, Nah 2<sup>8</sup>, &c., the *Ket.* perhaps intends the singular, לְמִיָּהֶם, &c., but the Masora requires the plural with defective *ê*.

(b) The forms with connecting vowels (§ 58 *f*) are joined to nouns ending *d* in a consonant. The connecting vowel is regularly *a* in the 3rd *sing. fem.* הִיא (for *aha*) and 3rd *plur.* הֵם, מוֹ, הֵן, also in the 3rd *sing. masc.* הוּ (הֵו), since the *ô* is contracted from *a[h]û*, and in the pausal form of the 2nd *masc.* הָ (a modification of original הָ).

The forms with *ê* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in הֵן (from stems ל"ה), *constr. st.* הֵן (cf. § 89 *f*), e. g. שָׂדֵהּ (from *sadaihû*) *his field*; עֵלֶהּ *its leaf*, Is 1<sup>30</sup>; מְרֹאֶהּ *the appearance thereof*, Lv 13<sup>4</sup> (from *mar'aihâ*; on the *S'ghôl* see *k*); but שָׂדֶהּ *her field*. The orthographic retention of the *î*, e. g. מְעֻשֵׁי, מְעֻשֵׁי, gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see the instances in § 93 *ss*.

Apart from these ל"ה forms the connecting vowel *ê* in the 3rd *pers.* occurs only in isolated cases; אֲנִיָּהּ *his light*, Jb 25<sup>3</sup>; לְמִיָּהּ *after its kind*, Gn 1<sup>12, 25</sup> [+ 12 times]; Na 1<sup>13</sup>; in Ju 19<sup>24</sup> read פִּילִגְשׁוֹ as in vv. 2, 25. On the other hand הֵן in the 2nd *sing. fem.* and הֵן in the 1st *plur.* are by far the more common forms, while הֵן, הֵן are of rare occurrence; see *c*.—Instead of הֵן (כֶּה in Gn 10<sup>19</sup>, Ex 13<sup>16</sup>, Jer 29<sup>25</sup>, &c., cf. בֶּכֶה, לֶכֶה § 103 *g*), כֶּם, כֶּן (with *S'êd* mobile), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are הֵן, כֶּם, כֶּן, e. g. רִיָּתְךָ *thy spirit*, בְּרֵאֲךָ *thy creator*, Is 43<sup>1</sup>, רִיָּעֶכֶם *your friend*, Jb 6<sup>27</sup> (on such cases as בְּחוֹכְכֶם Hag 2<sup>5</sup>, see § 10 *g*).—With *Nun energicum* (cf. § 58 *i*, and on עוֹנֶךָ Jb 5<sup>1</sup>, &c., cf. § 61 *h*) הֵן occurs in Pr 25<sup>16</sup>, in principal pause.

2. Rare or incorrect forms are—

*Sing. 1st pers.* נִי in בְּשִׁבְנִי Ez 47<sup>7</sup> (certainly only a scribal error, caused *c* by וַיִּשְׁבְּנִי in verse 6).

<sup>1</sup> Also in Jer 15<sup>10</sup> read (according to § 61 *h*, end) בְּלִפְנֵי קַלְלוֹנִי; in Ho 7<sup>6</sup> probably אֶפְהֶם אֶפְהֶם.

2nd pers. *m.* in pause בַּכָּה <sup>ִ</sup> (e.g. בַּכָּה <sup>ִ</sup> (thy hand), ψ 139<sup>5</sup>, cf. Pr 24<sup>10</sup>; once חֲנֹךְ ψ 53<sup>9</sup> (cf. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 7: *u*); *fem.* יָיָ <sup>ִ</sup> Ez 5<sup>12</sup> (in 16<sup>53</sup> also for שְׁבִימָה probably שְׁבִימָה is intended), כִּי <sup>ִ</sup> Jer 11<sup>15</sup>, ψ 103<sup>3</sup>, 116<sup>19</sup>, 135<sup>9</sup> (corresponding to the Aramaic suffix of the 2nd *fem. sing.*; on the wholly abnormal כִּה <sup>ִ</sup> Na 2<sup>14</sup>, cf. *l*), כִּי <sup>ִ</sup> Keth. 2 K 4<sup>2</sup>, Ct 2<sup>18</sup>. Also יָיָ <sup>ִ</sup> Is 22<sup>1</sup>, Ez 23<sup>28</sup>, 25<sup>4</sup>.

3rd pers. *m.* הָ <sup>ִ</sup> (cf. § 7 c), e.g. אֶהְיֶה Gn 9<sup>21</sup>, 12<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>3</sup>, 35<sup>21</sup> (always with *Qéré* אֶהְיֶה); נָחָה Nu 10<sup>36</sup>; לָחָה Dt 34<sup>7</sup>; בָּלָה Jer 20<sup>7</sup>, Na 2<sup>1</sup> *Qéré*; קָצָה 2 K 19<sup>23</sup> *Keth.*, for which קָצוֹ is read in Is 37<sup>24</sup>; עִירָה and סוּתָה Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, cf. Ex 22<sup>28</sup> (*Qéré* עִירוֹ (סוּתוֹ)); סָפָה ψ 10<sup>9</sup>, 27<sup>5</sup> *Keth.*; הִמְנָה Ez 31<sup>18</sup>, &c., *Keth.*; תְּבוֹאָתָה Ez 48<sup>8</sup> [altogether fourteen times in the Pentateuch, and some forty times in other books: see Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxxv, and on 2 S 2<sup>9</sup>, 21<sup>1</sup>].

3rd *fem.* הָ <sup>ִ</sup> for הָ <sup>ִ</sup> (with the softening of the *Mappiq*, cf. § 23 k, and the analogous cases in § 58 g) occurs repeatedly before *Bḡhadhkh<sup>e</sup>phath* and other soft consonants, Ex 9<sup>18</sup> (before י, if the text is right), Lv 13<sup>4</sup> (before ל), Nu 15<sup>28,31</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>9</sup> (unless אֶכְלֶה, the infin. with *fem.* termination, is intended; שָׁתָה follows), Ez 16<sup>44</sup>, 24<sup>9</sup> (before ב), 1 S 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>6</sup>, Pr 12<sup>28</sup> (before א), Na 3<sup>9</sup> (before ו), ψ 48<sup>14</sup> (before פ), Ez 47<sup>10</sup>, Jb 31<sup>22</sup> twice (before ת), Is 21<sup>2</sup>, Jer 20<sup>17</sup> (before ה), Nu 32<sup>42</sup>, Am 1<sup>11</sup> (before נ), Lv 6<sup>2</sup> (before ע); even in *pause*, Lv 12<sup>4 a</sup> and 5<sup>b</sup>; Is 23<sup>17</sup>, Pr 21<sup>22</sup>, also with *Zaqeph*, Is 45<sup>6</sup>, Jer 6<sup>6</sup> (probably), 44<sup>19</sup>; on הַשְׁמָה Lv 26<sup>34</sup>, &c., see § 67 y. Cf. also אָ <sup>ִ</sup> Ez 36<sup>5</sup>.—Sometimes the Masora appears (but this is very doubtful) to regard the הָ <sup>ִ</sup> with feminines as a shortening of הָהָ <sup>ִ</sup>, e.g. נָצָה Gn 40<sup>10</sup> for נָצָהָ <sup>ִ</sup>, פָּנָה Pr 7<sup>8</sup> for פָּנָהָ <sup>ִ</sup>; also ׀ <sup>ִ</sup> for חָם <sup>ִ</sup> in בְּתוֹכָם Ho 13<sup>2</sup>, and עָרְמָם Jb 5<sup>13</sup>. The examples, however, are for the most part uncertain, e.g. in Is 28<sup>4</sup> the reading is simply to be emended to בְּפִנְיָה, and in Zc 4<sup>2</sup> to בְּלָהָ <sup>ִ</sup>, Jb 11<sup>9</sup> to מְדָהָ <sup>ִ</sup>, Neh 5<sup>14</sup> to פָּחָה <sup>ִ</sup>. [See also, after prepositions, § 103 g.]

*f* *Plur.* 1st pers. נָנָ <sup>ִ</sup>, in *pause* קִימָנוֹ Jb 22<sup>20</sup> (where, however, קִימָנוֹ is certainly to be read); cf. Ru 3<sup>2</sup> [Is 47<sup>10</sup>, cf. § 61 c, *h*], and so always פָּלָנוֹ *all of us*, Gn 42<sup>11</sup>, &c. [cf. בָּנוֹ, לָנוֹ, אֲתָנוֹ, עִמָּנוֹ].

2nd pers. *fem.* בָּנָה <sup>ִ</sup> Ez 23<sup>48,49</sup>.

3rd pers. *masc.* מוֹ <sup>ִ</sup> ψ 17<sup>10</sup> (on מוֹ <sup>ִ</sup> in the same verse, and in ψ 58<sup>7</sup> see *l*); הָם <sup>ִ</sup> 2 S 23<sup>6</sup>, according to Sievers probably to call attention to the reading בָּלָהָם. *Fem.* הִנָּה <sup>ִ</sup> 1 K 7<sup>37</sup>, Ez 16<sup>53</sup> (in *pause*); נָהָ <sup>ִ</sup> Gn 41<sup>21</sup>; נָהָ <sup>ִ</sup> Gn 30<sup>41</sup>; נָהָ <sup>ִ</sup> Ru 1<sup>9</sup>; elsewhere generally in *pause* (Gn 21<sup>29</sup>, 42<sup>36</sup>, Jer 8<sup>7</sup>, Pr 31<sup>29</sup>, Jb 39<sup>2</sup>); finally הָ <sup>ִ</sup> as suffix to a noun, only in Is 3<sup>17</sup>.

For examples of singulars with plural suffixes see *l*.

*g* 2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes are to be regarded primarily as affixed to the original ending of the *construct state* ('ִ, cf. § 89 d). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2nd *fem.* In most cases it is contracted to 'ִ, as in the *constr. st.* without suffixes (so throughout the plur. and in the poetical suffix יָהִי <sup>ִ</sup> of the 3rd *sing. masc.*); in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *fem. sing.* it is 'ִ (cf. *k*). On the 1st pers. and 3rd *masc. sing.* see *i*.—Thus there arise the following

## Suffixes of Plural Nouns.

*h*

Singular.	Plural.
1. c. $\text{יָ} \text{—}$ , pause $\text{יָ} \text{—}$ my.	1. c. $\text{יָנִי} \text{—}$ our.
2. { m. $\text{יָ} \text{—}$ f. $\text{יָ} \text{—}$ , pause $\text{יָ} \text{—}$ } thy.	2. { m. $\text{יָכֶם} \text{—}$ f. $\text{יָכֶן} \text{—}$ } ycur.
3. { m. $\text{יָ} \text{—}$ , poet. $\text{יָהוּ} \text{—}$ his. f. $\text{יָ} \text{—}$ her.	3. { m. $\text{יָהֶם} \text{—}$ , poet. $\text{יָמוֹ} \text{—}$ } their.

Thus the original  $\text{יָ} \text{—}$  is (a) contracted in the 3rd sing. masc.  $\text{יָהוּ}$  and throughout the plural, as  $\text{סוּסֵינִי}$ ,  $\text{סוּסֵיהֶו}$ , &c.; (b) retained unchanged in the 1st sing.  $\text{סוּסִי}$ , the real suffix-ending  $\text{י}$  (see *b*) being united with the final *Yôdh* of the ending  $\text{יָ} \text{—}$ ; and in the 2nd fem. sing.  $\text{סוּסִיךְ}$ , with a *helping-Hireq* after the *Yôdh*. On the other hand (c) the *Yôdh* of  $\text{יָ} \text{—}$  is lost in pronunciation and the *ā* lengthened to *ā* in the 3rd masc. sing.  $\text{סוּסִי}$ , i. e. *sūsāw* (pronounced *sūsā-u*).<sup>1</sup> The 2nd masc. sing.  $\text{סוּסִיךְ}$  and the 3rd fem. sing.  $\text{סוּסִיךְ}$  were formerly also explained here as having really lost the  $\text{י}$ , and modified the *a* of *sūsakā*, *sūsahā* to *S<sup>g</sup>hōl*; but cf. the view now given in *g* and *k*.

Rem. 1. As  $\text{סוּסֵינִי}$  represents *sūsai-nū*, so  $\text{סוּסִיךְ}$  and  $\text{סוּסִיָּהּ}$  represent *sūsai-kā*, *k* *sūsai-hā*, and the use of *S<sup>g</sup>hōl* instead of the more regular *Sere* is to be explained from the character of the following syllable,—so P. Haupt who points to  $\text{יָקָטְלָהּ}$  as compared with  $\text{יָקָטְלָהּ}$ . In support of the view formerly adopted by us that the  $\text{י}$  is only orthographically retained, too much stress must not be laid on the fact that it is sometimes omitted,<sup>2</sup> thereby causing confusion in an unpointed text with the singular noun. A number of the examples which follow may be due to an erroneous assumption that the noun is a plural, where in reality it is a singular, and others may be incorrect readings. Cf.  $\text{דִּרְבָּךְ}$  thy ways (probably  $\text{דִּרְבָּךְ}$  is intended), Ex 33<sup>13</sup>, Jos 1<sup>8</sup>,  $\psi$  119<sup>37</sup>; for other examples, see Jos 21<sup>11</sup>  $\text{מִנְרֵשֶׁת}$ ; but in 1 Ch 6<sup>40</sup>  $\text{מִנְרֵשֶׁת}$  always  $\text{יָ} \text{—}$ , Ju 19<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>29</sup>, Is 58<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  119<sup>41.43.98</sup> (probably, however, in all these cases the sing. is intended);  $\text{מִבְּרָהּ}$  Nu 30<sup>8</sup> (cf. v. 5);  $\text{מִבְּרָהּ}$  Jer 19<sup>8</sup>, 49<sup>17</sup>;  $\text{מִבְּרָהּ}$  Dn 11<sup>6</sup>. For the orthographic omission of  $\text{י}$  before suffixes cf.  $\text{רַעֲיוֹהוּ}$  for  $\text{רַעֲיוֹהוּ}$  his friends 1 S 30<sup>26</sup>, Pr 29<sup>18</sup>; Jb 42<sup>10</sup> (but it is possible to explain it here as a collective singular)  $\text{לִינִי}$  our iniquities, Is 64<sup>6.6</sup>, Jer 14<sup>7</sup>; Ex 10<sup>9</sup>, Neh 10<sup>1</sup>  $\text{לִינִי}$   $\text{לִינִי}$  which is always written defectively);  $\text{נִסְפְּכֶם}$  Nu 25<sup>33</sup>;  $\text{רַעֲתֶכֶם}$  Jer 44<sup>9</sup>;  $\text{יָדֶכֶם}$   $\psi$  134<sup>2</sup>;  $\text{לְמִינֵהֶם}$  after their kinds, Gn 1<sup>21</sup> (but see *c*), cf. 4<sup>4</sup> and Na 2<sup>8</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> In the papyrus of the decalogue from the Fayyūm, line 16,  $\text{וּקְרָשִׁי}$  occurs for  $\text{וּקְרָשֶׁהוּ}$  Ex 20<sup>11</sup>. Gall, ZAW. 1903, p. 349, takes this as an indication that the traditional forms of the noun-suffix  $\text{יָ}$  or  $\text{י}$  represent *aiū* or *eū*. P. Haupt aptly compares the Greek use of the *iota subscript* (*ᾱ̣*).

<sup>2</sup> So in the Mēša' inscription, l. 22  $\text{מִנְרֵשֶׁתָּהּ}$  its towers (along with  $\text{שַׁעֲרֵיהָ}$  its gates). Can it have been the rule to omit  $\text{י}$  after the termination *ōth*? Cf. below, *n*.

defective writing is especially frequent in the 3rd masc. sing.  $\text{וְיָ}$ , which in *Qéré* is almost always changed to  $\text{וְיָ}$ , e.g.  $\text{וְיָ}$  his arrows,  $\psi$  58<sup>8</sup>, *Qéré*  $\text{וְיָ}$ . On  $\text{וְיָ}$ , only three times  $\text{וְיָ}$ , cf. § 135 r.

- l 2. Unusual forms (but for the most part probably only scribal errors) are—  
*Sing.* 2nd pers. fem  $\text{וְיָ}$  (after  $\text{וְיָ}$  happy! Ec 10<sup>17</sup>, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; cf. Delitzsch on the passage);  $\text{וְיָ}$  (cf. Syr.  $\text{וְיָ}$ ) 2 K 4<sup>3</sup>, and  $\text{וְיָ}$  in *Keetha*,  $\psi$  103<sup>3-5</sup>, 116<sup>7</sup> ( $\text{וְיָ}$  in pause).—In Ez 16<sup>31</sup>  $\text{וְיָ}$  (so  $\text{וְיָ}$  in 6<sup>8</sup>) occurs with an *infin.* ending in  $\text{וְיָ}$ , the  $\text{וְיָ}$  being therefore treated as a plural ending; similarly, the plural suffix is sometimes found with the feminine ending  $\text{וְיָ}$  (Nu 14<sup>33</sup>. Is 54<sup>4</sup>, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>, Ez 16<sup>15</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, as well as in 16<sup>20</sup> *Qéré*, and Zp 3<sup>20</sup>), with the ending *ith* (Lv 5<sup>24</sup>, reading  $\text{וְיָ}$ ), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath*; Is 47<sup>18</sup>, Ez 35<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  9<sup>15</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>15</sup>.—Wholly abnormal is  $\text{וְיָ}$  thy messengers, Na 2<sup>14</sup>, evidently a case of dittography of the following  $\text{וְיָ}$ : read  $\text{וְיָ}$ .

3rd masc.  $\text{וְיָ}$  Hb 3<sup>10</sup>, Jb 24<sup>23</sup>;  $\text{וְיָ}$  1 S 30<sup>26</sup>, Ez 43<sup>17</sup>, Na 2<sup>4</sup>;  $\text{וְיָ}$  (a purely Aramaic form)  $\psi$  116<sup>12</sup>.—3rd fem.  $\text{וְיָ}$  Ez 41<sup>15</sup>.

*Plur.* The strange 2nd pers. masc.  $\text{וְיָ}$  (with *i*, so Qimhi; cf. Norzi) Jer 25<sup>34</sup>, is probably a mixed form combining  $\text{וְיָ}$  and  $\text{וְיָ}$ ; fem.  $\text{וְיָ}$  Ez 13<sup>20</sup>.

3rd masc.  $\text{וְיָ}$  Ez 40<sup>16</sup>; fem.  $\text{וְיָ}$  Ez 11<sup>11</sup>.

3. The termination  $\text{וְיָ}$  (also with the *dual*, e.g.  $\psi$  58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup>, like  $\text{וְיָ}$  and  $\text{וְיָ}$ , occurs with the noun (as with the verb, § 58 g) almost exclusively in the later poets [viz. with a substantive in the singular,  $\psi$  21<sup>11</sup>, 17<sup>10,10</sup>, 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup>, 89<sup>18</sup>; with a dual or plural, Dt 32<sup>27,32,37,38</sup>, 33<sup>29</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>3,3</sup>, 11<sup>7</sup>, 3<sup>16</sup>, 49<sup>12</sup>, 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>14</sup>, 73<sup>5,7</sup>, 83<sup>12,12</sup>, 140<sup>4,10</sup>, Jb 27<sup>23</sup>; after prepositions, see § 103 f. o. notes], and cannot, therefore, by itself be taken as an indication of archaic language. On the other hand there can be no doubt that these are revivals of really old forms. That they are consciously and artificially used is shown by the evidently intentional accumulation of them, e.g. in Ex 15<sup>5,7,9</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>3,5</sup>, and 140<sup>4,10</sup>, and also by the fact observed by Diehl (see the heading of this section) that in Ex 15 they occur *only* as verbal suffixes, in Dt 32 *only* as noun suffixes.

- m 3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yódh* in these suffixes with the plural noun belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *construct state* of the masculine plural. Yet the consciousness of this fact became so completely lost as to admit of the striking peculiarity (or rather inaccuracy) of appending those *suffix-forms* which include the plural ending  $\text{וְיָ}$ , even to the feminine plural in  $\text{וְיָ}$  ( $\text{וְיָ}$ ,  $\text{וְיָ}$ , &c.), so that in reality the result is a double indication of the plural.<sup>1</sup>

- n Such is the rule: the singular suffix, however (see b), also occurs with the ending  $\text{וְיָ}$  (probably through the influence of Aramaic), e.g.  $\text{וְיָ}$   $\psi$  132<sup>12</sup> (unless it be *sing.* for  $\text{וְיָ}$ , as, according to Qimhi in his Lexicon, 2 K 6<sup>8</sup> is for  $\text{וְיָ}$ );  $\text{וְיָ}$  Dt 28<sup>69</sup> (treated on the analogy of an *infin.*  $\text{וְיָ}$ );

<sup>1</sup> See an analogous case in § 87 s. Cf. also the double feminine ending in the 3rd sing. perf. of verbs  $\text{וְיָ}$ , § 75 i.

אֲחֵיהֶם Ez 16<sup>52</sup>. On the other hand מִצֹּתָךְ (so Baer, Ginsb. ; but Opit. יָיָךְ) ψ 119<sup>98</sup>, Dn 9<sup>5</sup> is merely written defectively, like מִרְרָתְךָ according to Baer (not Ginsb.) in Pr 1<sup>9</sup>, &c. In the 3rd plur. the use of the singular suffix is even the rule in the earlier Books (see the instances in Diehl, l. c., p. 8), e. g. אֲבוֹתָם (*their fathers*) oftener than אֲבֹתֵיהֶם (this only in 1 K 14<sup>15</sup>, and in Jer, Ezr, Neh, and Ch [in 1 K, Jer, Ezr, however, אֲבוֹתָם is more common]); so always שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דִּירוֹתָם *their generations*. From parallel passages like 2 S 22<sup>46</sup> compared with ψ 18<sup>46</sup>, Is 2<sup>4</sup> with Mi 4<sup>3</sup>, it appears that in many cases the longer form in יָיָם can only subsequently have taken the place of יָיָם.

4. The following Paradigm of a masculine and feminine noun *o* with suffixes is based upon a monosyllabic noun with one unchangeable vowel. With regard to the ending ת־ in the *constr. st.* of the fem. it should be further remarked that the short *ä* of this ending is only retained before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם and כֵּן; before all the others (the *light* suffixes) it is lengthened to *ā*.

		<i>Singular.</i>			
		<i>Masculine.</i>		<i>Feminine.</i>	
		סוּם <i>a horse.</i>		סוּמָה <i>a mare.</i>	
Sing.	1. com.	סוּמִי <i>my horse.</i>		סוּמָתִי <i>my mare.</i>	
2.	{ m.	סוּמְךָ <i>thy horse.</i>		סוּמָתְךָ <i>thy mare.</i>	
	{ f.	סוּמְךָ <i>thy horse.</i>		סוּמָתְךָ <i>thy mare.</i>	
3.	{ m.	סוּמוֹ <i>equus eius (suus).</i>		סוּמָתָהּ <i>equa eius (sua).</i>	
	{ f.	סוּמָהּ <i>equus eius (suus).</i>		סוּמָתָהּ <i>equa eius (sua).</i>	
Plur.	1. com.	סוּמֵינוּ <i>our horse.</i>		סוּמָתֵינוּ <i>our mare.</i>	
2.	{ m.	סוּמְכֶם <i>your horse.</i>		סוּמָתְכֶם <i>your mare.</i>	
	{ f.	סוּמְכֶן <i>your horse.</i>		סוּמָתְכֶן <i>your mare.</i>	
3.	{ m.	סוּמָם <i>equus eorum (suus).</i>		סוּמָתָם <i>equa eorum (sua).</i>	
	{ f.	סוּמָן <i>equus earum (suus).</i>		סוּמָתָן <i>equa earum (sua).</i>	

		<i>Plural.</i>			
		<i>Masculine.</i>		<i>Feminine.</i>	
		סוּמִים <i>horses.</i>		סוּמוֹת <i>mares.</i>	
Sing.	1. com.	סוּמִי <i>my horses.</i>		סוּמוֹתִי <i>my mares.</i>	
2.	{ m.	סוּמֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i>		סוּמוֹתֵיךָ <i>thy mares.</i>	
	{ f.	סוּמֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i>		סוּמוֹתֵיךָ <i>thy mares.</i>	
3.	{ m.	סוּמֵיו <i>equi eius (sui).</i>		סוּמוֹתֵיו <i>equae eius (suae).</i>	
	{ f.	סוּמֵיהָ <i>equi eius (sui).</i>		סוּמוֹתֵיהָ <i>equae eius (suae).</i>	
Plur.	1. com.	סוּמֵינוּ <i>our horses.</i>		סוּמוֹתֵינוּ <i>our mares.</i>	
2.	{ m.	סוּמֵיכֶם <i>your horses.</i>		סוּמוֹתֵיכֶם <i>your mares.</i>	
	{ f.	סוּמֵיכֶן <i>your horses.</i>		סוּמוֹתֵיכֶן <i>your mares.</i>	
3.	{ m.	סוּמֵיהֶם <i>equi eorum (sui).</i>		סוּמוֹתֵיהֶם <i>equae eorum (suae).</i>	
	{ f.	סוּמֵיהֶן <i>equi earum (sui).</i>		סוּמוֹתֵיהֶן <i>equae earum (suae).</i>	

## § 92. Vowel Changes in the Noun.

*a* 1. Vowel changes in the noun may be caused (*a*) by dependence on a following genitive, (*b*) by connexion with pronominal suffixes, (*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, whether in the form of the absolute state or of the construct (before a following genitive of a noun or suffix).

*b* 2. In all these cases, the tone of the noun is moved forward either one or two syllables, while the tone of the *construct state* may even be thrown upon the following word. In this way the following changes may arise:—

(*a*) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case when the plural and dual endings ים, יָה and יָם are affixed, as well as with all monosyllabic or paroxytone suffixes, then in dissyllabic nouns the originally short vowel of the first syllable (which was lengthened as being in an open syllable before the tone) becomes *Šewā*, since it no longer stands before the tone. On the other hand, the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel, of the second syllable is retained as being now the pretonic vowel; e.g. דָּבָר word (ground-form *dābār*), plur. דְּבָרִים; with a light suffix beginning with a vowel, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרֶיךָ; plur. דְּבָרַי, דְּבָרֶיךָ, &c.; כָּנָף wing, dual כְּנָפַיִם. With an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable: פָּקִיד overseer, plur. פְּקִידִים; with the *suffix* of the sing. פְּקִידִי, &c.; with the *suffix* of the plur. פְּקִידֶיךָ, &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable: עוֹלָם eternity, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with *suffix* עוֹלָמִי, &c.<sup>1</sup>

*c* But in participles of the form חָטָל, with tone-lengthened *ē* (originally *ī*) in the second syllable, the *ē* regularly becomes *Šewā mobile* before a tone-bearing affix, e.g. אֹיֵב enemy, plur. אֹיְבָיִם, with *suffix* אֹיְבִי, &c. Likewise in words of the form קָטַל, קָטַל, &c. (with *ē* in the second syllable; § 84<sup>b</sup> *d, l, p*; § 85 *i and k*), e.g. אִלֵּם dumb, plur. אִלְמִים.

*d* (*b*) When the tone of the *construct state*, plural or dual, is carried over to the following word, or, in consequence of the addition of the *grave suffixes* to the *constr. st.* plur. or dual, is moved forward two places within the word itself, in such cases the originally short vowel of the second syllable becomes *Šewā*, while the vowel of the first syllable reverts to its original shortness, e.g. דְּבָרֵי הָעָם the words of the people, דְּבָרֶיךָ your words, דְּבָרֵיהֶם their words (in all which instances the *ī* of the first syllable is attenuated from an original *ā*).

<sup>1</sup> The participles *Niph'al* נִדְּחָה Dt 30<sup>4</sup>, נִדְּחוּ 2 S 14<sup>13</sup>, and some plurals of the participle *Niph.* of verbs אָלִי form an exception; cf. § 93 oo.

In the segholate forms in the singular and mostly in the dual the suffix is *e* appended to the ground-form (מֶלֶךְ *my king*, מְלָכָיו, &c.); on the other hand, before the endings מֶלֶךְ, מֶלֶךְ (sometimes also before מֶלֶךְ) a *Qames* regularly occurs,<sup>1</sup> before which the vowel of the first syllable then becomes vocal *Ṣewā* (מְלָכִים, מְלָכוֹת). This *Qames* (on which cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> a) remains even before the light suffixes, when attached to the plur. masc. (מְלָכִיךָ, מְלָכֶיךָ, &c.). On the other hand, the *constr. st. plur.* and dual, regularly, according to *d*, has the form מְלָכֵי, with grave suffix מְלָכֵיכֶם, &c., דְּלָתַי from דְּלָתַיִם *folding-doors*.

(c) Before the *Ṣewā mobile* which precedes the suffix הַ when *f* following a consonant, the *a*-sound, as a rule, is the only tone-lengthened vowel which remains in the final syllable (being now in an open syllable *before* the tone), e.g. דְּבַרְךָ, דְּמַרְךָ, &c. (on the forms with *ē* in the second syllable, see § 93 *qq*); but before the grave suffixes בָּךְ and בֶּן in the same position it reverts to its original shortness, as דְּבַרְכֶם (d<sup>eb</sup>hārkhēm), &c. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the second syllable in the *constr. st. sing.* also becomes short again, since the *constr. st.* resigns the principal tone to the following word, e.g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים; חֵצֶר הַפִּי (from חֵצֶר).

Rem. The Masora (cf. *Diqduge ha-f'amim*, p. 37) reckons thirteen words *g* which retain *Qames* in the *constr. st.*, some of which had originally *ā* and therefore need not be considered. On the other hand, אֱלֹהִים or אֱלֹהִים 1 K 7<sup>e</sup>, Ez 40<sup>48</sup>, &c. (in spite of the *constr. st. plur.* אֱלֹהִיִּם); מִבְּטָח ψ 65<sup>a</sup>, Pr 25<sup>19</sup>; מִצֵּב 1 S 13<sup>23</sup> (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מִצֵּב); מִשְׁקָל Ezr 8<sup>30</sup> and מִתֵּן Pr 18<sup>16</sup> are very peculiar.

3. The vowel changes in the inflexion of *feminine nouns* (§ 95) are *h* not so considerable, since generally in the formation of the feminine either the original vowels have been retained, or they have already become *Ṣewā*.

Besides the vowel changes discussed above in *a-g*, which take place according to the general formative laws (§§ 25-28), certain further phenomena must also be considered in the inflexion of nouns, an accurate knowledge of which requires in each case an investigation of the original form of the words in question (see §§ 84-86). Such are, e.g., the rejection of the הַ of לִי stems before all formative additions (cf. § 91 *d*), the sharpening of the final consonant of ע"ע stems in such cases as חָקִי, חָקִי, &c.

A striking difference between the vowel changes in the verb and noun is *h* that in a verb when terminations are added it is mostly the second of two changeable vowels which becomes *Ṣewā* (קָטַל, קָטַלָה, קָטַלָּה), but in a noun, the first (דְּבַר, דְּבַרִּי, דְּבָרִים), cf. § 27. 3.

<sup>1</sup> For the rare exceptions see § 93 *l* and § 97 *f*, note 2.

§ 93. *Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.*<sup>1</sup>

*a* Masculine nouns from the simple stem may, as regards their form and the vowel changes connected with it, be divided into *four* classes. A synopsis of them is given on pp. 264, 265, and they are further explained below. Two general remarks may be premised :

(*a*) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 122 *h*) are treated like these masculine nouns, e. g. חֶרֶב *f. sword*, like מֶלֶךְ *m. king*, except that in the *plural* they usually take the termination וֹת—; thus חֲרֻבוֹת, *constr.* חַרְבֹּת (and so always before *suffixes*, see § 95).

*b* (*b*) That in the plural of the first three classes a changeable vowel is always retained even before the light suffixes as a lengthened pretonic vowel, whenever it also stands before the plural ending ם— . All suffixes, except בָּם, כֵּן, הֵם, הֵן (יָם, יָן, יָהֵם, יָהֵן), are called *light*. Cf. § 92 *e*.

*Explanations of the Paradigms* (see pp. 264, 265).

*c* 1. Paradigm I comprises the large class of *segholate* nouns (§ 84<sup>a</sup> *a-e*). In the first three examples, from a strong stem, the ground-forms, *mālk*, *sīphr*, *qūdš* have been developed by the adoption of a helping *Seghôl* to מֶלֶךְ (with *ā* modified to *è*), סֶפֶר (*i* lengthened to *ē*), קֹדֶשׁ (*ū* lengthened to *ō*).<sup>2</sup> The next three examples, instead of the helping *Seghôl*, have a helping *Pathah*, on account of the middle (*d*, *f*) or final guttural (*e*). In all these cases the *constr. st. sing.* coincides exactly with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the ground-form; but in *c* and *f* an *ō* takes the place of the original *ū*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ā* and *ō* in the form of a *Hateph* (נֶעֱרִי, פֶּעֱלִי); before a following *Šewā* this *Hateph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ā*, *ō*), according to § 28 *c*; hence נֶעֱרִי, &c.

*d* In the plural an *a*-sound almost always appears before the tone-bearing affix ם— (on the analogy of forms with original *a* in the

<sup>1</sup> A sort of detailed commentary on the following scheme of Hebrew declensions is supplied by E. König in his *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, ii. 1, p. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to P. Haupt 'The book of Nahum' in the *Journ. of bibl. Lit.*, 1907, p. 29, the *e* in סֶפֶר and the *o* in קֹדֶשׁ are not long but accented, and hence to be pronounced σίφρ, ὅζν (אֲזִן), a theory unknown at any rate to the Jewish grammarians.

second syllable; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> a), in the form of a pretonic *Qames*, whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal Š<sup>ewā</sup>. The original *a* of the 2nd syllable is elided in the *construct state*, so that the short vowel under the first radical then stands in a closed syllable. The omission of *Dagesh* in a following *Begadkephath* (מִלְכִּי, not מִלְכִּי, &c.) is due to the loss of a vowel between ל and כ. On the other hand, the pretonic *Qames* of the *absolute state* is retained before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *construct state*.—The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground-form (so in *a-d* and *h*, but cf. *k*). The *construct state* of the dual is generally the same as that of the plural, except, of course, in cases like *m*.

Paradigms *g* and *h* exhibit forms with middle *u* and *i* (§ 84<sup>a</sup> c, γ e and δ); the ground forms *maut* and *zait* are always contracted to *môth*, *zêth*, except in the *absol. sing.*, where *u* and *i* are changed into the corresponding consonants ו and י.

Paradigm *i* exhibits one of the numerous forms in which the contraction of a middle *u* or *i* has already taken place in the *absol. sing.* (ground-form *šaut*).

Paradigm *k* is a formation from a stem ל"ה (§ 84<sup>a</sup> c, ε).

Paradigms *l*, *m*, *n* are forms from stems ו"ו, and hence (see § 67 a) *f* originally biliteral, *yam*, 'im, *huq*, with the regular lengthening to ים, ים, חק. Before formative additions a sharpening, as in the inflexion of verbs ו"ו, takes place in the second radical, e.g. אָמַי, יָמַי, &c. (see § 84<sup>a</sup> c, β).

#### REMARKS.

I. A. On I. *a* and *d* (ground-form *gaṭl*). In *pause* the full lengthening to ā *g* generally takes place, thus פָּרֶם vineyard, נָעַר, נָרַע seed (from נָרַע), and so always (except ψ 48<sup>11</sup>), in אֶרֶץ earth with the article, הָאֶרֶץ, according to § 35 o (cf. also in the LXX the forms 'Αβέλ, 'Ιαφίθ for הָבֶל, יָפֶת). However, the form with è is also sometimes found in *pause*, along with that in ā, e.g. הָסֵד together with הָסֵד; and very frequently only the form with *S<sup>eghōl</sup>*, e.g. מָלַךְ, דָּשָׁא grass, נֶצַח perpetuity, פֶּלֶא a wonder, צָדִיק righteousness, מִזְמֹר the East, יָשַׁע help, &c.—With two *S<sup>eghōl</sup>*s, although with a middle guttural, we find לָחֶם bread (in *pause* לָחֶם) and רֶחֶם womb (in *pause* רֶחֶם), besides רָחַם Ju 5<sup>30</sup> (in *pause* רָחַם). A helping *S<sup>eghōl</sup>* always stands before a final א, as דָּשָׁא, מָלַךְ (with *suff.* מִנְאֵךְ, פֶּלֶא, צָדִיק (also written פָּרַה), except in נִינְא, see v.

B. The *constr. st.* is almost always the same as the *absolute*. Sometimes, *h* however, under the influence of a final guttural or ר, *Pathah* appears in the second syllable as the principal vowel (see below, s), e.g. נָבַר ψ 18<sup>26</sup>; נָרַע

## Paradigms of

## I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	מֶלֶךְ (king)	סֵפֶר (book)	קֹדֶשׁ (sanctuary)	נָעַר (a youth)	נֶצַח (perpetuity)	פֶּעַל (work)
„ <i>construct</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶצַח	פֶּעַל
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלְכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נְעָרִי	נִצְחִי	פְּעָלִי
	מֶלְכֶךְ	סִפְרֶךְ	קֹדְשֶׁךְ	נְעָרֶךְ	נִצְחֶךְ	פְּעָלֶךְ
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מֶלְכֶכֶם	סִפְרֶכֶם	קֹדְשֶׁכֶם	נְעָרֶכֶם	נִצְחֶכֶם	פְּעָלֶכֶם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מְלָכִים	סִפְרִים	[קֹדְשִׁים]	נְעָרִים	נִצְחִים	פְּעָלִים
„ <i>construct</i>	מְלָכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נְעָרִי	נִצְחִי	פְּעָלִי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מְלָכִי	סִפְרִי	[קֹדְשִׁי]	נְעָרִי	נִצְחִי	פְּעָלִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מְלָכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קֹדְשֵׁיכֶם	נְעָרֵיכֶם	נִצְחֵיכֶם	פְּעָלֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absolute</i>	רַגְלָיִם (feet)	קַבְצָיִם (two heaps)	מַתְנַיִם (loins)	נַעֲלָיִם (sandals)		
	[proper name.]					
„ <i>construct</i>	רַגְלִי		מַתְנֵי	נַעֲלִי		

## II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכָם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	כֹּתֵף (shoulder)	חֲצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>construct</i>	דָּבָר	חָכָם	זָקֵן	כֹּתֵף	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקֵנִי	כֹּתְפִי	חֲצָרִי	שָׂדֵי
	דְּבָרְךָ	חֲכָמְךָ				שָׂדֶךְ
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵכֶם	חֲכָמֵכֶם				
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זָקֵנִים		חֲצָרִים	פָּנִים
„ <i>construct</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקֵנִי		חֲצָרִי	פָּנִי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקֵנִי		חֲצָרִי	פָּנִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	חֲכָמֵיכֶם	זָקֵנֵיכֶם		חֲצָרֵיכֶם	פָּנֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absolute</i>	כַּנְפָּיִם (wings)	חֲלָצִיִם (loins)	יָרֵכִים (thighs)			(face)
„ <i>construct</i>	כַּנְפִּי					

## Masculine Nouns.

## I.

<i>g.</i>	<i>h.</i>	<i>i.</i>	<i>k.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>n.</i>
מָוֶת	זַיִת	שׁוֹט	פֶּרִי	יָם	אֵם	חֵק
(death)	(olive)	(whip)	(fruit)	(sea)	(mother)	(statute)
מוֹת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פֶּרִי	יָם, יָם	אֵם	חֵק
מוֹתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	פֶּרִי	יָמֵי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
מוֹתֶךָ	זֵיתֶךָ	שׁוֹטֶךָ	פֶּרִיֶךָ	יָמֶךָ	אִמֶּךָ	חֻקֶּךָ
מוֹתֵכֶם	זֵיתֵכֶם	שׁוֹטֵכֶם	פֶּרִיֵכֶם	יָמֵכֶם	אִמֵּכֶם	חֻקֵּכֶם
[מוֹתֵיָם]	זֵיתֵיָם	שׁוֹטֵיָם	פֶּרִיָּם	יָמֵיָם	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
מוֹתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פֶּרִיִּי	יָמִי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּי
	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	(kids)	יָמִי	אִמּוֹתִי	חֻקִּי
	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יָמֵיכֶם	אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
	עֵינָם	יוֹמָם	לְחָיִם	כַּפָּיִם	שִׁנָּיִם	
	(eyes)	(two days, biduum)	(cheeks)	(hands)	(teeth)	
	עֵינִי		לְחָיִי	כַּפֵּי	שִׁנֵּי	

## III.

## IV.

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	חֹזֶה	פֶּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
(eternity)	(enemy)	(seer)	(overseer)	(poor)	(writing)
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	חֹזֶה	פֶּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי	חֹזִי	פֶּקִידִי		כְּתָבִי
עוֹלָמְךָ	אֵיבֶךָ	חֹזֶךָ	פֶּקִידֶךָ		כְּתָבֶךָ
עוֹלָמְכֶם	אֵיבֵכֶם	חֹזֵכֶם	פֶּקִידֵכֶם		כְּתָבֵכֶם
עוֹלָמֵם	אֵיבֵיָם	חֹזֵיָם	פֶּקִידֵיָם	עָנִיִּים	[כְּתָבֵיָם]
עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי	חֹזִי	פֶּקִידִי	עָנִי	[כְּתָבִי]
עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי	חֹזִי	פֶּקִידִי		[כְּתָבִי]
עוֹלָמֵכֶם	אֵיבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	פֶּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנִיֵּיכֶם	[כְּתָבֵיכֶם]
מִלְקָחַיִם	מֵאֻזָּנִים		שָׁבָעִים		
(pair of tongs)	(balance)		(two weeks)		
	מֵאֻזָּנִי				

(only in Nu 11<sup>7</sup>, before Maqqeph), חָרַר Ju 3<sup>24</sup> (but Ct 3<sup>4</sup> חָרַר נָטַע, as well as חָרַע, &c.; cf., moreover, קָחַת 2 K 12<sup>9</sup> (for קָחַת, *infin. constr.* from קָחַת)).

*i* C. The  $\text{ה־}$  locale is, according to § 90 *i*, regularly added to the already developed form, e.g. חָרַרָה ψ 116<sup>14,18</sup>: חָרַרָה Gn 19<sup>8</sup>, to the door; but also with a firmly closed syllable חָרַרָה Ex 4c<sup>24</sup>; under the influence of a guttural or ר, חָרַרָה, אָרַרָה, in *pause* אָרַרָה (cf. חָרַרָה 1 Ch 14<sup>16</sup>, from חָרַר).

*k* D. The suffixes of the singular are likewise added to the ground-form, but forms with middle guttural take *Haṣeph-Pathah* instead of the *Ṣeṣā quiescens*; נָעָרִי, &c. (but also לְחָמִי וְנָעִי, &c.). In a rather large number of *qātl*-forms, however, before suffixes in the sing., as well as in the *constr. st. plur.* and dual, the *ā* of the first syllable is attenuated to *i*,<sup>1</sup> thus בָּטְנִי *my womb*, יָתְרִי; so in בָּנִי, בָּצַע, בָּנֵע, בָּכַח, בָּבַח, בָּשַׁע, בָּתַח, בָּצַק, בָּבַר, בָּרַב, בָּרַשַׁע, and many others. In some cases of this kind besides the form with *ā* there most probably existed another with original *i* in the first syllable; thus certainly with יָשַׁע beside יָשַׁע, יָצַח beside יָצַח, &c. (According to the *Diqduq ha-ṭamim*, § 36, the *absolute st.* in such cases takes *ē*, the *constr. st.* *ē*; cf. נָדָר Nu 30<sup>4</sup> (*absol.*) and נָדָר 30<sup>10</sup> (*constr.*); נָשָׁב Lv 24<sup>20</sup> (*absol.*) and נָשָׁב Am 6<sup>6</sup> (*constr.*). According to this theory<sup>2</sup> פָּלָא (so the best authorities) Is 9<sup>5</sup> would be the *constr. st.*, although the accentuation requires an *absol. st.*)—A weakening of the firmly closed syllable occurs in בָּנִי, &c. from בָּנִי and יָבִיב Dt 15<sup>14</sup>, 16<sup>13</sup>, in both cases evidently owing to the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *S<sup>ghol</sup>* for *i*: הָבִלִי, יָשַׁע, נָנִי, &c.

*l* E. In the plural the termination וֹת is found as well as יִם, e.g. נְפִשׁוֹת, נְפִשׁוֹת together with נְפִשִׁים (Ez 13<sup>20</sup> [but read הַנְּפִשִׁים; see comm.]), &c., *constr. st.* נְפִשִׁים. Other nouns have only the ending וֹת, e.g. אֲרָצוֹת, *constr.* אֲרָצוֹת from אֲרָץ. Without *Qameṣ* before the ending יִם we find רַחֲמִים (*bowels*) *mercy*. On the numerals עֶשְׂרִים *twenty*, &c., cf. § 97 *f*, note 2. Moreover *a* is not inserted before plural suffixes with the tone on the penultima in אֲשֶׁרֶיךָ, &c., properly *thy happiness*! (a word which is only used in the *constr. st. pl.* and at an early period became stereotyped as a kind of interjection).

*m* F. In the *constr. st. plural* a firmly closed syllable is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, e.g. בְּסִפְיָהֶם Gn 42<sup>25,35</sup>; רִשְׁפֵי Ct 8<sup>6</sup> (רִשְׁפֵי ψ 76<sup>4</sup>); מִרְפֵי Ez 17<sup>9</sup>; צִמְרֵי Is 5<sup>10</sup>, and so always in נִסְבִּיָּהֶם Nu 29<sup>39</sup>, נִסְבִּיָּהֶם ψ 16<sup>4</sup>, &c. (on the other hand, according to the best authorities *not* in חֲסִדֵי Is 55<sup>3</sup>, &c., though in ψ 107<sup>43</sup> Ginsburg reads חֲסִדֵי; cf. § 46 *d*). Even with a middle guttural בְּעִלְיָהֶן Est 1<sup>17,20</sup>.—The attenuation of *ā* to *i* also occurs sometimes in this form (see above, *k*), e.g. וְכַחֲיִי, &c., even יִלְרִי Is 57<sup>4</sup> beside יִלְרִי Ho 1<sup>2</sup>, &c.

*n* G. In the *dual absol.* beside forms like רַגְלָיִם *feet*, with suff. רַגְלָיו, &c. בְּרַפֵּי *two thousand*, נַעְלָיִם *sandals*, בְּרַפֵּי *knees* (*ā* attenuated to *i*, *constr. st.* בְּרַפֵּי with a firmly closed syllable), with suffixes בְּרַפֵּי, &c. (cf., however, בְּרַכְיָהֶם Ju 7<sup>9</sup>), forms with pretonic *Qameṣ* are also found (in consequence of the

<sup>1</sup> According to M. Lambert, *REJ.* 1896, p. 21, *a* tends to remain with labials; so in 14 cases out of 22 masculines, and in 3 out of 6 feminines.

<sup>2</sup> Probably only a theory of one particular school and not generally accepted, or at any rate not consistently carried out; cf. Kö nig, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 22.

tendency to assimilate the dual to the plural in form: so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 17), as קַרְנִים horns, with suff. קַרְנָיו (Dn 8<sup>3</sup> <sup>fr.</sup>; elsewhere always קַרְנִים, קַרְנָיו, &c.), and so always דְּלָתַי constr. st. דְּלָתַי folding-doors, דְּרָכַי (?) double way.

2. On Paradigms b and a. With a final *N* rejected (but retained orthographically) we find חַטָּא *sin*. An initial guttural before suffixes generally receives *S<sup>c</sup>ghôl* instead of the original *š*, e.g. חֲקִי, עֲוִי, &c., so in the constr. st. plur. עֲוִי, &c.; חַטָּא forms חַטָּאֵי 2 K 10<sup>20</sup>, &c., retaining the *Qames* of חַטָּאִים before the weak *N*.—The pausal forms חֲתָר and שִׁבְטָא (out of pause always חֲתָר, שִׁבְטָא) go back to by-forms חֲתָר, שִׁבְטָא.—On עֲשׂוּבוֹת (*constr. st. plur. of עֲשׂוֹב*) Pr 27<sup>25</sup>, cf. § 20 *h*; שִׁקְמִים *sycamores*, without *Qames* before the termination יִם (see above, *l*), is probably from the sing. שִׁקְמָה found in the Mišna.

3. On Paradigms c and f. קִשְׁטָא occurs in Pr 22<sup>21</sup> without a helping vowel; *p* with a middle guttural פָּעַל, &c., but with ה also אָהַל, בָּהֶן; with a final guttural גָּבַה, רָבַע, &c., but with א, גָּמָא; with a firmly closed syllable אָסַפִּי Mi 7<sup>1</sup>.

Before suffixes the original *ū* sometimes reappears in the sing., e.g. גִּדְלוּ *q* (ψ 150<sup>2</sup>) beside גִּדְלוּ, from גִּדְלוּ greatness; קִבְלוּ (with *Dageš forte dirimens*, and the *ū* repeated in the form of a *Ḥaṭeph-Qames*, cf. § 10 *h*) Is 9<sup>3</sup>, &c.; נִשְׁמָה Ez 22<sup>24</sup>.—Corresponding to the form פָּעַלְכֶם *pō'ôl'khēm* we find קִטְבְּךָ Ho 13<sup>14</sup>, even without a middle guttural; similarly קִטְנִי (so Jablonski and Opitius) 1 K 12<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 10<sup>10</sup>, from קִטְנָא little finger; but the better reading is, no doubt, קִטְנִי (so ed. Mant., 'the *q* proleptically assuming the vowel of the following syllable'; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 69), and the form is to be derived, with König, from קִטְנָא, not *gütün*, as Brockelmann quotes him, in *Grundriss*, p. 103. The reading קִטְנִי (Baer and Ginsburg) is probably not due to a confusion of the above two readings, but יִם is merely intended to mark the vowel expressly as *ū*. In the forms פָּעַלוּ Is 1<sup>31</sup> (for פָּעַלוּ) and תִּאָּרוּ Is 52<sup>14</sup> (for תִּאָּרוּ 1 S 28<sup>14</sup>), the lengthening of the original *ū* to *ō* has been retained even before the suffix; cf. § 63 *p* and § 74 *h* (בְּמִצְאָכֶם Gn 32<sup>20</sup>).—In the same way *ō* remains before הֶ־ locale, e.g. פִּרְנָה Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, 24<sup>67</sup>, &c. Dissimilation of the vowel (or a by-form נָכָה?) seems to occur in נָכְחוּ Ex 14<sup>2</sup>, Ez 46<sup>9</sup>, for נָכְחוּ.

In the *absol. st. plur.* the original *ū* generally becomes *Šewā* before the *Qames*, *r* e.g. בִּקְרִים from בִּקְרָא morning, פְּעָלִים works, רִמְחִים lances, שְׁעָלִים handfuls (*constr. st.* שְׁעָלִי Ez 13<sup>19</sup>); on the other hand, with an initial guttural the *ū*-sound reappears as *Ḥaṭeph-Qames*, e.g. חֲדָשִׁים months, עֲפָרִים gazelles, אֲרָחוֹת ways; and so even without an initial guttural, הֲנִרְנוֹת the threshing-floors, 1 S 23<sup>1</sup>, Jo 2<sup>24</sup>; קִדְשִׁים sanctuaries, and שְׁרָשִׁים roots (*qūdhāšim*, &c., with *ō* for יִם); also קִדְשִׁי [but קִדְשִׁי, קִדְשִׁי, once 'קִדְשִׁי], where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between 'קִדְשִׁי and 'קִדְשִׁי; with the article הַקִּי, בִּקְרָא, לִקְרָא, according to Baer and Ginsburg. On these forms cf. especially § 9 *v*. From אָהַל tent, both בְּאֵהָלִים and אֵהָלִים (cf. § 23 *h* and פָּעַלוּ above) are found; with light suffixes אֵהָלִי, &c.; so from אָרַח way, אֲרָחָתִי (also אֲרָחָתִי)—hence only with initial א, 'on account of its weak articulation' (König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 45). It seems that by these different ways of writing a distinction was intended between the

plural of אֲרָחָה *caravan*, and of אֶרֶח *way*; however, אֲרָחוֹת is also found in the former sense (in *constr. st.* Jb 6<sup>19</sup>) and אֲרָחוֹת in the latter (e.g. Jb 13<sup>27</sup> according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimḥi); cf. also אֲוִנִיּוֹת 2 Ch 5<sup>18</sup> *Keth.* (אֲנִי *Qere*).—The *constr. st.* plural of בָּהֶן *thumb* is בְּהִנּוֹת Ju 16<sup>4</sup>, as if from a sing. בָּהֶן: of לְנֶה *brightness*, Is 59<sup>9</sup> לְנִהוֹת (on these *qol*-forms, cf. *t*).—If אֲפִנּוֹ Pr 25<sup>11</sup> is not dual but plural (see the Lexicon) it is then analogous to the examples, given in *l* and *o*, of plurals without a pretonic *Qames*; cf. בְּמִנִּים *pistachio nuts*, probably from a sing. בְּמִנָּה. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii, 345 f. אֲפִנּוֹ is a sing. (אֲפִנִּי, the ground-form of אֲפִנָּה, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original *ā* is רִכְסֵי ψ 31<sup>21</sup>; otherwise like קִדְשֵׁי, אֶהָלֵי, &c.

- s* 4. Besides the forms treated hitherto we have to consider also a series of formations, which have their characteristic vowel under the *second* radical, as is ordinarily the case in Aramaic (on the origin of these forms see further, § 84<sup>a</sup> e). Thus (*a*) of the form קָטַל; דְּבִשׁ *honey*, מְעַט *little*; in *pause*, דְּבִשׁ, מְעַט; גִּבֹּר *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, *h*), ψ 18<sup>26</sup> (elsewhere always גִּבְּרִי, and *infinitives* like שָׁכַב (§ 45 c; on קָחַת, see above, *h*); שֵׁכָם *shoulder*, *ā* being modified to *ē* (but in *pause* שֵׁכָם); locative שְׁכָמָה, also שְׁכָמָה Ho 6<sup>9</sup>. With suffixes in the usual manner שְׁכָמִי, שְׁכָמָה Gn 19<sup>33.35</sup> (an *infin.* with suffix, therefore not שְׁכָמָה). On the other hand, the *ā* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אֲנָמִים (*constr. אֲנָמִי*) *marshes*, הֲרָסִים *myrtles*, מְעַפִּים *few*.

- t* (*b*) Of the form קָטַל; בְּאֵר *a well*, זֶאֵב *wolf*, &c.<sup>1</sup>; locative בְּאֵרָה, with *suff.* בְּאֵרִי, *plur.* זֶאֵבִים, זֶאֵבִי; but בְּאֵרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאֵרוֹת; on the *infin.* שָׁאֵת, cf. § 76 b.

(*c*) of the form קָטַל; בָּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בָּאֵשׁוֹ, just as סִבְכוֹ occurs in Jer 4<sup>7</sup> along with the *constr. st.* סִבְכָּה ψ 74<sup>5</sup>; cf. for the Dages, § 20 *h*), perhaps also לְאֵם *nation*, *pl.* לְאֵמִים.

- u* 5. Paradigms *g-i* comprise the segholate forms with middle *y* or *i*: (*a*) of the form *qāṭl* with *Wāw* as a strong consonant, in which cases the original *ā* is almost always lengthened to *ā* (Paradigm *g*), thus מִוֹת, אֶוֹן *vanity*, עֶוֹל *iniquity*, תִּוֹן *midst*; with final *ā*, שִׁוָּא *falsehood*; cf. however, also רִוּחַ *space*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ, &c. Exception, עֶוֹל as *constr. st.* Ez 28<sup>18</sup> (according to Qimḥi) and with *suff.* עֶוְלוֹ. The contraction remains also in all cases in the plural (but see below, *w*).

- v* (*b*) Of the form *qāṭl* with consonantal *Yódh* (Paradigm *h*). With final *ā*, נִיָּא (also נִי), in Is 40<sup>4</sup> נִיָּא, in the *constr. st.* (also *absol.* Zc 14<sup>4</sup>) נִיָּא (also נִי); *plur.* 2 K 2<sup>16</sup> and Ez 6<sup>3</sup> *Keth.* according to Baer נִיָּאוֹת, i. e. doubtless נִיָּאוֹת (cf. נִיָּאוֹתֶיךָ Ez 35<sup>8</sup>; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] נִיָּאוֹת,

<sup>1</sup> The proposal of Haupt (*SBOT.* 'Proverbs', p. 34, l. 44 ff.) to read זֶאֵב, בְּאֵר, &c., does not seem to be warranted. The case here is quite different from that in Pr 1<sup>22</sup> where the Masora requires תִּאָּהֲבוּ, no doubt on the analogy of בְּאֵר, &c., for תִּאָּהֲבוּ, which was probably intended, see § 63 m.

i. e. doubtless **נִיאִיּוֹת**), but in *Q<sup>re</sup>*, and all other passages, **נִיאִיּוֹת**. The uncontracted form (in the *absol. st.* with helping *Hireq*) remains also before הַֿֿֿ *locale*, e. g. **בֵּיתָהּ** (but in the *constr. st.* e. g. **בֵּיתָהּ יֹסֵף**—**עִירָהּ** (from **עִיר**) Gn 49<sup>11</sup> is peculiar, so also **שִׁיתוֹ** Is 10<sup>17</sup> (from **שֵׁית**).—In the *plural absol.* uncontracted forms occur, like **הָלִים** *hosts*, **עֵינֹת** *springs*, **עֵרִים** *young asses*, **הַעֲשִׂים** *he-goats*, &c.; as *constr. st.* Pr 8<sup>38</sup> **עֵינֹת** for **עֵינֹת**.

(c) With the contraction of the ו and י even in the *absol. st. sing.* (Paradigm *z*). In this way there arise formations which are unchangeable throughout; thus from the ground-form **qāṭl** יוֹם (cf., however, § 96), **סוּף**, **שׁוּר**, &c.; with middle *Yōdh*, **חֵיל** 1 Ch 9<sup>13</sup> (elsewhere **חַיִל**) Is 21<sup>11</sup> (elsewhere **לַיִל**, in prose **לַיְלָה**, see above, § 90<sup>f</sup>); from the ground-form **qīl**, **דִּין**, **נִשִּׁיר** (see, however, § 96); from the ground-form **qūṭl**, **גֹּדַר**, **רֹדַח**, &c. The plurals **דְּוּרִים** *pots*, **שְׁוָקִים** *streets*, **שְׁוָרִים** *oxen*, have a strong formation (but for plurals **חֹרִים** 1 S 13<sup>6</sup> read **חֹרִים** as in 14<sup>11</sup>). Finally, forms with a quiescent middle א also belong to this class, such as **רֹאשׁ** *head* (obscured from **רֹאשׁ** = *ra's*, see § 96) and **צֹאן** *sheep*.

6. On Paradigm *k*: segholate forms from *l<sup>a</sup>* stems. Besides the formations *x* mentioned in § 84<sup>a</sup> *c*, *e*, like **בִּכָּה**, &c., and **שָׁחוּ** Ez 47<sup>5</sup>, with the original ו resolved, according to § 24 *d* (cf. the *constr. plur.* **חֲנִי** *clefts*, Ob 3, &c., and **קִצְוֵי** *ends*, ψ 48<sup>11</sup>, &c., where the ו becomes again a strong consonant,<sup>1</sup> from **חֲנִי** and **קִצְוֵי** or **חֲנִי** and **קִצְוֵי**), there occur also (*a*) commonly, of the ground-form **qatī**, forms like **פָּרִי**, **בָּבִי**, **גָּרִי**, **לָחִי**, **צָבִי**, **אָרִי**, &c.; in *pause* **פָּרִי**, **בָּבִי**, **לָחִי**, **צָבִי** (cf. § 29 *m*), but **אָרִי** Ju 14<sup>18</sup>; with suffixes **פָּרִיו** (attenuated from *pāryō*), **בָּבִי** ψ 6<sup>9</sup>, but also **פָּרִיָּהּ**, **לָחִיָּהּ**, &c.; before a grave suffix **פָּרִיָּהֶם**, but also **פָּרִיָּהֶם**. *Plur.* **פָּרִיִּים** (*constr.* **פָּרִיִּי**, see above, *o*, **חֲטָאִי** and **אֲרִיִּים**; with softening of the י to א (as elsewhere in **בְּלֹאִי** Jer 38<sup>12</sup> for which there is **בְּלֹאִי** in verse 11, according to § 8 *k*; **עֲרֵבִיאִים** 2 Ch 17<sup>11</sup>, cf. 26<sup>7</sup> *K<sup>eth</sup>*); probably in *verse* 11, **לִלְאוֹת**, **דְּוּרִאִים**, **דְּוּרִי** and **דְּוִי**; **לִלְאוֹ** and **דְּוִי**; also **חֲלֻכָּאִים** ψ 10<sup>10</sup> *K<sup>eth</sup>*, divided into two words by the Masora, is to be referred to a sing. **חֲלֻכִּי** *hapless*; **חֲלָאִים** *jewels*, Ct 7<sup>2</sup> (from **חָלִי**); but instead of **חֲלָאִים** and **חֲלָאִים** (from **חָלִי**) the Masora requires **חֲלָאִים** and **חֲלָאִים**; dual: **לְחָיִים**, *constr. st.* **לְחָיִי**, with *suff.* **לְחָיִי**, &c. On **דֶּל** *door*, cf. § 95 *f*, and on such formations generally, see Barth on biliteral nouns in *ZDMG*. 1887, p. 603 ff., and *Nominalbildung* (isolated nouns), p. 1 ff.

(b) From the ground-form **qīl**, **חָצִי** *half*, in *pause* **חָצִי**, with *suff.* **חָצִיו**, &c.—*y* From stems with middle *Wāw* arise such forms as **אִי** (from *'iwy*), **עִי**, **צִי** *ship*, plur. **אֵיִים**, **צֵיִים**, &c.; instead of the extraordinary plur. **עִים** Nu 24<sup>24</sup> read with the Samaritan **יִצְעָאִים**, and for **בָּצִים** Ez 30<sup>9</sup> read probably with Cornill **אֵצִים**.

(c) From the ground-form **qūṭl** sometimes forms like **בָּהוּ**, **תָּהוּ** (from *tūhw*, *būhw*), sometimes like **חָלִי**, **עָנִי**, and even without an initial guttural **דְּמִי**, **יָפִי**,

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58: the direct or indirect retention of this ו is hardly a feature of early Hebrew. The true Hebrew forms from **קָצָה** would be **קָצָה**, **קָצוֹת**, the aramaizing forms **קָצָה**, **קָצַת**, **קָצוֹת**.

צָרִי (also יָפִי, דָּמִי, צָרִי), &c.; in *pause* חָלִי, &c., with suff. חָלִי, plur. חָלִיִּים. From עֵפֶי *branch*, there occurs in ψ 104<sup>12</sup> the plur. עֵפָאִים (analogous to פְּתָאִים, &c., see above, x); the *K<sup>eth</sup>*. evidently intends עֵפָאִים (so Opitius and others). Dual, with suff. דְּלִי Nu 24<sup>7</sup>, *bucket* (from דָּלִי, for דְּלִי), more correctly, with the *Masora*, דְּלִי with *Munah* for *Metheg*. This unusual *Metheg* is to be treated as following the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 9 v.

aa 7. On Paradigms l-n: segholate forms from stems ע"ע (see § 84<sup>a</sup> c, β).

(a) In the *qatl*-form the *ā* of the contracted formation is sometimes lengthened in the *absol. st.*, sing. as in יָם (so also in the *constr. st.*, except in the combination יַם־סוּף the *Red sea*; and even before *Maqqeph*, יַם־הַמֶּלַח the *salt sea*), sometimes it remains short, e.g. פֶּת *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations generally have *Qames* in *pause*, as well as after the article (e.g. הָעָם). Adjectives under the influence of a guttural either have forms like לָחִים, צָחִים or, with *compensatory lengthening*, רָעִים, רָעִי. In the *constr. st.* חִי *living* (in the plural חַיִּים also a substantive, *life*), and יָי *sufficiency*, are contracted to חִי<sup>1</sup> and יֵי. As a locative form notice הָרָה *to the mountain*, Gn 14<sup>10</sup> (see § 27 q; beside הֶהָרָה. The stem is expanded to a trilateral form in הָרָרִי (unless it is simply derived from a by-form הָרָר on the analogy of *qātāl*-forms) Jer 17<sup>3</sup> (but in ψ 30<sup>8</sup> for הָרָרִי read הָרָרִי) and הָרָרִם Gn 14<sup>6</sup>; plur. *constr.* הָרָרִי Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, &c. (but only in poetical passages), with suffix, הָרָרִיָּה Dt 8<sup>9</sup>; עַמָּמִים Ju 5<sup>14</sup> (where, however, read probably בַּעֲמָמִי, Neh 9<sup>22</sup>; עַמָּמִי Neh 9<sup>24</sup>; elsewhere עַמָּים, עַמָּי.—Before *suffixes* and in the plur. *ā* is sometimes attenuated to *i*, e.g. פָּתִי, פָּתִים, פָּתִים, פָּתִים; כָּפִים and כָּפֹת (also כָּפֹת 2 S 17<sup>28</sup>) from כָּף. Before *ā* is retained in a virtually sharpened syllable, e.g. פָּתִים *traps*.

bb (b) *Qill*-forms: אֵשׁ, אֵשׁ *fire* (with suff. אֵשִׁי, but cf. also אֵשְׁכֶם Is 50<sup>11</sup>), חֵן *favour*, &c.; of a trilateral form, the plur. חֲצִצְיִי ψ 77<sup>18</sup>.

(c) *Qill*-forms: חֵק, כָּל *totality*, before *Maqqeph* חֵק־כָּל, with suff. חֵקִי, &c., with omission of *Dageš forte* (according to § 20 m) always חֵקֶךְ, חֵקְכֶם, but from עוֹ, עוֹי, עוֹכֶם, עוֹד, for which עוֹי and עוֹד are also found. חֵקֶי, expanded to a trilateral form, Ju 5<sup>15</sup> and Is 10<sup>1</sup>, generally explained as a secondary form of חֵקֶי with abnormal weakening of the *ū* to *i*, is more probably to be referred to a *qill*-form = Arabic *hiqq*.

cc The forms with assimilated middle *Nūn* likewise follow the analogy of Paradigms l-n, e.g. אָף *nose, anger* (אָפִי, dual אָפִים, also *face*) for 'anp; חֵךְ *palate* for *hink*, וָקִים *fetters*, עֹז *goat*, plur. עֹזִים, for 'inz, probably also אֵב *green herb*, for 'ind.

dd 2. Paradigm II comprises all formations with original short vowels, whether in the first or second syllable; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> f-i, and the general laws of formation, § 92 b-g.

<sup>1</sup> חִי only in Dn 12<sup>7</sup> as *constr. st.*, since in the asseverative formulae (cf. § 149) חִי נִפְשֶׁךְ, חִי יְהוָה (otherwise only in 2 S 15<sup>21</sup>, after יְהוָה, and Amos 8<sup>14</sup>), חִי is a contracted form of the *absol. st.* (prop. *living is Pharaoh!* &c.). It is evidently only a rabbinical refinement which makes the pronunciation חִי distinctive of an oath by God (or of God by himself), as in the regular formulae חִי יְהוָה (= חִי יְהוָה) Dt 32<sup>40</sup> and חִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ (חִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ).

Rem. 1. On Paradigms *a* and *b*: ground-form *qāṭāl*. The lengthening of the second *ā* to *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only in *ל"ל*-forms, e.g. צָבָא army, צָבֵא. For the construct forms חֵלֶב milk, לָבֵן white, Gn 49<sup>12</sup>, instead of the ordinary absolutes חֶלֶב, לָבֵן, a secondary form חֵלֶב must be assumed; from עָשָׁן smoke, the *constr. st.* עָשָׁן occurs once, Ex 19<sup>18</sup>, beside עָשָׁן, from הָדָר ornament the *constr. st.* הָדָר Dn 11<sup>20</sup>, beside the common form הָדָר.—The plur. פָּרָשִׁים horses, Is 21<sup>7</sup> (instead of פָּרָשִׁים, ground-form *pārāš*) is no doubt due to a confusion with the *qāṭāl*-form פָּרָשׁ horseman.

A. Sometimes a sharpening of the third radical takes place, in order to *ee* keep the preceding vowel short, e.g. צִמְלִים camels, קִטְנִים small ones, פִּלְגוֹת brooks (see § 20 a).—The attenuation of the *ā* of the first syllable to *i* does not take place in the *constr. st. plur.* as a rule after an initial guttural, as חֲכָמִי, חֲכָמִי, but חֲכָמִי, and never before a middle guttural, e.g. נְהָרִי; nor (according to König, owing to the influence of the nasal) in the non-guttural forms וְנִבּוֹת tails, וְנִבּוֹת, and (in the dual) בְּנֵפִי wings, from וְנֵב, בְּנֵפִי.—The dual נְהָרִים from נָהָר river, shows an abnormal omission of the lengthening of the *ā* before a tone-bearing termination, but cf. § 88 c.

B. From *ע"ע* stems, forms like חָלָל, עָנָן, &c., belong to this class.

C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as לֵב heart, שֵׁכָר strong drink, &c. From שֵׁעָר hair, in the *constr. st.* besides שֵׁעָר the form שֵׁעָר is also found (perhaps a survival of a secondary form like those in Paradigm I, *d*); so from צִלָּע rib, צִלָּע, and even צִלָּע 2 S 16<sup>13</sup> (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.; but Baer צִלָּע), both, probably, old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of צִלָּע; cf. also צִלָּעִי and צִלָּעוֹ, as well as the *constr. st. plur.* צִלָּעוֹת; also from נֶכֶד strangeness, the *constr. st.* נֶכֶד־ is found, Dt 31<sup>16</sup>.

2. On Paradigms *c-e*: ground-form *qāṭāl*, developed to *qāṭāl*; with a final *kk* guttural, e.g. שָׂבַע satisfied. In the *constr. st.* the original *i* of the second syllable, probably on the analogy of the forms discussed in § 69 c, becomes *ā*, e.g. וְזָן, חָדַל, חָסַר, &c., but not before suffixes, בְּחֻפִּי, &c., nor in forms from *ל"א* stems, e.g. מָלֵא full, מָלֵא; cf., moreover, עָקַב Gn 25<sup>26</sup> from עָקַב heel, and אֲבָל־ ψ 35<sup>14</sup>, mourning. Paradigm *d* represents forms which in the *constr. st.* instead of the ordinary בָּתָּה, &c., have a segholate form, as אֲרָה, בָּרָה, יָרָה, גָּל, עָרַל (Ez 44<sup>9</sup>), *constr. st.* of אֲרָה long, בָּרָה wall, יָרָה thigh, גָּל robbery, עָרַל uncircumcised. In Is 11<sup>14</sup> בָּתָּה would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for בָּתָּה); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, Gött. Gel. Anzeigen, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] for אֲחָה בֶּכ' with one shoulder, i.e. shoulder to shoulder); [cf. Driver, Tenses, § 190, Obs.].

In the *plur. constr.* the *i* lengthened from *i* is frequently retained in verbal *ii* adjectives of this formation, e.g. שֹׂכְחִי, שֹׂמְחִי, אֲבִלִי, יֹשְׁנִי, חֲפָצִי; cf. also יִתְרָתִי (with *i* under the protection of the secondary tone) from יָתַר tent-peg. On the other hand from יָרָה fearing, always יָרָא; cf. also רִנָּעִי ψ 35<sup>20</sup> from רָנַע.—With *ā* retained in the initial syllable cf. אֲחָה alius (with a virtual sharpening of the ח).—From *ע"ע* stems come forms like מֵת dead person, גֵּר resident stranger, עֵד witness, with unchangeable *Serê*; hence מֵתִים, מֵתִי, &c.

Kindred in character are the formations from the ground-form *qāṭāl*. This *kk*

ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qāṭōl*, e.g. עָנַל *round*, עֵמֶק *deep*, אֶדֶם *red*; but before formative additions the short *ū* returns, protected by the sharpening of the following consonant (see *ee* above), as עֵנָלִים, &c. (but in stems with a third guttural or ר, נִבְהָה, (שְׁחָרִים). The form עֵנָל, 1 K 10<sup>19</sup>, is abnormal; likewise עֵמֶקָה Pr 23<sup>27</sup>, Jablonski (ed. Mant. עֵמֶקָה, Baer and Ginsburg עֵמֶקָה).

ll 3. On Paradigm *f*: ground-form *qāṭāl* from ל"ה stems. As in verbs ל"ה § 75 *h*, the general rule is that before the terminations of the plur. and dual and before suffixes beginning with a vowel, the third radical is usually elided altogether. But besides שָׂרָה the form שָׂרִי, with the final *Yōdh* retained, is also found in poetry (cf. also the singulars with suffixes, like מִשְׁחִיָּהּ in *ss*); in the same way final ו is retained in עֲנִיִּים *the poor*, constr. עֲנִי. The plur. of שָׂרָה is שָׂרוֹת, constr. שָׂרוֹת (also שָׂרִי, unless this is a *sing.*, contracted from שָׂרִי; so Barth, *ZDMG*. xlii, p. 351). The *qāṭāl*-form (see § 84<sup>a</sup> *i*) רָעָה 2 S 15<sup>37</sup>, 16<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 4<sup>5</sup> is remarkable as a *constr. st.* (the reading רָעָה of Opatius and others is opposed to the express statement of the Masora). To the category of these forms also belongs without doubt פָּנִים *face* (only in *plur.*), פָּנִי, פָּנֶיךָ, פָּנֶיךָ, &c.

mm In a few formations of this kind the vowel of the second syllable appears to have been already lost in the *absol. st. sing.*; so according to the ordinary view, in יָד *hand*, constr. יָד, with suff. יָדוֹ, but יָדְךָ; plur. יָדוֹת, constr. יָדוֹת, dual יָדָיו, יָדָי, with suff. יָדֶיךָ, &c., and in דָּם *blood*, constr. דָּם, with suff. דָּמִי, but דָּמְךָ (*ā* attenuated to *i*), plur. דָּמִים, דָּמִי. But perhaps both these nouns are to be regarded as primitive (§ 81), and as original monosyllabic formations.

nn 3. Paradigm III comprises forms with an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable has been lengthened from an original short vowel, and is therefore changeable. The special cases are to be distinguished in which the original short vowel is lengthened both *in* and *before* the tone, but in an open syllable becomes *Ṣwā* (Paradigm *a*, but cf. also examples like אוֹפְנִים *wheels*, for אוֹפְנִים, and אֶלְמִים *porches*), secondly, the cases in which the vowel becomes *Ṣwā* even *before* the tone (Paradigm *b*), and finally, those in which the termination of ל"ה formations is entirely lost (Paradigm *c*).

oo Rem. 1. On the model of עוֹלָם (which, moreover, is obscured from 'ālām), the following forms also are inflected: מְקַטֵּל (§ 85 *h*), in some cases with virtual sharpening of the third radical (see § 20 *a*), as מְבַטְחוֹ Jer 17<sup>7</sup>, ψ 40<sup>5</sup>, Jb 8<sup>14</sup>, &c.; א"ל nouns of this form maintain the *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st. plur.*, e.g. מְקַרְאֵי from מְקַרֵּא<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand, in the plur. of the *participles Niph.* (§ 85 *n*) of verbs א"ל (which likewise belong to this class), are found not only regular forms like נִקְרְאִים but also נִקְבְּאִים Jos 10<sup>17</sup>, נִטְמָאִים Ez 20<sup>30f</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> מְקַרְשִׁיהֶם Ez 7<sup>24</sup> for מְקַרְשִׁי (from מְקַרֵּשׁ) is wholly irregular; perhaps, however, the *part. Pi'el* is intended, without *Dageš* in the ק (according to § 20 *m*).

and so always נְבָאִים (except Ez 13<sup>2</sup> הַנְּבָאִים) and נְמַצִּיאִים 1 S 13<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 14<sup>14</sup>, &c. (except Ezr 8<sup>25</sup> הַנְּמַצִּיאִים in pause).<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the other participles in *ā* also follow the analogy of עֹלֵם as *pp* regards the final syllable (מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטֵּל, cf., however, הַמּוֹשֵׁב Gn 43<sup>12</sup> in close connexion; see the analogous cases in § 65 *d*); also שֹׁלֵחַן *table* (§ 85 *u*; plur. שֹׁלְחָנוֹת, *constr.* שֹׁלְחָנוֹת, מְרַבֵּן, *constr.* מְרַבֵּן, hence in plur. *constr.* with *suff.* מְרַבֵּנִיהֶם Lv 7<sup>58</sup>; עֲקָרָב (§ 85 *w*), plur. עֲקָרָבִים (with sharpening of the final consonant for עֲקָרָבִים, cf. also עִירָם *naked*, plur. עִירָמִים Gn 3<sup>7</sup> [but in 2<sup>25</sup> מְעִרָמִים, according to § 90 an orthographic licence for עִירָמִים from עִירָם *nakedness*, 2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>; מְרַדְּמוֹ, מְרַדְּמוֹ; מְעַמְּקִי Is 51<sup>10</sup>; נִבְבְּדִי Is 23<sup>8 f.</sup>; מִשְׁבִּי ψ 18<sup>3</sup>; even with attenuation of the *ā* to *i*, מְרַדְּמִים *threshing instruments*, 2 S 24<sup>22</sup>, 1 Ch 21<sup>23</sup>, from מוֹרֵג (§ 85 *g*), מְזִין (§ 85 *i*), מְעִז (§ 85 *k*), inasmuch as they retain the *ā* of the first syllable, contrary to rule, even when not pretonic, e.g. מְעִזִּי, מְעִזָּה (§ 85 *g*); מוֹשֵׁב (§ 85 *p*), *constr. st. plur.* הַשֹּׁבֵב 1 K 17<sup>1</sup>; also isolated forms according to § 84<sup>a</sup> *t*, and § 84<sup>b</sup> *b, c, k, m, n, o*. Cf. finally, צָוָאר *neck* (from *šāw'ār*), *constr. st.* צוֹאֵר Jer 28<sup>10 a</sup>, *constr. st. plur.* צוֹאֲרֵי Gn 45<sup>14</sup>, &c.

2. (Paradigm *b*; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> *s*.) Instead of the original *i* in such forms as אֵיכָבֶדְךָ (cf. 2 K 22<sup>29</sup>), the second syllable more frequently has *ē*, e.g. יֹצֵרְךָ *thy creator*; with a closing guttural (according to § 91 *d*; but cf. also אָבֵר Dt 32<sup>28</sup>) forms are found sometimes like שֹׁלַחְךָ, sometimes like בְּרֵאֲךָ; *constr. st.* without *suff.* נָטַע ψ 94<sup>9</sup> (according to § 65 *d*); with a middle guttural נֶאֱלָךְ Is 48<sup>17</sup>; cf. 43<sup>14</sup>.—The same analogy also is followed in the flexion of the other participles which have *i* in the final syllable (מְקַטֵּל, מְחַמְּטֵל, &c.), see further, in § 84<sup>b</sup> *d*, גָּבַן, &c. (but with exceptions, as שֹׁלְשִׁים, רִבְעִים), and *ibid.* *l, p*; § 85 *i, k* (מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*, *constr. st.* מִזְבֵּחַ, plur. מִזְבְּחוֹת), and *ibid.* *g*, but here also there are exceptions like מְקַהֲלִים ψ 26<sup>12</sup>.

3. (Paradigm *c*: *part. Qal* of verbs לָחַץ, differing from Paradigm II, *f* in the unchangeableness of the vowel of the first syllable.) In Ez 17<sup>15</sup> *ē* in the *absol. st.* is abnormal, and *S<sup>g</sup>hōl* in the *constr. st.* in 2 S 24<sup>11</sup> (so Opatius, Ginsburg; but Baer הָוָה, Ec 2<sup>15</sup> (according to Baer, but not the Mantua ed.; מְקַרְה Ec 3<sup>19</sup> is in the *absol. st.*). To this class belong, as regards their formation, the לָחַץ-forms mentioned in § 84<sup>a</sup> *r*, § 85 *g* (with *suff.*, e.g. הַמַּעֲלֶךְ Dt 20<sup>1</sup>, *which brought thee up*), and *h*.

In a few instances, before a suffix beginning with a consonant, the original *ss* *āy* of the termination has been contracted to *i*, and thus there arise forms which have apparently *plural suffixes*; as מִשְׁפָּהֶם Is 5<sup>12</sup>, Dn 1<sup>10, 16</sup>; מִרְאֵיהֶם *their appearance*, Dn 1<sup>15</sup>, Gn 41<sup>21</sup>, cf. Na 2<sup>5</sup>; נִזְמִיהֶם *who stretched them forth*, Is 42<sup>5</sup>; defectively אֶפְהֶם Ho 7<sup>5</sup> (cf. נָהֶם Ez 34<sup>14</sup>); on the other hand, the examples in Is 14<sup>11</sup>, Gn 47<sup>17</sup>, which were formerly classed with the above, are really plurals. But מַחֲנִיךְ *thy camp*, Dt 23<sup>15</sup> (מַחֲנֶךְ occurs just before),

<sup>1</sup> Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 659, observes that except in 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup>, 35<sup>17</sup> הַנְּמַצִּיאִים is always followed by a preposition governing a word, so that the punctuators perhaps intended to indicate a sort of *constr. st.*

מִקְלִי *thy cattle*, Is 30<sup>23</sup> (probably also שָׂרִיךְ 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>), מִרְאִיךְ Ct 2<sup>14</sup>, and מִרְאִי *the sight of him*, Jb 41<sup>1</sup> (with the *י* here retained orthographically), מִעֲלִי Ez 40<sup>31</sup>, &c., are still to be explained as singulars.—On a few other examples which may perhaps be thus explained, see § 124 *k*. Before the plural ending the original termination *ay* reappears in מִמְחִים Is 25<sup>6</sup> (*part. Pu.* from מחה).

**tt** 4. Paradigm IV comprises the forms with a changeable vowel (*a, b*), or a vowel which has already become *Šewa* (*c*), in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second. With Paradigm *c* (which, however, for the most part consists merely of forms based on analogy, without biblical parallels) are also connected all the forms which have unchangeable vowels in both syllables, and therefore (like מִתְּבָרָה) cannot undergo any vowel changes.

**uu** Rem. 1. Analogous to פָּקִיד (ground-form *pāqid*) are § 84<sup>a</sup> *k*, נָדִיל, &c. (with *ô*, not changeable *ô* for *û*); in substantives like שָׁלוֹם, this *ô* is demonstrably obscured from *â* (Arab. *sālām*); *ibid.* *l, m*, אָסִיר, אֶסִיר, &c.; § 85 *u*, וְכָרוֹן, *constr.* וְכָרוֹן; חֲזִיוֹן, *constr.* חֲזִיוֹן; כְּלִיּוֹן, *constr.* כְּלִיּוֹן (cf., however, the forms in the *constr. st.* עֲצֻבוֹן, עֲצֻבוֹן, and with the plural suffix עֲצֻבוֹתָי Ez 27<sup>12</sup> *π.*); § 85 *u*, חֲלָמִישׁ, *constr.* חֲלָמִישׁ; § 85 *l*, מְקוֹם, &c.

**uu** 2. עָנִי (ground-form *ʿāniy*, stem עָנָה) represents forms in which a final *Yōdh* has been resolved into *i*; before formative additions the original *Yōdh* under the protection of a *Dageš forte* again becomes audible as a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable becomes *Šewa*; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> *l*, נָקִי, plur. נְקִיִּים, and § 87 *a*.

**ww** 3. כְּתָב with unchangeable *ā* in the second syllable, whilst the *Šewa* is weakened from a short vowel (Arab. *kīṭāb*); *constr. st.* כְּתָב־ Est 4<sup>8</sup> (readings like כְּתָב 2 Ch 35<sup>4</sup> are incorrect, although יָקָר Est 1<sup>4</sup> and כְּתָב־ 4<sup>8</sup> are supported by fairly good authority; however, these *qāṭūl*-forms in Hebrew are probably all loan-words from the Aramaic). The only plural form found in the O. T. is עֲבֵרֵיהֶם *their deeds*, Ec 9<sup>1</sup>. In a narrower sense the forms enumerated in § 84<sup>a</sup> *n-p* belong to this class; in a wider sense all those which have unchangeable vowels throughout, thus § 84<sup>a</sup> *u*, § 84<sup>b</sup> *e* (קָפַל, cf., however, the anomalous forms mentioned there), *ibid.* *f, i, m* (No. 34 *f.*), *n* (No. 39), *p* (No. 44), also partly § 85 *b-w* (especially *l* and *r*).

**xx** In opposition to the anomalous shortening of the form קָפַל (see above), cases are also found where pretonic vowels are retained even in the antepenultima (with the secondary tone); cf. above, *ii* and *pp*, also of the form קָטִיל (properly *qāṭīl*) the examples סָרִיסִים, פָּרִיזִים, שְׁלִישִׁים, whilst the *constr. st. sing.* according to the rule, changes the *ā* into *Šewa* (סָרִיס, פָּרִיז, שְׁלִישׁ). (These are not to be confounded with forms like עֲרִיץ *tyrant*, which is for עָרִיץ, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qames*.) Of the form קָטִיל (*qāṭīl*) in this class are שְׁבִיעַ *week*, plur. שְׁבָעִים and שְׁבָעוֹת, *constr.* שְׁבָעוֹת, but with *Metheg* of the secondary tone in the fifth syllable from the end, שְׁבָעֲתֵיכֶם.—On מְעוֹז, מְעוֹזִי, &c., cf. § 85 *k*.

## § 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns.

1. The feminine ending  $\text{הַ-}$ , when appended to the masculine *a* forms treated in § 93, effects in almost all cases the same changes as are produced in the masculine forms by the addition of a light suffix, since in both cases the tone is moved one place farther forward (see § 92 *b*). The following scheme is based on the same division into four classes, with their subdivisions, as in § 93; a few special forms will be treated in § 95 in connexion with the paradigms of feminine nouns.

Paradigm I: segholate forms, with the feminine ending always *b* added to the ground-form, (*a*) מַלְכָּה *queen*, מַלְכָּה *queen*, and with attenuation of *ā* to *i* מַלְכָּה *lamb*, רֹצֶפֶה *hot stone*, Is 6<sup>6</sup> (from another root רִצַּפָּה; see Baer on Ez 40<sup>17</sup>), חֲזָקָה *strength* (unless belonging to Paradigm *b*); (*b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתֵּר); עֲרֵנָה *pleasure* (עֲרֵן), not to be confounded with the unchangeable forms with a prefixed מ, derived from ל"ה stems, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; (*c*) חֲלִידָה, proper name (חֲלִיד *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אָכַל); (*d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נָעַר); (*f*) בְּאִשָּׁה *weed*, טְהִירָה *purity* (טָהַר); (*g*) עוֹלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה, Paradigm *i*); (*i*) צִירָה *vituals* (masc. צִיר, cf. Paradigm *h*); from *qīl* and *qūl*-forms, בִּינָה *understanding*, סוּפָה *tempest*; (*k*) אֲלִיָּה *fat tail* (as if from אָלַי), שְׂבִיָּה (*ā* attenuated to *i*) *captivity* (שָׁבַי), לִיָּה *wreath* (probably an original *qīl*-form); (*l*) חַיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (attenuated from מִדָּה). Adjectives derived from ע"ע stems also belong in flexion to this class, as רַבָּה *multa*, with middle guttural רַעָה *mala*; (*m*) זְמָה *plan*; (*n*) חֲקָה *statute* (חָק).

Paradigm II: ground-form *qātālāt*, &c., (*a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); *c* (*b*) אֲדָמָה *earth*; (*c*) נִבְלָה *corpse*; (*d*) עֵיפָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קֶצֶה *end* (from יָפָה, קָצַה). From stems ע"י arise such forms as עֲרָה (masc. עָר, properly *part*). *Qal* from עויר *female witness*. From the ground-form *qātūl*, עֲמֻקָּה *profunda* (masc. עָמַק), עֲבָדָה *servitude*, &c.

Paradigm III: unchangeable vowel in the first, changeable in the *d* second syllable, (*a*) יִלְדָּה *a woman with child* (cf. the examples in § 84<sup>a</sup> *s*, and the retention of the *ē* in the *part*. *Pī'el*, Ex 22<sup>17</sup>, 23<sup>26</sup>; in the *Hithpa'el* 1 K 14<sup>54</sup>), but also with the change of the *ē* (originally *i*) into *šwā*, יִשְׁבָּה *dwelling*, Na 3<sup>8</sup>. However, in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by תַּ- (see below, *h*); (*c*) גּוֹלָה *those of the captivity* (masc. גּוֹלָה), but also with a return of the final *Yôdh*, הִמְיָה *clamorous*, Pr 7<sup>11</sup>, and the examples in § 75 *v*. On the *ā* of the participles of verbs ע"י, which also belong to this class, such as יָרָה *peregrina*, cf. § 72 *g*.

e Paradigm IV: originally changeable vowel in the first syllable, unchangeable in the second, (a) גְּדֹלָה *magna*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, properly *pia*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, properly *seivuncta*; (b) עֲנִיָּה *miseria*.

f 2. A simple ת is added as feminine ending in forms like בְּכִית *weeping* (masc. בָּכִי, § 93 x, a), בְּרִית *covenant*; but *feminine participles* of verbs ל"א, as יִצְאָת, מִצְאָת, may be due to contraction from *yôgè et*, &c. (hardly to lengthening of the *î* in the ground-form *môsi*), whilst forms like מוֹצְאָת, נִשְׂאָת (see § 74 i) are to be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93 t. Apart from the ל"ה formations, we find the simple ת in the participle מְשַׁרְת 1 K 1<sup>15</sup>, contracted from מְשַׁרְתָּת. But יוֹלְדָת Gn 16<sup>11</sup>, Ju 13<sup>5,7</sup> is the ground-form of the ptep. יוֹלְדָת (as in the same connexion in Gn 17<sup>19</sup>, Is 7<sup>14</sup>), cf. § 80 d and the Qere שְׂבָתָ, &c., discussed in § 90 n.

g The forms which arise by appending the ת feminine to masculine nouns with a changeable vowel in a closed final syllable are, as a rule, developed exactly in the same way as masculine segholate forms. Thus there arise in Paradigm I (a) from גְּבִירָת (for original *g<sup>e</sup>birt*; § 69 c), the form גְּבִירָת *mistress* (but only in *construct st.*; in Is 47<sup>i</sup> also עַר גְּבִירָת are to be taken together; the *absolute st.* is גְּבִירָה); from מַלְכָּת, מַלְכָּת *queen* (in Paradigm II, a); פִּחָּת, פִּחָּת = פִּת *pit*) Lv 13<sup>ss</sup>; (c) גִּירָת *wall*, גִּירָת (from גִּירָת = *g<sup>e</sup>dirt*; cf. וְנָ as *construct st.* of וְנָ); on the other hand, חֲמִשָּׁת is *construct st.* of חֲמִשָּׁה *five*, with lengthening of the original *î* of חֲמִשָּׁת.

h Formations with a changeable *ô* in the second syllable belonging to this class are נְחִישָׁת *bronze* (from נְחִישָׁה), בָּחֲנָת the *constr. st.* of בָּחֲנָה *coat*, perhaps also כְּתָבָת *writing* (unless it be obscured from כְּתָב, § 93, Paradigm IV, c).—Paradigm III, (a) חֲחֻמָּת (from חֲחֻמָּה), masc. חוּמָּה *seal*; (b) יוֹנְקָת (properly *sucking*) *sprout* (in *pause*, e.g. חֲכָרָת Ex 26<sup>4</sup>, &c.), and so most feminines of participles קָטַלְת. On this transition of the ground-form *qôtilt* to קָטַלְת (regularly before suffixes in יוֹנְקָתוֹ, יוֹלְדָתוֹ, &c.), cf. § 69 c; *qôfalt* serves as the ground-form under the influence of a guttural as well as before suffixes, e.g. יֹדְעָת, feminine of יָדָע *knowing*; in a wider sense, גִּלְגָּלָת *skull* may also be included here, see § 95, Paradigm IV, c.

On the endings ית and ית—, see § 86 k, l, § 95 at the end.

### § 95. Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

a In accordance with the general formative laws, stated in § 92 b-k, the following cases have chiefly to be considered in the flexion of

feminines also: (1) a tone-lengthened vowel on the removal of the tone reverts to its original shortness (thus the  $\bar{a}$  of the termination  $\eta_{\text{—}}$  becomes again  $\bar{a}$  in the *construct st.*  $\eta_{\text{—}}$ ). On the other hand, even an originally short vowel is retained as (a long) pretonic vowel before the endings  $\eta_{\text{—}}$  and  $\eta$  in the *abs. st.*, e.g.  $\text{צִדְקָה}$ ; (2) without the tone or foretone an originally short vowel almost always becomes  $\check{S}^w\bar{a}$ ; on the other hand, before a vowel which had thus become  $\check{S}^w\bar{a}$  the  $\bar{a}$  in the first syllable which had hitherto also been reduced to  $\check{S}^w\bar{a}$  returns, although usually attenuated to  $\check{z}$ , e.g.  $\text{צִדְקָת}$  from  $\check{s}\bar{a}d\check{h}\bar{a}q\bar{a}th$ ; (3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms before the termination of  $\eta$  or  $\eta_{\text{—}}$ , and in formations of the latter kind also before the light suffixes, a *pretonic Qames* reappears, while the short vowel of the first syllable becomes  $\check{S}^w\bar{a}$ . This short vowel, however, returns in the *construct st. plur.*, whether ending in  $\eta$  or  $\eta_{\text{—}}$ ; in formations of the latter kind also before the grave suffixes.

The following Paradigms (with the exception of I, d) deal only with such of the forms treated in § 94 as incur some vowel changes or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Paradigm I, d.

I.					
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	מְלִכָּה	[כְּלִיָּה]	חֲרָפָה	חֲקָה	[נְבִירָה]
	(queen)	(kidney) (reproach)	(waste)	(statute)	(mistress)
„ <i>construct</i>	מְלִכַת	חֲרַפַת	חֲרַפַת	חֲקַת	נְבִירַת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מְלִכָתִי	חֲרַפָּתִי	חֲרַפָּתִי	חֲקָתִי	נְבִירָתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מְלִכַתְכֶּם	חֲרַפַתְכֶּם	חֲרַפַתְכֶּם	חֲקַתְכֶּם	נְבִירַתְכֶּם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מְלָכוֹת	כְּלִיּוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֲקוֹת	
„ <i>construct</i>	מְלָכוֹת	כְּלִיּוֹת <sup>1</sup>	חֲרָבוֹת	חֲקוֹת	
„ <i>with suff.</i>	מְלָכוֹתִי	כְּלִיּוֹתִי	חֲרָבוֹתִי	חֲקוֹתִי	
<i>Dual absolute</i>		רְקִמְתַּיִם			מְצַלְתַּיִם
		(a double piece of embroidery)			(cymbals)

<sup>1</sup> Only in  $\psi$  69<sup>10</sup>, contrary to rule, with a firmly closed syllable, cf. § 93 m.

C

	II.			III.	
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	צָרָקָה (righteousness)	וְעָקָה (outcry)	שָׁנָה (year)	יוֹנֶקֶת (sprout)	גִּלְגָּלֶת (skull)
„ <i>construct</i>	צָרָקֶת	וְעָקֶת	שָׁנֶת	יוֹנֶקֶת	גִּלְגָּלֶת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	צָרָקָתִי	וְעָקָתִי	שָׁנָתִי	יוֹנֶקֶתִי	גִּלְגָּלָתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	צָרָקְתֶּכֶם	וְעָקְתֶּכֶם	שָׁנֶתְכֶם	יוֹנֶקֶתְכֶם	גִּלְגָּלֶתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	צָרָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	[יוֹנֶקוֹת]	
„ <i>construct</i>	צָרָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יוֹנֶקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
„ <i>with suff.</i>	צָרָקוֹתִי		שָׁנוֹתִי	יוֹנֶקוֹתִי	גִּלְגָּלוֹתִי
<i>Dual absolute</i>	[נְחָשְׁתַּיִם]		שִׁפְתַּיִם (fethers of brass)		
„ <i>construct</i>			שִׁפְתַּי		

## REMARKS.

*d* 1. Paradigm I: feminines of segholate forms. (a) The locative of this class has the form גִּבְעָתָה towards Gibeah (masc. גִּבְעָה). In some cases, especially with an initial guttural, there is no means of deciding whether the form in question is to be referred to a *qāṭl* or a *qīl* base, e. g. חֲזָקָה strength (cf. חֲזָקָה under b). A dual of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתַיִם seven times (cf. שִׁבְעָה seven, fem.).

Analogous to masculine forms like רִבְשׁ (§ 93 s) is הֲדַסָּה myrtle.—From masculines of the form פָּרִי (ל"ה, cf. § 93 I, k) arise feminines sometimes like אֱלִיָּה, שָׁלוֹה, נֶאֱוָה (see above, § 94 b), sometimes like בְּכִית (§ 94 f); occasionally the final ת is retained before the plural ending, as if it belonged to the stem (cf. § 87 k), e. g. הַנִּיתוֹת spears. Forms like גִּדְיָה (cf. אֲנִיָּה, a *qūl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms גִּדִּי kid, אֲנִי a fleet.—(b) From a stem עָן wheat (for חֲנָה), plur. חֲנָיִם.—(c) From עָרְלָה foreskin, the plur. absol. is עָרְלוֹת (cf. פְּעֻלִּים, § 93, Paradigm I, f), constr. עָרְלוֹת.—(d) Example of a feminine segholate form from a stem ע"ע (ground-form *qūl*), like חֲיָה of the form *qāṭl*, וְזָה of the form *qīl*), with *ō* for *ū*, חֲזָה terror, Is 19<sup>17</sup> (Aramaic orthography for חֲזָה).

*e* (e) To the list of segholate forms with ת fem. belong also the infinitives of verbs פ"ו and פ"ן, which have rejected the weak consonant at the beginning, as שָׁכַת (from יִשָּׁב), רָעַת (from יִרַע), נִשָּׂת (from נִגַּשׁ), as well as קָחַת (from לָקַח); cf. § 69 m and § 66 b and g. The infinitives of verbs פ"ו are, however, also found in the form רָעָה, לָרָה, צָאָה, and of the same origin also are עֲרָה congregation (from יָעַד), עֲצָה counsel (from יָעַן), שָׁנָה sleep (from יָשַׁן), constr. עֲרַת, שָׁנֶת, while in the constr. forms וְעַת sweat, Gn 3<sup>19</sup> (from יָוַע to flow), and צָאָת excrement, Ez 4<sup>12</sup>, the *Ṣere* has remained firm.

*f* From a stem ע"י (cf. בּוֹשׁ to be ashamed) is בִּשְׁתׁ shame, with suffix בִּשְׁתִּי.

<sup>1</sup> On שָׁנוֹת as a less frequent (poetic) form for שָׁנִים see § 87 n.

From a stem ל"ה (דָּלָה, cf., however, Barth, *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem ידל) the masculine דָּל appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yôdh*, and afterwards the feminine דָּלָה door; but in the plural דָּלָתוֹת, constr. דְּלָתוֹת, the ת of the termination is retained (see above, d, חֲנִיתוֹת). In a similar way רָפְתִּים stalls, Hb 3<sup>17</sup>, has arisen, if it is from the stem רפה, and נֶשֶׁקֶת trough (from נִשְׁקָה), of which the masc. must have been נֶשֶׁק = נִשְׁקִי; on the other hand, the plur. constr. נֶשֶׁקֶתוֹת Gn 30<sup>38</sup> (again retaining the feminine ת as an apparent radical) can only be an abnormal formation from the singular נֶשֶׁקֶת, not from a kindred form נֶשֶׁקֶת or נֶשֶׁקֶת.

2. Paradigm II: ground-form *qātālāt*, &c., cf. § 94 c, Paradigm II, a and b. <sup>g</sup> Analogous to the masculine forms like קָטַן, plur. קָטָנִים, we find קָטְנָה *parva*, &c.—The constr. forms, like צִרְקָה (*sidh<sup>e</sup>qāth*), are distinguished by the vocal *Ṣ<sup>e</sup>wā* (§ 10 d) from the segholate forms, like כְּבִשֶׁת (*kbih<sup>e</sup>sāth*). Consequently the constr. st. בְּרִכַּת Gn 28<sup>4</sup>, &c. (from בִּרְכָה *blessing*), and חֲרִדָה 1 S 14<sup>15</sup>, &c. (from חָרַד *a trembling*), are abnormal.—Under the influence of a guttural (see Paradigm b) the original *ā* is retained in the first syllable in the constr. st. (cf. also אֶדְמָה *earth*, אֶדְמָת; in other cases it is modified to *S<sup>e</sup>ghōl*, e.g. עֵנְלָה *wagon*, עֵנְלָתוֹ). Frequently from an absol. st. in ה־ the constr. is formed with the termination ת, e.g. עֲטָרָה *crown*, constr. עֲטָרָת (from עָטַר); along with עֲצָרָה *assembly*, עֲצָרָת is found usually, even in the absol. st.; יָבֵמַת (from יָבַם *levir*) before suffixes is pointed as in יָבֵמַתִּי, and thus entirely agrees with נִבְרָת (Paradigm I e). From a stem ל"ן (אָמַן) is formed אֱמָת *truth* (from 'āmānt, and this no doubt for an original 'āmīnt, § 69 c) before suffixes אֱמַתִּי, &c.

From the masc. form קָטַל (*qāṭil*) are formed, according to rule, גִּדְרָה *wall*, <sup>h</sup> נִבְלָה *corpse*, constr. נִבְלָת; בָּהֵמָה *cattle*, constr. בָּהֵמַת (for בָּהֵמַת), with suffix בָּהֵמַתִּי Lv 19<sup>19</sup>. More frequently, however, the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the termination *ath* of the constr. st.; thus from נִבְלָה once נִבְלָתִי Is 26<sup>19</sup>, and always בְּרִכַּת *pool*, נִזְלָת *prey*, טִמְאָת *unclean*, מִלְאָתִי *full*, Is 1<sup>21</sup> (with *Hireq compaginis*, see § 90 l), מִרְרָתִי Jb 16<sup>13</sup>; שְׂאֵלָתִי 1 S 1<sup>27</sup>, &c. (with elision of the א, שְׂלָלָתִי 1 S 1<sup>7</sup>), also שְׂאֵלָתִי Jb 6<sup>8</sup>. Cf. the analogous forms of the constr. st. מַגַּפָּת *plague*, תִּרְדֵּמַת *deep sleep*, from מָגַף, מִגְפָּה.

As dual we find יָרִכְתַּי *sides* (cf. יָרְכֻוֹ Gn 49<sup>13</sup>, from the obsolete יָרְכָה *i*, feminine of יָרַךְ); the constr. st. יָרִכְתִּי is perhaps to be referred to a segholate form (יָרִכָה, cf. יָרַךְ as constr. st. of יָרַךְ), unless the closed syllable be due to the analogy of בְּרִכַּת and חֲרִדָה (see g).

In the forms with simple ת feminine the ground-form *qātīl* is developed <sup>k</sup> (§ 69 c) to *q<sup>e</sup>falt*, and this again regularly to קָטַלָת. Thus the feminine of חָבֵר *companion* is חֲבֵרָת (with suffix חֲבֵרָתִי Mal 2<sup>14</sup>, cf. שְׂכֵנִיתָה Ex 3<sup>22</sup>), of גִּידָר fem. גִּידָרָת besides גִּידְרָה.—Of ע"ו stems the segholate forms נָחַת *rest* and שָׁחַת *pit* (from נָחַח, שָׁחַח) belong to this class; Böttcher (*Gram.* i. 411) rightly distinguished the latter from נִשְׁחַת *corruption* (stem שָׁחַח); in the same way also נָחַת *rest* is distinct from נָחַת *a lighting down* (stem נָחַח).

The feminines of the form *qā'il* from stems ע"ו, as מֵתָה *mortua*, עָרָה fem. <sup>l</sup>

witness (from מוֹת, עֵיד, have likewise an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable. Cf., on the other hand, the forms from פ"י stems mentioned above, under e, such as שָׁנָה sleep, constr. st. שָׁנָה; moreover, חֶמָּה anger, constr. st. חֶמָּה (but חֶמָּה a leather bottle, in pause חֶמָּה [so Baer, Ginsb., but Kittel 'ח] Gn 21<sup>15</sup>, constr. st. חֶמָּה Gn 21<sup>14</sup>, perhaps from a stem חממת).

m The feminines of the form qātūl, like עֵמְקָה (masc. עֵמֶק), maintain the original ū by sharpening the following consonant (cf. § 93 kk); on the other hand, by appending the fem. ה, segholate forms arise like נִחְשֵׁת, before suff. נִחְשֵׁתָם, &c. Dual נִחְשֵׁתַיִם (see Paradigm II, a); but cf. נִחְשֵׁתִי La 3<sup>7</sup>.

n A few (aramaising) feminines from ל"ה stems (Paradigm II, c) are found with the ending āth, due to the rejection of the final Wāw or Yōdāh and contraction of the preceding ā with the ā of the termination āth; thus מַתָּה portion (for mānāyāth or mānāwāth), קֶצֶת end (also קֶצֶה and קֶצֶה, plur. מִצִּיּוֹת (constr. st. Neh 12<sup>47</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>) and מִנְאוֹת (Neh 12<sup>44</sup>); קֶצֶת Ex 38<sup>5</sup>; cf. 37<sup>8</sup> and 39<sup>4</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>.; on נַחֲלֵי valleys, see § 93 v.—מִנְאוֹת sign (stem מִנְאוֹה) is obscured from מִנְאוֹת, and this is contracted from 'āyāth = 'āwāyāth; plur. מִנְאוֹת, with the double feminine ending; cf. above, f, and § 87 k.—The retention of the ā in the first syllable in מִנְאוֹת, &c., Gn 24<sup>41</sup>, &c., is abnormal.

O 3. Paradigm III, cf. the various forms in § 94 d and f-h. The dual חוֹמַתַּיִם two walls, Is 22<sup>11</sup>, &c., taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹת, for חוֹמַתַּיִם, is abnormal (cf. § 87 s, and the proper name גִּדְרַתַּיִם Jos 15<sup>36</sup>).—Among the forms resembling participles Qal of verbs ע"ו, such as נֶרֶה (masc. נֶרֶה from zār, hence with unchangeable ā), must be reckoned also בִּמָּה high place (from בִּימָה), which has for its constr. st. plur. the pleonastic form בִּמְמוֹתַי, or written defectively בִּמְמוֹתַי (see § 87 s); for this the Masora everywhere requires בִּמְמוֹתַי, which is to be read bām<sup>o</sup>thē (not bōm<sup>o</sup>thē), with an anomalous shortening of the ō to ē; but with suffixes בִּמְמוֹתַי, &c.

p In a wider sense the feminines of the form קָטַל (§ 84<sup>b</sup> e) belong to this class, in so far as they shorten the ā of the second syllable before the termination ה, e.g. דָּלָקַת inflammation (from dallāqt), with suff. דָּלָקַתָּה Ez 16<sup>52</sup>; טַבַּעַת signet; also fem. of the forms קָטַל and קָטַל (§ 84<sup>b</sup> c and d), as אִילָּה folly (for 'iwēwāll), and of all the forms which have a changeable vowel in the second syllable, and are formed with the prefix מ (§ 85 g-k), e.g. מְמַלְכָּה kingdom, constr. always מְמַלְכֶּת; מְמַרְחָה (not used in the sing.) pruning-hook, plur. מְמַרְחוֹת; מְשַׁכְּרָה reward, with suff. מְשַׁכְּרַתִּי; cf. also the examples given in § 85 g and p, like מוֹלְדָּה birth (but מוֹלְדָּה ל"א outgoing), הוֹלְדָּה generation, הוֹעֲקָה abomination, constr. הוֹעֲקֶת, &c.

q Sometimes the plural of these forms is to be traced to a secondary form, e.g. אֲנָרֶת a letter, plur. אֲנָרוֹת (as if from אֲנָרָה); also יוֹנְקוֹת, which is merely formed on the analogy of the other plur. fem. of participles Qal, is to be referred to a sing. יוֹנְקָה. Cf., moreover, מַחְרֵשֶׁת ploughshare, plur. מַחְרְשׁוֹת (as if from מַחְרֵשָׁה)<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand, בְּתָרוֹת capitals (of columns), and תּוֹכְחוֹת reproofs, are the regular plurals of בְּתָרָה and תּוֹכַחַת.

<sup>1</sup> עֲשֵׂתָרֶת Astarte (plur. עֲשֵׂתָרוֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to an intentional alteration of the

In בְּחִנֵּת *coat* the original ū of the first syllable is maintained by the *r* sharpening of the following consonant (cf. Arab. *qūṭūn*), with suff. בְּחִנֵּי, the *constr. st.*, however, is בְּחִנֵּת (as also in the *absol. st.* in Ex 28<sup>39</sup>); plur. בְּחִנּוֹת, *constr. st.* בְּחִנּוֹת.—The form בְּחִנֵּת given in Paradigm III, b is a *Pālpūl*-form of the stem בְּחִנֵּת, cf. מְקַדֵּר, § 84<sup>b</sup> p.

4. To the fourth class, for which no Paradigm is required, belong all the numerous forms which in classical Hebrew have unchangeable vowels throughout, the originally short vowel of the first syllable having become *Ṣ<sup>e</sup>wā*, owing to the tone being thrown forward. Of the forms mentioned in §§ 84 and 85 those from ע"ע stems especially belong to this class, as מְגִלָּה *scroll*, הַהֲלָה *praise*, הַפִּלָּה *prayer* (§ 85 *i* and *q*), as well as the feminine of the participle *Hiph'il* of verbs ע"ע, e.g. מְאִירָה *enlightening* (from מְאִיר), and generally the feminines of ע"ע stems which are compounded with the *preformative* מ, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (from מְנוּחַ), see § 85 *l*; from ל"ה stems perhaps also הַעֲלָה *conduit* (*constr. st.* הַעֲלָת Is 7<sup>3</sup>, &c.) and הַלָּאָה *travail*. Thus all these forms coincide externally with those which already, in the masculine form, have unchangeable vowels throughout (see the list of them in § 93 *w*).

5. The feminine ending ית־ (apart from ל"ה-forms like בְּכִיתָ, § 94<sup>f</sup>) arises *t* from the addition of the feminine ת to the ending י־, which is employed to form adjectives, &c., see § 86 *d*, *h*, and *k*. The ending וֹת, mentioned there, is attached, in segholate forms, sometimes to the ground-form, as עֲשֻׁחוֹת Jb 12<sup>5</sup> (v.l. עֲשֻׁחוֹת), sometimes to forms with a loosely-closed syllable, as מְלִכּוֹת *kingdom*; from ל"ה stems we find forms sometimes like נִשְׁבּוֹת *captivity* (according to others from the stem שׁוּב, like לְוֹת *perverseness* from לָו), sometimes like בְּכוֹת *weeping*, גָּלוֹת *exile*, חֲזוֹת *vision*; the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable even in the *constr. st.* and before *suffixes*. From a *qāṭil*-form is formed כְּבִירוֹת *heaviness*; from a *qāṭil*-form פְּקָרוֹת, &c.

In the plural of these forms different methods of treatment may be distinguished. In some cases the whole ending וֹת is retained, as if belonging to the stem (cf. above, *f*), e.g. אֶלְמִנּוֹתֵיךְ from אֶלְמִנּוֹת, in others this ending is resolved, as in מְלִכִּיּוֹת Dn 8<sup>22</sup> (no doubt for *māl'kluwwoṭh*), and עֲדוֹת *'edh<sup>e</sup>wōth*, from עֲדוֹת *testimony*, but only with suffixes, עֲדוֹתֶיךָ ψ 119<sup>14</sup>, &c.; עֲדוֹתַי I K 2<sup>3</sup>, &c.

### § 96. *Nouns of Peculiar Formation.*

In the following Paradigms,<sup>1</sup> pp. 282 to 284, a number of frequently used nouns are arranged, whose flexion presents more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities, however, are almost always subordinate to the usual phonetic laws, and the usual designation of the nouns as *irregular* is, therefore, not justified, when once the ground-forms are properly recognized on which the present forms are based.

original עֲשֻׁתָּרַת, like מֶלֶךְ Lv 18<sup>21</sup>, &c. (for מֶלֶךְ), with the vowels of בִּשְׁתָּ *shame*, the latter word being substituted in reading for the name of the goddess.

<sup>1</sup> The only omissions from these Paradigms are אֶחָד, הֶם, and חֲמוֹת (on which see the remarks), and all forms which are not found in the O. T.

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	אָב (father)	אָח (brother)	אָחוֹת (sister)	אִישׁ (man)	אִשָּׁה (woman)
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹת	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁה
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹתִי	אִשִּׁי	אִשְׁתִּי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ		אִשְׁתְּךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ	אִשְׁךָ	
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבִיו (אָבִיהוּ)	אָחִיו (אָחִיהוּ)	אָחוֹתוֹ	אִישׁוֹ	אִשְׁתּוֹ
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	אָבִיהָ	אָחִיהָ	אָחוֹתָהּ	אִשָּׁהּ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	אָבֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ	אָחוֹתֵנוּ		
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	[אָחוֹתֵכֶם]		
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבֵיכֶן				
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבֵיהֶם	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵם		
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	אָבֵיהֶן				

<i>Plur. absolute</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִים		אֲנָשִׁים	נָשִׁים
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִי		אֲנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	אָבוֹתִי	אָחִי, pause	אָחוֹתִי	אֲנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֶיךָ	אָחֶיךָ		אֲנָשֶׁיךָ	נָשֶׁיךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>		אָחֶיךָ	אָחוֹתֶיךָ		
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתָיו	אָחָיו	אָחוֹתָיו	אֲנָשָׁיו	נָשָׁיו
„ <i>3 fem.</i>		אָחֶיהָ		אֲנָשֶׁיהָ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	אָבוֹתֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ		אֲנָשֵׁינוּ	נָשֵׁינוּ
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	אָחוֹתֵיכֶם		נָשֵׁיכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֵיהֶם (אָבוֹתֵיהֶם)	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵיהֶם	אֲנָשֵׁיהֶם	נָשֵׁיהֶם
„ <i>3 fem.</i>				אֲנָשֶׁיהֶן	

## REMARKS.

אָב father; the *constr.* אָבִי, like אָחִי and בְּנִי (which occurs once), belongs to the connective forms discussed in § 90 *k*, which serve as the model for the *Hireq compaginis*. However, אָב also occurs in compound proper names, e.g. אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, beside אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, &c.; also Gn 17<sup>4 f</sup>. אָבִי־הַמֶּן for the purpose of explaining the name אֲבִי־הַמֶּן. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87 *p*.

אָח brother. The plur. *absol.* אָחִים has *Dageš forte implicitum* (§ 22 *c*); אָחוֹת stands for אָחִיו according to the phonetic law stated in § 27 *q*, and so also אָחִי in *pause* for אָחִי. The sharpening of the ך merely serves to keep the preceding *Pathah* short, as in גְּמָלִים, &c. (§ 93 *ee*).

אָח one (for אָחִי, likewise with *Dageš forte implicitum*, § 22 *c*, cf. § 27 *q*), *constr.* and otherwise in close connexion, אָחִי, Gn 48<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>22</sup>, Is 27<sup>12</sup>,

אָמָה (handmaid)	בֵּית (house)	בֵּן (son)	בַּת (daughter)	יוֹם (day)	כֵּלִי (vessel)
אִמְתִּי	בֵּיתִי	בְּנִי	בַּתִּי	יוֹם	כֵּלִי
אִמְתְּךָ	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ, pause	בַּתְּךָ, pause		כֵּלְיְךָ
	בֵּיתָךְ	בְּנֶךָ			
אִמְתּוֹ	בֵּיתוֹ	בְּנוֹ	בַּתּוֹ	יוֹמוֹ	
אִמְתָּהּ	בֵּיתָהּ	בְּנָהּ	בַּתָּהּ		
		בְּנָנָהּ			
	בֵּיתְכֶם		בַּתְכֶם		
	בֵּיתָם			יוֹמָם	
אִמְהוֹת	בָּתִּים	בָּנִים	בָּנוֹת	יָמִים	כֵּלִים
אִמְהוֹת	בָּתֵּי	בָּנֵי	בָּנוֹת	יָמֵי	כֵּלֵי
אִמְהֵי		בָּנֵי	בָּנֹתֵי	יָמֵי	כֵּלֵי
	בָּתֵּיךְ	בָּנֵיךְ	בָּנֹתֵיךְ	יָמֵיךְ	כֵּלֵיךְ
	בָּתֵּיָךְ	בָּנֵיָךְ	בָּנֹתֵיָךְ	יָמֵיָךְ	
אִמְהֵתִיו		בָּנָיו	בָּנֹתָיו	יָמָיו	כֵּלָיו
אִמְהֵתֶיהָ		בָּנֶיהָ	בָּנֹתֶיהָ	יָמֶיהָ	כֵּלֶיהָ
	בָּתֵּינוּ	בָּנֵינוּ	בָּנֹתֵינוּ	יָמֵינוּ	כֵּלֵינוּ
אִמְהֵתֵיכֶם	בָּתֵּיכֶם	בָּנֵיכֶם	בָּנֹתֵיכֶם	יָמֵיכֶם	כֵּלֵיכֶם
	בָּתֵּיהֶם	בָּנֵיהֶם	בָּנֹתֵיהֶם	יָמֵיהֶם	כֵּלֵיהֶם
אִמְהֵתֵיהֶן	בָּתֵּיהֶן	בָּנֵיהֶן			

Zc 11<sup>7</sup>; and especially before מֶן (מֶ) Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, Ex 3c<sup>14</sup>, Nu 16<sup>15</sup>, Ju 17<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>3</sup>, Ez 18<sup>10</sup>; fem. אִתָּה una (for אִתְּךָ, according to § 19 d), in pause אִתָּה. Once חָד masc. (by aphaeresis, § 19 h), Ez 33<sup>30</sup>, as in Aramaic; plur. אִתָּיִם some, but also *idem*.

אִתָּה sister, from 'āḥwāt or 'āḥyāt, with elision of the ו or י, and with the ā, which has arisen from ā, obscured to ā. In Nu 6<sup>7</sup> אִתָּה stands for אִתָּה (with virtual sharpening of the ח). The plur. *absol.* (אִתָּיִם) does not happen

<sup>1</sup> This explanation of אִתָּה (and חִמּוֹת q. v.) still seems to us more probable than the assumption that the fem. ending āḥ is lengthened to compensate for the loss of the 3rd radical (so Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi. 258), or that the form is derived from 'ahā, the old-semitic constr. st. of the accusative, with ת feminine (so Barth, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 598).

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	[מִי] (water)	עִיר (city)	פֶּה (mouth)	רֹאשׁ (head)	שֵׁם [שְׁמִי] (name) (heaven)
„ construct		עִיר	פִּי	רֹאשׁ	שֵׁם, נֶשֶׁם
„ with suff. of 1 sing.		עִירִי	פִּי	רֹאשִׁי	שְׁמִי
„ 2 masc.		עִירְךָ	פִּיךָ	רֹאשְׁךָ	שְׁמֶךָ, pause
„ 2 fem.				רֹאשֶׁךָ	שְׁמֶךָ
„ 3 masc.		עִירוֹ	פִּיו	רֹאשׁוֹ	שְׁמוֹ
„ 3 fem.		עִירָהּ	פִּיהָ	רֹאשָׁהּ	שְׁמָהּ
„ 1 Pl.			פִּינוּ	רֹאשֵׁנוּ	שְׁמֵנוּ
„ 2 masc.			פִּיכֶם	רֹאשֵׁכֶם	שְׁמֵכֶם
„ 3 masc.		עִירָם	פִּיהֶם	רֹאשֵׁם	שְׁמָם
„ 3 fem.			פִּיהֶן	רֹאשֵׁן	

<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מִיָּם	עִרִים	פִּיּוֹת	רֹאשִׁים	שְׁמִים שְׁמוֹת
„ construct	מִיָּמִי	עִרֵי		רֹאשֵׁי	שְׁמֵי שְׁמוֹת
„ with suff. of 1 sing.	מִיָּמִי	עִרֵי			
„ 2 masc.	מִיָּמֶיךָ	עִרְיָךָ			שְׁמֶיךָ
„ 2 fem.		עִרְיָךְ			
„ 3 masc.	מִיָּמּוֹ	עִרְיוֹ		רֹאשֵׁיו	שְׁמּוֹ
„ 3 fem.	מִיָּמֶיהָ	עִרְיָהּ		רֹאשֶׁיהָ	
„ 1 Pl.	מִיָּמֵינוּ	עִרְיֵנוּ		רֹאשֵׁינוּ	
„ 2 masc.		עִרְכֶּם		רֹאשֵׁיכֶם	שְׁמֵיכֶם
„ 3 masc.	מִיָּמֵיהֶם	עִרְיָהֶם		רֹאשֵׁיהֶם	שְׁמוֹתָם
„ 3 fem.				רֹאשֵׁיהֶן	שְׁמוֹתָן

to occur. In Ez 16<sup>52</sup> אֲחֻתֶּךָ occurs (for אֲחֻתֶּיךָ). In the forms אֲחֻתִּי Jos 2<sup>13</sup> Keth., אֲחֻתֶּיךָ Ez 16<sup>51, 55, 61</sup> (to be read also in verse 45 for אֲחֻתֶּךָ, which has been erroneously assimilated to the singular occurring in vv. 48, 49, 56), and אֲחֻתֵּיכֶם Ho 2<sup>3</sup> (for which, however, read אֲחֻתֵּכֶם), the third radical has been entirely lost.

אִישׁ *man*, according to the common opinion either incorrectly lengthened for אִישׁ (from 'inš, with assimilation of the *Nûn* of the ground-form 'inš, which again has been attenuated from 'anš from the stem אָנַשׁ), or softened directly from 'inš. It is, however, probable that a separate stem (אִישׁ *to be strong*?) is to be assumed for the singular<sup>1</sup>; consequently the stem אָנַשׁ *to be sociable*,

<sup>1</sup> So already Gesenius in his *Thes. linguae Hebr.*, i. 83 f., and recently again Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegg.*, p. 160 ff., Praetorius in Kuhn's *Orient. L.-B.*, 1884, p. 196; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 38; while Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 1886, p. 739 f.), against Delitzsch, would connect both אִישׁ and נָשִׁים with the stem אָנַשׁ.

would be connected only with the plur. אִשִּׁים (אִשָּׁה is found only in Is 53<sup>3</sup>, ψ 141<sup>4</sup>, Pr 8<sup>4</sup>).

אִמָּה slave, handmaid; with the plur. אִמָּהוֹת, with consonantal ה, cf. in Aram. אֲבָהֵן fathers, and similarly in Phoen. דִּלְהַת from דִּלַּח, also Arab. 'abahāt (fathers), 'ummahāt (mothers), with an artificial expansion into a trilateral stem.

אִשָּׁה woman, probably for אִנְשָׁה; from אָנַשׁ i.e. not (as Aram. אֲנַתָּא shows) אִנְשָׁה to be sociable (see above, on אִישׁ) but אָנַשׁ to be weak (Arab. 'anīṭā). So De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 68; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 159 f. The form אִנְשָׁה (for 'āš, with ה fem., from 'āšš, after rejection of the doubling and lengthening of the *i* to *e*) occurs in Dt 21<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 28<sup>7</sup>, ψ 58<sup>9</sup>, even in *absol. st.* [cf., however, below, § 130. 4, 5].—In ψ 128<sup>3</sup> אִנְשָׁה is found for אִשָּׁה. Instead of the plur. נָשִׁים, we find in Ez 23<sup>44</sup> אִשָּׁה.<sup>1</sup>

בֵּית house, locative בֵּיתָה, בֵּיתָה, in pause בֵּיתָה, constr. בֵּיתָה, plur. בֵּיתִים (but in Dt 6<sup>11</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>11</sup> בֵּיתִים without *Metheg*), pronounced bāttim.

The explanation of the Dageš in the ה is still a matter of dispute. The Syriac bāttim, however, shows that the Dageš is original, and belongs to the character of the form.<sup>2</sup> According to Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 88, בֵּיתִים is simply contracted from bai-tim (as אֵין from אֵין, עֵינִים from עֵינִים, &c.), and the Dageš, therefore, is *lene*; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 56, proposes the name Dageš forte orthoconsonanticum; on the other hand Rahlfs, *ThLZ.* 1896, col. 587, suggests that the ' is assimilated to the ה, while Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206, assumes for the plural a stem distinct from that of the singular. A definite solution is at present impossible. The incorrectness of the formerly common pronunciation bōttim is sufficiently shown by the Babylonian punctuation (see § 89, note 3), which leaves no doubt as to the *d*.

בֶּן son (Gn 30<sup>19</sup> בֶּן־שָׁשִׁי) constr. usually בֶּן־ (also with a conjunctive accent as an equivalent for *Maqqeph*, Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, Is 8<sup>2</sup>, &c., 1 Ch 9<sup>21</sup>; even with smaller disjunctives, especially in the combination מִבֶּן, Ex 30<sup>14</sup>, Lv 27<sup>3</sup>, &c. [מִבֶּן־ only after וְאִם and before הָרָשׁ, also in Is 51<sup>12</sup>; see Strack on Ex 30<sup>14</sup>]), rarely בֶּן־נֶן (Dt 25<sup>2</sup>, Jon 4<sup>10</sup> twice, Pr 30<sup>1</sup>, and so always in the combination בֶּן־נֶן, and in the proper names בֶּן־יָמִיני [but בֶּן־יָמִיני Benjaminite] and בֶּן־יָקָה Pr 30<sup>1</sup>), once בֶּנִי (cf. § 90 l) Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, and בְּנִי (§ 90 o) Nu 23<sup>18</sup>, 24<sup>3.15</sup>.—In Gn 49<sup>22</sup> בֶּן־, for which בֶּן־ ought to be read, is intended by the Masora for the *absol. st.*, not the *constr.*

<sup>1</sup> Friedr. Delitzsch (in his Babylonian glosses to Baer's text of Ezekiel, p. xi) on Ez 23<sup>44</sup> remarks that in Assyro-Babylonian the plur. of *aššātu* (woman) is *aššāti*, corresponding, therefore, to אִשָּׁה, not to the ordinary plur. נָשִׁים. The *a* of נָשִׁים (instead of *i* as in Arab. or *e* as in Syr.) is to be explained with Barth (*Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, Giessen, 1906, p. 792) from the natural connexion of the ideas 'men' and 'women', נָשִׁים and אִשָּׁה.

<sup>2</sup> This disposes of the traditional view that the Dageš (after a firm *Metheg*, see § 16 f) only serves to distinguish it from בֵּיתִים passing the night, ptep. Qal of בֵּיתָה, a stem which never occurs in the O. T. According to P. Haupt the stem is בָּא to go in, ה therefore being the feminine termination, as in *bint* daughter, and the original form *ba'tu*, *bātu* (entrance) is preserved in the plural *bāttim* where the *tt* is to be explained as due to the analogy of trisyllabic stems. In the singular *bāt* passed into *bēt* (?), and this was resolved into *bait*, as *Y'rušālem* into *Y'rušālayim*.

בַּת daughter (from *bant*, and this again, according to the law stated in § 69 c, for *bint*, fem. of בֵּן), with suff. בְּתִי for בְּתִי. Plur. בָּנוֹת, from the sing. בְּנָה, comp. בָּנִים sons.

חָם husband's father, only with suff. חָמִיךָ, חָמִיָּה; and חֲמוֹת husband's mother, only with suff. חֲמוֹתֶךָ, חֲמוֹתָי. Cf. אָב, אִמָּה, and especially אחות.

יוֹם day (Arab. *yaum*),<sup>1</sup> dual יָמִים; the plur. יָמִים is probably from a different sing. יָמָה (יָמָה), constr. יָמִי and (poetically) יָמוֹת, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>, ψ 90<sup>15</sup>.

כֵּל vessel, in pause כֵּלִי (with suff. כֵּלִיךָ Dt 23<sup>25</sup>) from כָּלָה to contain, plur. כֵּלִים (as if from כָּל, כָּלָה; according to König, ii. 63, shortened from *kilyim*).

מַיִם water; on the plur. cf. § 88 d.

עִיר city. The plur. עָרִים is scarcely syncopated from עִירִים, as it is pointed in Ju 10<sup>4</sup> (no doubt erroneously, in imitation of the preceding עִירִים *ass colts*), but from a kindred sing. עָר, which still occurs in proper names.

פֶּה mouth, constr. st. פִּי (for original פִּי = פֶּה?). Its origin is still disputed. According to Gesenius and König (ii. 103), פֶּה stands for פָּאָה (ground-form *pi'ay*) from פָּאָה to breathe, to blow; according to Olshausen, for פִּי, from a stem פִּיה or פִּוה. But parallel with the Hebrew פֶּה are Assyr. *pū*, Arab. *fū*, *fam*, *famm*, *fumm*, bibl. Aram. פִּם, פִּמָּא, Syr. *pūm*, *pūmā*, so that Barth, *ZDMG*. xli, p. 634, assumes two forms of development from the same stem פִּמּוּ, viz. *fm* and *fio*. פִּי my mouth, from *pi-y*; for פִּיהֶם we find in ψ 17<sup>10</sup>, 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup> פִּימוֹ. The supposed plur. פִּים 1 S 13<sup>21</sup> is generally explained as a contraction from פִּיִּים, but the text is altogether corrupt. The plur. פִּיּוֹת, for the edges of a sword, occurs in Pr 5<sup>4</sup>; reduplicated פִּיפִּיּוֹת Is 41<sup>15</sup>, ψ 149<sup>6</sup>.

רֹאשׁ head (obscured from רָאשׁ = *rašš*); plur. רֹאשִׁים (for רֹאשִׁים, § 23 c): ראשֵׁי only in Is 15<sup>2</sup>.

שֶׁה a head of small cattle (sheep or goat), constr. st. שֶׁה, with suff. שֶׁהֶיךָ 1 S 14<sup>34</sup> and שֶׁיךָ Dt 22<sup>1</sup>, according to König, ii. 131, from a ground-form *si'ay*, but according to De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, 81 f., from a stem שֶׁי (שֶׁי = *say* = *weisay*).

שֵׁם name, constr. generally שֵׁם (only six times שֵׁם); cf. בֵּן.

שָׁמַיִם heaven (§ 88 d).

## § 97. Numerals. (a) Cardinal Numbers.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 116 ff.; *Grundriss*, i. 484 ff.

- a 1. The formation of the cardinal numbers from 3 to 10 (on 1 and 2 see below) has this peculiarity, that numerals connected with a mascu-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58, *yaum*, probably an extension of a biliteral word which has survived in יָמִים, יָמִי. Barth, however, *Orient. Studien*, p. 791 (see above on אֲשָׁה), sees in יָמִים, יָמִי, יָמוֹת new formations in Hebrew, caused by the naturally close connexion and association of these plurals with שָׁנִים, שָׁנִי, שָׁנֹת years, to which they became assimilated in form. The view that יוֹם is merely an incorrect obscuring of יָמָה, and therefore distinct from the Arab. *yaum*, is contradicted by the invariable spelling יוֹם, &c., notwithstanding the spelling וְיָמִים (= וְיָמִים?) in the Siloam inscription, line 3 (cf. § 7 f), and מִיָּמִים Ho 6<sup>2</sup>. Cf. also the note on § 100 g.

line substantive take the feminine form, and those with a feminine substantive take the masculine form. The common explanation of this strange phenomenon used to be that the primary form of the numeral was an abstract noun in the feminine (cf. § 122 p). This was originally attached in the *constr. st.* to the word qualified, then came to be also used in apposition to it, and finally was placed after it like an adjective. The consequence of the appositional, and finally adjectival, construction was, that for numerals connected with feminine nouns a special shorter form came to be used, whilst the original forms, with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connexion with masculine nouns, after as well as before them.

On this view the historical process would have been that originally the abstract numerals (like Latin *trias*, *decas*, Greek *πεντάς*, *δεκάς*, &c.) were placed in the *constr. st.* before masculines and feminines alike, e. g. *שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנִים trias filiorum*, *עֶשְׂרֵת נָשִׁים decas mulierum*. A trace of this earlier usage was seen in the examples mentioned under c, like *שְׁלֹשֶׁת נָשִׁים*.—Further, it was possible to say *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים trias*, sc. *fili*, as well as *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים filii trias*. From this second appositional construction it was only a step to the treatment of the abstract numeral as an adjective, *fili tres*. Similarly the subsequently shortened forms of the abstract numeral, which were used in connexion with feminines, might stand either in the *constr. st.* before, or in apposition before or after the word numbered, thus *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת trias filiarum*, or *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת trias*, sc. *filiae*, or *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת filiae trias*, or adjectivally *filiae tres*.

A different and much more intelligible explanation of the striking disagreement between the gender of the numeral and that of the word numbered has recently been given by Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, pt. ii, Leiden, 1898, p. 265 ff. He also considers that the earliest forms were abstract numerals which were placed in the *constr. st.* before the noun numbered, the latter depending on them in the genitive. The original form, however, of the abstract numerals from 3 to 9 is not the feminine, but the masculine, used for both genders, as it still is in the tens, 20, 30, &c. The feminine abstract numeral was first distinguished by a special form in the numbers from 13 to 19 (see further, below) when connected with masculines, and this distinction was afterwards extended to the numbers from 3 to 10. This explanation does not affect the view stated above that the appositional and adjectival use of the abstract numerals was only adopted later in addition to their use in the genitive construction.

The differentiation of the numerals (originally of common gender) into masculine and feminine forms in the second decade, was occasioned, according to Reckendorf, by the use of the abstract feminine *עֶשְׂרֵה* in compounds.

So long as it was felt that *שָׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂרָה* simply meant *the three of the decade*, the gender of the noun numbered made no difference. When, however, the consciousness of this meaning became weakened and the combination of units and tens came to be felt as a copulative rather than a genitive relation, it seemed suitable to connect only feminine nouns with the feminine form *עָשָׂרָה*. New forms were therefore invented, both of the units and the tens, for use with masculine nouns. The former, however, no longer had the form of the *constr.* but of the absolute state, clearly showing that the consciousness of the original syntactical relation in *שָׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂרָה*, &c., was lost. On the other hand, after the extension of these new formations to the first decade, the new feminine forms readily came to be used also in the genitive construction (and therefore in the *constr. st.*) on the analogy of the earlier masculine forms.

Of the first two numerals, *אֶחָד* *one*, with its fem. *אַחַת* (see § 96), may be recognized, from its form and use, as an adjective, although even so it admits of such combinations as *אֶחָד הַהָרִים* *unus e montibus*. The numeral two, as would be expected, appears as an abstract in the *dual*, but, like the other numerals, can also stand in apposition to the noun numbered. In form it always agrees with the gender of its noun. Accordingly, the numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows:

b	With the Masculine.		With the Feminine.	
	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אַחַת	אַחַת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתֵּי <sup>1</sup>	שְׁתֵּי
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלוֹשָׁת	שְׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה <sup>2</sup>	חֲמִשָּׁת	חֲמִשׁ	חֲמִשׁ
6.	שֵׁשָׁה	שֵׁשֶׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבְעַ	שִׁבְעַ <sup>3</sup>
8.	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה
9.	תִּשְׁעָה	תִּשְׁעַת	תִּשְׁעַ	תִּשְׁעַ <sup>3</sup>
10.	עָשָׂרָה	עָשָׂרָה	עָשָׂרָה	עָשָׂרָה

<sup>1</sup> Shortened from *שְׁנַתַּיִם*, which would be the regular feminine form of *שְׁנַיִם*. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in *שְׁתֵּי*, &c. (even after *מֶן*; *Jon* 4<sup>11</sup>; cf., however, *מִשְׁתֵּי* *Ju* 16<sup>28</sup>), can by no means be regarded as a *Dageš forte* arising from assimilation of the *Nūn*, for in that case the word could only be *שְׁתַּיִם* (cf. Arab. *ṭintāni*). This form does occur in the Codex Babylonicus of A.D. 916, but it is only a later correction for *שְׁתֵּי*, while in the Berlin MS. or. qu. 680 described by Kahle (Lpz. 1902) there is no trace of the *Dageš*. It is rather to be read *štayim*, *štē* (with *Dageš lene*), cf. *אַשְׁתַּיִם*, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix, p. 206), and Arab. *ʿitnātāni* (with a kind of prosthetic *š*; cf. § 19 m), as a further feminine form of

On the connective forms שָׁבַע, הָשַׁע, cf. the analogous forms in § 93 h.

The other Semitic languages also exhibit the same peculiarity in the external differentiation of the numerals from 3 to 10 as regards gender. The fem. form of the numeral abstracts is only rarely found in connexion with feminine nouns,<sup>4</sup> e. g. נְשִׁים נִשְׁלָשֶׁת Gn 7<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>3</sup>, Jb 1<sup>4</sup>, Ez 7<sup>2</sup> *Keth.*; probably also Jos 17<sup>11</sup>, where we should read with Dillmann הַנְּפֹת שִׁ'. In apposition, Zc 3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, cf. Jer 36<sup>23</sup>. From what was said above, under a, it follows that these cases are not a return to original usage, but only an intrusion of the form used before masculines into the sphere of the feminine. Conversely in Gn 38<sup>24</sup> נָשִׁלַּשׁ הָרָשִׁים (but in the Samaritan נִשְׁלָשֶׁת).—For שִׁבְעָה seven, there occurs in Jb 42<sup>13</sup> the strange form שִׁבְעֵנָה, according to Ewald [*Ausführl. Lehrb.*<sup>8</sup>, § 269 b] an old feminine substantive (German *ein Siebend, a set of seven*), but more probably a scribal error.

2. The numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by placing the units, d without the *copula*, before the number ten (in the form עָשָׂר masc., עֶשְׂרֵה fem.), but without the two words being joined into one. As was said above, under a, and as is proved by the use of אֶחָד, אַחַת in the numeral 11, the feminine numerals from 13 to 19 are to be regarded as *construct* forms in a genitive connexion. The connective forms of the masculine abstracts, like נִשְׁלָשֶׁת, &c., are not admitted in combination with עָשָׂר, since they are merely in apposition, and not in a genitive relation (see the rare exceptions at the end of e). On the other hand נִשְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי in the numeral 12 are undoubtedly true *constructs*, like אֶחָד and the fem. numerals 13–19. But instead of נִשְׁנֵי (Ex 28<sup>21</sup>, Jos 3<sup>12</sup> and four other places) and שְׁתֵּי (Jos 4<sup>3</sup> and three times in Ezek.), we generally find נִשְׁנַיִם and שְׁתַּיִם. Two explanations have been given of these forms: (1) that the *Kethibh* really intends נִשְׁנַיִם, נִשְׁתַּיִם, in the *absol. st.*, which was first introduced in the case of נִשְׁנַיִם, on the analogy of עֶשְׂרֵה, &c., and then extended to שְׁתַּיִם; the Masora, however, required נִשְׁנֵי, נִשְׁתֵּי (but see below), and therefore pointed נִשְׁנַיִם, נִשְׁתַּיִם as a *Qere perpetuum* (see § 17).—(2) that the *absolute* forms נִשְׁנַיִם, נִשְׁתַּיִם (introduced on the analogy of נִשְׁלָשֶׁת, &c.) were contracted to נִשְׁנֵי, נִשְׁתֵּי to facilitate the pronunciation of the duals when closely

*ʾitnāni, duo.* According to Barth (*Orient. Studien* . . . Th. Nöldeke, ii. 792 f.) the irregularity of נִשְׁתַּיִם (he takes the Dageš as *Dageš forte*) is due to the complete assimilation of its vowels to those of the masc. נִשְׁנַיִם where the *Šewā mobile* is normal.

<sup>2</sup> With Dageš probably on the analogy of נִשְׁשָׁה, as נִשְׁשֶׁת on the analogy of חֲמִשָּׁה. Cf. also J. K. Blake on חֲמִשָּׁה, חֲמִשִּׁים in *JAOS*, 1905, p. 117 ff.

<sup>3</sup> שִׁבְעָה and הָשַׁע appear only as connective forms before עֶשְׂרֵה and מֵאוֹת.

<sup>4</sup> In the vulgar dialects of Arabic, and in Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numeral is by far the more common. This form appears also in Hebrew, when the number is regarded in the abstract, as in the multiplicatives (see § 97 h).

connected with עָשָׂר and עֶשְׂרֵה, and that the contraction is founded on an early and correct tradition. The second explanation is supported by the large number of examples of שְׁנִים (66) and שְׁתִּים (34). It would be strange if the Masora required the alteration of the far commoner forms on account of isolated instances of שְׁנִי and שְׁתִּי. As a matter of fact even in regard to the latter forms the tradition often varies between שְׁנִי and שְׁנָיִם, &c., cf. e. g. Ginsburg on Jos 3<sup>12</sup>. We cannot therefore assume a *Qrè perpetuum*.

e Accordingly the numbers from 11 upwards are—

	Masculine.	Feminine.
	אֶחָד עָשָׂר	אֶחָת עֶשְׂרֵה
11.	{ עֶשְׂתִּי עָשָׂר	עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂרֵה
	שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר	שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה
12.	{ שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלוֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה

&c., on the analogy of the last. These numerals regularly have only the above form. In regard to their syntax, cf. § 134 f.

Very rarely the units appear in the *masc.* in the *constr. st.*, as חֲמִשָּׁת עָשָׂר fifteen, Ju 8<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>18</sup>; שְׁמֹנֶת עָשָׂר eighteen, Ju 20<sup>25</sup>.—Connected by וְ we find וְחִמְשָׁה in Ex 45<sup>12</sup>.

f 3. The tens from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten times* the unit), thus, 30, שְׁלֹשִׁים, 40, אַרְבָּעִים, 50, חֲמִשִּׁים, 60, שִׁשִּׁים, 70, שִׁבְעִים, 80, שְׁמֹנִים, 90, תֵּשְׁעִים. But *twenty* is expressed by עֶשְׂרִים, plur. of עָשָׂר *ten*.<sup>2</sup> These numerals are all of common gender, and do not admit of the *construct state*.—In compound numerals, like 22, 23, 44, &c., the units

<sup>1</sup> עֶשְׂתִּי, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *ištin* or *ištén*; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 279. Accordingly, עֶשְׂתִּי עָשָׂר is a compound, like the Sansk. *ekādaśan*, *ἑδεκα*, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12 to 19), and is used at the same time in the composition of the feminine numeral eleven. On the gradual substitution of עֶשְׂתִּי ע' for אֶחָד ע' and אֶחָת ע' see Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 226; ע' עֶשְׂתִּי occurs only in Jer., Ez., in the prologue to Deuteronomy (1<sup>3</sup>), in the Priestly Code, and in passages undoubtedly post-exilic, so that it may very well be a loan-word from the Babylonian.

<sup>2</sup> For עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תֵּשְׁעִים (from the *segholates* עָשָׂר, שִׁבַּע, תֵּשַׁע), we should expect *\*asārim*, *\*šbhā'im*, *\*tšā'im*. Is this very unusual deviation from the common formation (see above, § 93 l, o, r) connected with the special meaning of these plurals, or are these survivals of an older form of the plural of *segholates*?

may precede (*two and twenty*, as in Arabic and English), e.g. Nu 3<sup>39</sup>, 26<sup>14</sup>. Very frequently, however, the reverse order is found (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, cf. French and English *twenty-two*), e.g. 1 Ch 12<sup>28</sup>, 18<sup>5</sup>.<sup>1</sup> In all cases the units and tens are connected by the *copula*, ordinarily ׀, but ׀ before numerals with the tone on the penultima, ׀ before ׀, ׀ before *Šewā*; see § 104 d, e, g.

The remaining numerals are the substantives—

g

100 מֵאָה fem., constr. מֵאוֹת.

200 מֵאוֹתִים dual (contracted from מֵאוֹתִים; cf. § 23 c).

300 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת plur. (but in 2 K 11<sup>4.9.10.15</sup>, *Keth.* הַמֵּאוֹת).

1000 אֶלֶף masc.

2000 אֶלְפִים dual.

3000 שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֶלְפִים plur., and so on (except עֶשְׂרֵה אֶלְפִים in 2 S 18<sup>3</sup>, 2 K 24<sup>14</sup> *Keth.*; elsewhere always עֶשְׂרֵת אֶלְפִים).

10000 רֶבֶב, in the later books the aramaising<sup>2</sup> forms רְבוּ, רְבוֹא, רְבוֹת (properly *multitude*, cf. *μυριάς*).

20000 רֶבְבִים dual (see below, h); but שְׁתֵּי רְבוֹת Neh 7<sup>70</sup> (also שְׁתֵּי רְבוֹא Neh 7<sup>71</sup>).

40000 אַרְבַּע רְבוֹא Neh 7<sup>66</sup>.

60000 שֵׁשׁ־רְבָאוֹת Ezr 2<sup>69</sup> (Baer and Ginsburg רְבָאוֹת, as in Dn 11<sup>12</sup>).

רְבָבָה אֶלְפִי thousands of myriads, Gn 24<sup>60</sup>.

Rem. 1. The dual form which occurs in some of the units has the meaning h of our ending *-fold*, e.g. אַרְבַּע־עָתִים 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>; שִׁבְעֵתִים sevenfold, Gn 4<sup>15.24</sup>, Is 30<sup>26</sup>, ψ 12<sup>7</sup>, 79<sup>12</sup> (cf. § 134 r). The dual רֶבְבִים ψ 68<sup>18</sup> (explained by אֶלְפִי שְׁנָאֵן thousands of duplication) is not meant to be taken in the sense of *two myriads* or *twice the number of myriads*, but in a multiplicative sense.<sup>3</sup>—Besides the plural which denotes the tens, there are also the plurals אֶחָדִים some, also *idem*, and עֶשְׂרֹת decades (not *decem*) Ex 18<sup>21.25</sup>.

2. The suffixes to numerals are, as with other nouns, properly genitives, i although they are translated in English as nominatives, e.g. שְׁלֹשָׁתְּכֶם your triad, i.e. you three, Nu 12<sup>4</sup>; חֲמִשָּׁיו his fifty (i.e. the 50 belonging to him) 2 K 1<sup>9-13</sup>, and חֲמִשָּׁיךְ 2 K 1<sup>10.12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to the conclusions of König (*De Criticæ Sacrae Argumento*, p. 61, and *Lehrgeb.*, ii. p. 215 ff.), the smaller number more commonly precedes in Ezek. and the Priestly Code, but the larger always elsewhere. S. Herner (*Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893, p. 71 ff.) arrives at the same conclusion by a full examination of the statistics; cf. also his remarks on König in *ZAW.* 1896, p. 123, and König's reply, *ibid.*, p. 328 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.* (Halle, 1902), p. 79 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. D. H. Müller, 'Die numeralia multiplicativa in den Amarnatafeln u. im Hebr.', *Semitica*, i, Wien, 1906, p. 13 ff.

## § 98. Numerals. (b) Ordinal Numbers.

*a* The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination 'ֹ (§ 86 *h*), before which another 'ֹ also is generally inserted between the second and third radicals. They are as follows: שְׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי (like רְבַע, רִבְעָה, רְבִיעִים, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אַרְבַּע, &c.), חֲמִישִׁי or חֲמִשִּׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for (חֲמִשִּׁי), שְׁשִׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁמֹנִי, תְּשַׁעִי, עֲשָׂרִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by ראשון (cf. § 27 *w*), from ראש *head, beginning*, with the termination ך (§ 86 *f*). On the use of אֶחָד as an ordinal in numbering the days of the month, cf. § 134 *p*; in such cases as Gn 1<sup>5</sup>, 2<sup>11</sup>, the meaning of *first* is derived solely from the context.

*b* The feminine forms have the termination יָהֹ, more rarely (and only in the case of 3 and 10) יָהֹהֹ. They are employed also to express fractions, e. g. חֲמִישִׁית *fifth* or *fifth part*, עֲשָׂרִית and עֲשָׂרִיָּה *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like רְבַע and רְבִיעָה *a quarter*, חֲמִשׁ *a fifth part*, and with the affirmative ך, עֲשָׂרוֹן (plur. עֲשָׂרוֹנִים) *a tenth part*; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Cf. finally שבוע *ἑβδομάς, a week*; עשור *a decade* (of days), and also the *tenth day*.

On the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no special forms, see the Syntax, § 134 *q* and *r*.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE PARTICLES

#### § 99. General View.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 492 f.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, the closer relation of words to one another, and the mutual connexion of sentences, are for the most part either borrowed or derived from noun-forms, sometimes also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30 s). *Primitive* particles (apart from a few demonstrative forms, see § 100 i) can only be so called in the sense defined in § 81 f.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be discovered with *b* certainty, they are either (1) *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the noun, pronoun, or verb, with more or less loss of their original meaning, have come to be employed as particles; cf. in the Indo-Germanic languages, e. g. the Latin *certo, falso, partim, verum, causa*, the German *statt, anstatt, wegen, weg*, and the English *instead, away*; or (2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either (a) by the *addition* of formative syllables, as *בְּיָמַי* *by day*, from *יָמַי* (cf., however, § 100 g); or most commonly (b) by *abbreviations* effected in various ways, the extent of their mutilation being in proportion to the frequency of their use, so that in some cases (see below) the original stem has become wholly unrecognizable.

Cf. in German *gen*, from *gegen, Gegend*; *seit*, from *Seite*; *weil* (originally a particle of time, like our *while*), from *Weile*.

Still more violent abbreviations occur in Greek, Latin, and the Romance languages, e. g. *ἀπό, ab, a*; *ἐξ, ex, e*; *ad*, Fr. *à*; *aut*, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; *super*, Ital. *su*.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest shortening occurs in those particles which have *c* entirely lost the character of an independent word, by being reduced to a single consonant with its vowel (generally short) or *Šewd*. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26 m),

<sup>1</sup> Even short phrases are contracted into one word: Lat. *forsitan*, from *fors sit an*, *δηλονότι, δηλαδή*, Fr. *peut-être*, Eng. *prithée* from *I pray thee*. — In Chinese most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g. *iü* (to give), also the sign of the dative; *i* (to make use of), *to, for*; *nei* (the interior), *in*.

such particles cannot stand by themselves, but are united, as prefixes, with the following word (§ 102), very much like the preformatives of the imperfect (§ 47 a-d).

- d* The view that this shortening of whole words to single letters has actually taken place in the gradual course of linguistic development is rendered highly probable by the fact that similar abbreviations in later Hebrew and in Aramaic, i.e. as the development of the original Semitic speech progresses, become more and more striking and frequent. Thus the Biblical Aramaic ܐܝ becomes at a later period ܐ; in modern Arabic, e.g. *hallaq* (now) is from *halwaqt*; ܠܝ (why?) from *li-ayyi-šaiin*, &c. Cf. also the analogous cases mentioned above from the Western languages. Nevertheless, the use of the simplest particles is found already in the earliest periods of the Hebrew language, or, at any rate, in the earliest documents which have come down to us.

- e* 3. Less frequently particles are formed by *composition*; as מִדּוּעַ *wherefore?* for מִהֲיִדּוּעַ *quid edoctus?* (τί μαθών;) or *quid cognitum?*; בְּלַעֲרִי (from בַּל and עָרִי) *besides*; מִלְּמַעְלָה (from מִן, לְ, מַעְלָה) *from above, above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e.g. אֲחֵרֵינוּ, אֲחֵרֵי, אֲחֵרָם, בֵּי-עֲלֵינוּ, בֵּי-עֲלֵנוּ; cf. also the compounds of אֵי with demonstrative pronouns, as אֵי-מֶנָּה *from what?*; אֵי לֹאֵת *wherefore?* [R.V. *how*]. See the lexicon under אֵי.

### § 100. Adverbs.

On demonstrative adverbs cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 323; on interrogative adverbs, *ibid.*, i. 328; on adverbs in general, i. 492 ff.

- a* 1. The negative לֹא *not*, and a few particles of place and time, as שָׁם *there*, are of obscure origin.
- b* 2. Forms of other parts of speech, which are used adverbially without further change, are—
- (a) Substantives with prepositions, e.g. בְּמֶאֱדָר (with might) *very*; לְבַד *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix לְבַדִּי *I alone*; מִבֵּית *from within, within*; cf. also בְּאַחַד (as one) *together*, לְעִמָּת and מִלְּעִמָּת (originally *in connexion with*) *near to, corresponding to, like*, &c., cf. § 161 b.
- c* (b) Substantives in the accusative (the adverbial case of the Semites, § 118 m), cf. τὴν ἀρχήν, δωρεάν, e.g. מֶאֱדָר (might) *very*, אִפְסָם (cessation) *no more*, הַיּוֹם (the day) *to-day* (cf. § 126 b), מָחָר<sup>1</sup> *to-morrow*, יַחַד (union) *together*. Several of these continued to be used, though rarely, as substantives, e.g. סְבִיב, plur. סְבִיבִים and סְבִיבוֹת, *circuit*, as adverb

<sup>1</sup> Generally derived from the *ptcp.* Pu'al מֶאֱחָר *m<sup>e</sup>’ōhār* (= *m<sup>e</sup>’oh’hār*) and hence to be read *mōhār* (cf. מֶחָרָת *mōhār* *morning*); but according to P. Haupt (notes to Esther, p. 159) from אַחֵר *יום אַחֵר*.

*circum, around*; others have quite ceased to be so used, e.g. כָּכָר (length) *long ago* [Aram.: only in Ec.]; עוֹד (repetition, duration) *again or further*.

(c) Adjectives, especially in the feminine (corresponding to the *d* Indo-Germanic neuter), e.g. רִאשׁוֹנָה *primum, formerly* (more frequently בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה, also לְרִאשׁוֹנָה); רַבָּה and רַבַּת [both rare] *multum, much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת *wonderfully* (properly *mirabilibus*, sc. *modis*), יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish language.

(d) Verbs in the infinitive absolute, especially in *Hiph'il*, which *e* are likewise to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113 h), e.g. הִרְבֵּה (prop. *a multiplying*) *much* [frequent], לְהִרְבֵּה [rare and late] *in multitude*; הִשְׁפִּים (*mane faciendo*) *early*; הִעֲרַב (*vespere faciendo*) *in the evening*.

(e) Pronouns and numerals, e.g. זֶה (prop. *there=at this place*) *here, f* הֵנָּה *here, hither* (also of time, עַד-הֵנָּה *till now*, cf. the late and rare עָדָן and עֲנָה = עָדָה); אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שִׁבְעֵה, מֵאָה *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times*; שְׁנִי *for the second time*.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables *g* (most frequently ם־) to substantives or adjectives, e.g. אֱמֻנָם and אֱמֻנָם *truly* (from אֱמֻן *truth*); חִנָּם (by favour) *gratis* (from חֵן *gratia*); רִיקָם *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty* (from רִיק *empty, emptiness, vanum*), Ru 1<sup>21</sup>, parallel with the fem. מְלֵאָה *full*; יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם)<sup>1</sup>; with *h* in the last syllable, פִּתְאֻם, for פִּתְעָם, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from פִּתְעָה *a twinkling*, the *h* being probably obscured from an original *h*).<sup>2</sup>—Moreover, cf. אַחֲרֵנִית *backward*, and קִרְבִּית *darkly attired*, Mal 3<sup>14</sup>. In both these cases, the formative syllable *an* has been first attached to the stem, and then the feminine ending *ith*, which is elsewhere used to form adverbs, has been added to it.

The termination ם־ occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. הַאֵילָם *porch*, and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that ם־, ם־, would correspond to ך־, ך־ (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), cf. בְּפִתְאֻם (with prep.) *suddenly*, 2 Ch 29<sup>36</sup>. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *an* in Arabic.

<sup>1</sup> Is this ם־ an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צֶהְרָם) mentioned in § 88 c? Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. p. 721, considers יוֹמָם a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *noctue*), corresponding to the Phœnician and Aramaic יוֹמָם, Syr. 'imāmā; cf. on the other hand, König, ii. 255, who follows Olshausen in maintaining that the *am* is an adverbial termination.

<sup>2</sup> דוֹמָם *silent* (an adjective in Is 47<sup>5</sup>, La 3<sup>26</sup>; a substantive in Hb 2<sup>19</sup>), which was formerly included under this head, is better taken, with Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 352, Rem. 2), as a participle formed like שׁוֹכֵב, עוֹלֵל, so that דוֹמָם (perhaps assimilated to דוֹמָה) stands for original דוֹמָם.

i 4. A number of forms standing in very close relation to the demonstrative pronoun may be regarded as primitive adverbs, since they arise directly from a combination of demonstrative sounds. Some of these have subsequently suffered great mutilation, the extent of which, however, can now very rarely be ascertained with certainty. Such are e.g. *אָז* *then*, *הֵנָּה* *here* (according to Barth, *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, formed from the two demonstrative elements *hin* and *na*), *כֵּן*, *כֵּכָה* *thus* (cf. *אֵכָה*, *אֵכָה* *how* ?), *אָז* *only*, *אֲמֹן* *truly* (on all these adverbs, see the *Lexicon*), and especially the interrogative *הֵ* (*Hē interrogativum*), e.g. *הֲלֵא* (Dt 3<sup>11</sup> *הֲלֵא*) *nonne* ?, *הֲנֹם* *num etiam* ? This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from *הָל*, which is still used in Arabic, and, according to the view of a certain school of Masoretes, occurs also in Hebrew in Dt 32<sup>6</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

k The *ה* interrogative takes—(1) *Haṭeph-Pathah* generally before non-gutturals (even before *ה*), with a firm vowel, e.g. *הֲשֵׁמָּה* *hast thou set* ? see the interrogative clause, § 150 c (*הֵימָּה* Lv 10<sup>19</sup> is an exception).

l (2) Before a consonant with *Ṣwā*, usually *Pathah* without a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. *הֲבִרְכָה* Gn 27<sup>38</sup>, cf. 18<sup>17</sup>, 29<sup>5</sup>, 30<sup>15</sup>, 34<sup>31</sup>; less frequently (in about ten passages), *Pathah* with a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. *הֲבִרְכָה* *num in via*, Ez 20<sup>30</sup>, *הֲלִכְנָה* Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>21</sup>, 37<sup>32</sup>, Nu 13<sup>19</sup>, Jb 23<sup>6</sup>; even in *ה*, 1 S 10<sup>24</sup>, 17<sup>25</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>32</sup>.

m (3) Before gutturals, not pointed with either *Qameṣ* or *Haṭeph-Qameṣ*, it takes *Pathah*, e.g. *הֲאֵלֵךְ* *shall I go* ?, *הֲאֵתָה* *num tu* ?, *הֲאֵם* *num si*; *הֲאֵרָצָה* Mal 1<sup>13</sup>; also in Ju 6<sup>31</sup> read *הֲאֵתָם* (not *הֵא*), likewise *ה* in Ju 12<sup>5</sup>, Jer 8<sup>19</sup>, Neh 6<sup>11</sup>.—In *הֲאֵשׁ* Nu 16<sup>22</sup>, the Masora intends the article; read *הֵאֵשׁ*, and cf. Dt 20<sup>19</sup>; in Ec 3<sup>21</sup> read *הֵעֲלָה* and *הֵיָרְדָה*; the article is a correction due to doctrinal considerations.

n (4) The *ה* takes *Seḡhol* before gutturals pointed with *Qameṣ* or (as in Ju 9<sup>9n</sup>) *Haṭeph-Qameṣ*, e.g. *הֲאֵמֹר* Mi 2<sup>7</sup>; *הֲאֵנָכִי* Jb 21<sup>4</sup>; *הֲהִיְתָה* Jo 1<sup>2</sup>; *הֲהֵשֵׁב* Gn 24<sup>5</sup> (cf. the analogous instances in § 22 c, § 35 k, § 63 k). The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause [but see Jb 34<sup>31</sup>, Neh 13<sup>27</sup>, Jer 22<sup>15</sup>, where one or more words are prefixed for emphasis].

o 5. Some adverbs occur also in connexion with suffixes, thus *יֵשְׁךָ* *thou art there*, 3rd sing. masc. *יֵשְׁנִי*<sup>2</sup> (but see note below), 2nd plur. masc. *יֵשְׁכֶם*; *אֵינִי* *I am not*, 2nd sing. *אֵינְךָ*, fem. *אֵינֶה*, 3rd sing. *אֵינָה*, fem. *אֵינֶה*, 2nd plur. *אֵינֶכֶם*, 3rd plur. masc. *אֵינָם*.—Also *עוֹדֵנִי* *I am yet* (*עוֹדִי* only in *בְּעוֹדִי* and *מִעוֹדִי*), *עוֹדְךָ*, *עוֹדָה*, *עוֹדֵנִי* (La 4<sup>17</sup> *Qere*; *עוֹדֶנָּה*

<sup>1</sup> The separation of the *ה* at the beginning of Dt 32<sup>6</sup>, expressly noticed by Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb., p. 40 b) as an unique instance, is perhaps a protest against admitting a particle *הָל*.

<sup>2</sup> This form, which occurs in Dt 29<sup>14</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>30</sup>, 23<sup>23</sup>, Est 3<sup>8</sup>, is textually very doubtful, and cannot be supported by the equally doubtful *קִבְּנִי* (for *קִבְּנִי*) Nu 23<sup>13</sup>. Most probably, with Stade, *Gramm.*, § 370 b, and P. Haupt, *SBOT Numbers*, p. 57, line 37, we should read *יֵשְׁנִי*.

*Keth.*; the oriental school [see above, p. 38, note 2] recognize only the reading *עוֹרִינִי* (עוֹרִים).—*אֵיפֶה* where art thou?, *אֵי* where is he?, *אֵיִם* where are they? The same applies to *הֵן* (הֵן) and *הִנֵּה* behold! (prop. here, here is; see § 105 b), only in Gn 19<sup>2</sup> *הִנֵּה-נָא*; with suffixes, *הִנֵּנִי*, once *הִנֵּנִי* (Gn 22<sup>7</sup> with *Munah*), in pause *הִנֵּנִי* behold me (here am I), *הִנֵּן* (pause *הִנֵּן* ψ 139<sup>8</sup>), *הִנֵּן*, *הִנֵּן*, and *הִנֵּהוּ* [both very rare], *הִנֵּנִי* (behold us). and *הִנֵּנִי* (in pause *הִנֵּנִי*), *הִנֵּנִם*, *הִנֵּנִם*; [see more fully in the Lexicon, p. 243].

The usual explanation of these suffixes (especially of the forms with *Nûn p* *energicum*) as verbal suffixes, which ascribes some power of verbal government even to forms originally substantival (e.g. *יֵשֶׁנּוּ* there is, he is), is at least inadmissible for forms (like *אֵי*, *בְּעוֹרִי*) which are evidently connected with noun-suffixes; even for the other forms it is questionable. Brockelmann suggests that the *ן* in connexion with these particles is a survival from *הנה* corresponding to the Arab. 'anna which introduces dependent clauses.

### 101. Prepositions.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 494 ff.

1. All words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally *a* substantives, viz.:

(a) Substantives in the accusative and in the construct state, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and in Arabic actually has the genitive ending, cf. in German *statt dessen*, *kraft dessen*, in Greek *τούτου χάριν*, in Latin *huius rei causa*, or *gratia*, *montis instar*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. *אַחֵר* (hinder part\*) behind, after (*Mi'el* in *בֵּן אַחֵר* Lv 14<sup>36</sup>, Dt 21<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>; *וְהָ אַחֵר* 2 Ch 32<sup>9</sup>); *אַצֵּל* (side) close by; *בֵּין* (intermediate space\*) between; *בְּעֵד*, *בְּעֵד* (distance<sup>2</sup>) behind, around; *וּבִלְתִּי*, or with *Hireq compaginis* *וּבִלְתִּי* (removal, want) except; *עַל* (purpose) on account of; *מִוֶּל* (only in Dt 1<sup>1</sup>) before, over against; *מִן* (separation; cf. § 119 v) from, out of; *בִּגְבֹּחַ* (coming in front, that which is over against) before, over against; *עַד* (progress, duration\*) during, until; *עַל* (height, upper part\*) upon, over; *עִם* (connexion?) with; it is doubtful whether this is to be derived from the same stem as *עִמָּת*, *לְעִמָּת* near, beside, like; *תַּחַת* (under part\*) under, instead of.

(b) Substantives in the construct state, but to be regarded as in the *b* genitive, since they depend on prepositions (especially the inseparable), e.g. *לְפָנַי* (in the face of\*) before; *לְפִי*, *בְּפִי* (according to the mouth,

<sup>1</sup> In the examples which follow, the meaning of the noun is added in parentheses, and, when it is actually in use [though it is mostly in such cases very rare], is marked with an asterisk.—On a similar use in other languages, see W. von Humboldt, *Über die Kavisprache*, iii, p. 621.

<sup>2</sup> So also J. Hoch de Long, *Die hebr. Präpos.* בעד, Lpz. 1905.

i. e. the command of\*) according to; בְּלֵל (in the concern of) on account of; לְמַעַן (for the purpose of) on account of.

- c 2. Substantives used adverbially very frequently become prepositions in this way, e.g. בְּלֵי, בְּבֵלִי, מְבֵלִי, בְּלֵחִי, בְּאֵין, בְּאַפִּם (with cessation) without, בְּעוֹר, בְּעוֹר (in the duration of) during; בְּרֵי, בְּרֵי (according to the requirement of) for, according to.

## § 102. Prefixed Prepositions.

- a 1. Of the words mentioned in § 101, מִן from, out of, frequently occurs as a prefix (§ 99 c), with its *Nûn* assimilated to the following consonant (by means of *Dageš forte*), e.g. מִן־עֵר out of a forest.

- b Rem. The separate מִן (always with a following *Maqqeph*) is usual (but not necessary, cf. Ju 20<sup>14</sup> with verse 15, Ez 43<sup>6</sup>, &c.) only before the article, e.g. מִן־הָאֲרָץ, and sometimes occurs before the softer consonants, e.g. מִן־אֶן Jer 44<sup>18</sup>, מִן־בְּנֵי Jo 1<sup>12</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>18</sup>; cf. Ex 18<sup>14</sup>, Lv 1<sup>14</sup>, 14<sup>30</sup>, Ju 7<sup>23</sup>, 10<sup>11</sup>, 19<sup>16</sup>, ψ 104<sup>7</sup> (2 K 23<sup>36</sup> before ר; also before ק in ψ 18<sup>40</sup>), and elsewhere in the later books (as in Aramaic)<sup>1</sup>; there is besides a poetic by-form מִנִּי (cf. § 90 m) and מִנִּי Is 30<sup>11</sup>. Its form is most commonly מִ with a following *Dageš*, which may, however, be omitted in letters which have *Šewā* (cf. § 20 m). With a following *ʾ* the מ is, as a rule, contracted to מִי, e.g. מִי־י = מִי־י or מִי־י (but cf. מִי־שֵׁנִי Dn 12<sup>2</sup>; מִי־רִשְׁתֶּךָ 2 Ch 20<sup>11</sup>); before gutturals it becomes מִ (according to § 22 c), e.g. מִן־אֶרֶם, מִן־עָם; before ח the מ occurs with the guttural virtually sharpened in מִחֵץ on the outside, and in מִחוּץ Gn 14<sup>23</sup>; before ה in מִהֵיֹת (cf. § 28 b and § 63 g. The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the required virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מִהֵיֹת is merely due to the analogy of לִהֵיֹת); similarly Is 14<sup>3</sup> before ר; but in 1 S 23<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>16</sup> מִדֶּרֶךְ is to be read, according to § 22 s.

- c 2. There are also three other particles, the most commonly used prepositions and the particle of comparison, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99 c) to a single prefixed consonant with *Šewā* (but see below, and § 103 e), viz.:

בְּ [poet. בְּמוֹ] in, at, with.

לְ [poet. לְמוֹ] towards, (belonging) to, for, Lat. *ad*.

כְּ [poet. כְּמוֹ] like, as, according to (no doubt the remnant of a substantive with the meaning of *matter, kind, instar*).

- d With regard to the pointing it is to be observed that—

(a) The *Šewā mobile*, with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced, has resulted from the weakening of a short vowel (an original *ā*, according to f)<sup>2</sup>; the short vowel is regularly retained before *Šewā*: before *Šewā simplex*

<sup>1</sup> König, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, p. 393 (cf. also the almost exhaustive statistics in his *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 292 ff.), enumerates eight instances of מִן before a word without the article in 2 Samuel and Kings, and forty-five in Chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome (see Siegfried, *ZAW.* iv. 79) almost always represents בְּ by *ba*.

in the form of an *i*, attenuated from *ā*: before a *Ḥaṭeph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Ḥaṭeph*, e. g. לְפֵרִי for *fruit*, בְּאַרִי as a *lion*, בְּעֵנִי *bē'oni*, in *affliction* (sometimes with the syllable subsequently closed, cf. § 28 b, and the infinitives with ל § 63 i): before weak consonants it follows the rule given in § 24 c, e. g. לְהוֹרֶה for *to burn*. When the prefixes ב, ל, ו, precede אֱלֹהִים *God*, the *Sēwā* and *Ḥaṭeph Sēghōl* regularly coalesce in *Sērē*, e. g. בְּאֱלֹהִים, &c., for בְּאֵלִי; so with suffixes וְאֱלֹהֵי, &c. (once also in the sing. לְאֱלֹהֵי *Hb* 1<sup>11</sup>); also regularly לְאָמֹר *to say*, for לְאָמַר, see § 23 d.

(b) When the prefixes precede the article, the ה is almost always dropped, *e* and they take its vowel. See further in § 35 n.

(c) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and dissyllables with the tone on the penultima (in the fore-tone), they take *Qames* *f* (undoubtedly a lengthening of an original *ā*, cf. § 26 e, § 28 a), but only in the following cases:

(aa) ל before infinitives of the above-mentioned forms, as לָתֵת *to give*, לָדוֹן *to judge*, לָבוֹז *to plunder*, לָנוֹז *to shear*, לָחֹג *to keep a festival*, לָבָרֵךְ *to bring forth*, לָלֶכֶת *to go*, לָלָחֶם *to take*, except when the infinitive (as a *nomen regens*) is closely connected with another word (especially its subject, § 115 e), and consequently, as being in a sort of *constr. state*, loses the principal tone, e. g. לְצָאת *Ex* 19<sup>1</sup>, לְשַׁבֵּת *Gn* 16<sup>3</sup>, and so always לְבֹא *Nu* 13<sup>21</sup>, &c. (in such cases as לְתַחֲרֹב *Ex* 5<sup>21</sup> the *ā* is protected by the secondary tone; before infinitives of verbs ע"ו, the ל is retained even in close connexion; cf. *Ez* 21<sup>20.25</sup>, 22<sup>9</sup>);

(bb) before many pronominal forms, e. g. בְּיָהּ (so also in *1 S* 21<sup>10</sup>; not בְּיָהּ), לְיָהּ, בְּיָהּ, לְזֹאת (in close connexion, however, לְזֹאת *Gn* 2<sup>23</sup>; לְזֹאת *Gn* 45<sup>23</sup>); כְּאַלֶּה as *these*; and especially בְּכֶם, לְכֶם, בְּכֶם (בְּכֶם) and בְּהֶם, לְהֶם, בְּהֶם (בְּהֶם), see § 103 e;

(cc) ל before monosyllables or fore-toned nouns in such combinations as לְפֶה מִפֶּה *mouth to mouth*, *2 K* 10<sup>21</sup>, בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם *between waters and waters*, *Gn* 1<sup>6</sup>; לְמַרָּה *for a trouble*, *Is* 1<sup>14</sup>, but always before the principal pause. The instructive example in *Dt* 17<sup>6</sup> also shows that the punctuation ל is only possible with at least the lesser pause after it; in *Is* 28<sup>10.13</sup> the ל is twice repeated, even before the small and smallest disjunctives;

(dd) in certain standing expressions, which have become stereotyped almost *i* as adverbs, e. g. לְעֶרְ *to eternity*, לְרַב *in multitude*, לְבִטָּח *in security*, לְנֶצַח *to eternity*, but לְנֶצַח נְצָחִים *to all eternity*, *Is* 34<sup>10</sup>. Cf. also לְנֶפֶשׁ *for the dead*, *Lv* 19<sup>28</sup>, *Nu* 5<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>.

(d) With the interrogative מָה they are pointed as in בְּמָה; in *pause* and *k* before א as in בְּמָה *by what?* (before a following relative clause, as in *Ec* 3<sup>22</sup>, בְּמָה; cf. Delitzsch, *Jesaja*, 4th ed., on *Is* 2<sup>22</sup>); בְּמָה *how much?* but also בְּמָה *1 K* 22<sup>16</sup>, in close connexion, and at a greater distance from the *pause*. The *Sēghōl* in these forms arises from a modification of the original *ā*, while the מ is sharpened in order to maintain the original *ā* of the prefixes.

When ל (prop. *la*) is united to מָה, it takes, according to § 49 f, g, the form לְמָה (*Jb* 7<sup>20</sup> לְמָה, *1 S* 1<sup>8</sup> לְמָה, all *Mil'el*, and hence the *ā* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ה, ע, לְמָה is used for euphonic reasons (exceptions *1 S* 28<sup>15</sup>, *2 S* 14<sup>31</sup>, *Jer* 15<sup>13</sup>, before ה; *2 S* 2<sup>22</sup>,

ψ 49<sup>6</sup>, before א) ; לָמָּה, however, remains before ה. Before letters which are not gutturals, לָמָּה is found in ψ 42<sup>10</sup>, 43<sup>2</sup> (immediately after a tone-syllable).

*m* Rem. The divine name יְהוָה, which has not its original vowels (יְהוָה) but those of אֲדָנִי (see § 17 c), except that the י has simple not compound *S<sup>c</sup>wa*, takes the prefixes also, after the manner of אֲדָנִי, thus יְהוָה, וְיְהוָה, לְיְהוָה, בְּיְהוָה, מִיְהוָה (since they are to be read וְאֲדָנִי, לְאֲדָנִי, בְּאֲדָנִי, מִאֲדָנִי); for the א of אֲדָנִי, as of אֲדָנִים, אֲדָנִים, &c. (see below), *quiesces* after the prefixes ב, פ, ל, ו, but is *audible* after מ (for מן), שׁ (no instance in the O. T.), and ה (in הָאֲדָנִים Dt 10<sup>17</sup>, ψ 136<sup>3</sup>, the article, not ה interrog., is intended; the only example with ה interrog., Jer 8<sup>19</sup>, is to be pointed הִיְהוָה, i.e. הָאֲדָנִי, not הִיְהוָה). Hence the rule, מֹשֶׁה מוֹצִיא *Moses brought out* (i.e. מ, שׁ, ה make the א audible), וְכָלֵב מְבִיִּים *and Caleb brought in* (i.e. ו, כ, ב allow it to quiesce).<sup>1</sup>—As regards the other plural forms of אֲדָנִי, elision of the א always takes place after ב, ו, פ, ל, except in the form אֲדָנִי, thus לְאֲדָנִי, &c.; but לְאֲדָנִי, &c., לְאֲדָנִים, &c., לְאֲדָנִים, &c.

### § 103. Prepositions with Pronominal Suffixes and in the Plural Form.

*a* 1. As all prepositions were originally nouns (§ 101) in the accusative, they may be united with the noun-suffixes (§ 91 b-l), e.g. אֵצֶלִי (prop. at my side) *by me*, אִתִּי (in my proximity) *with me*, תַּחְתָּם (in their place) *instead of them*, like the Latin *mea causa*, *for my sake*.

*b* Rem. 1. The preposition אֵת (usually אִתְּ) *near, with*, is distinguished from אֵת (see below, and § 117 a, note 4), the sign of the definite accusative (§ 117 a), in its connexion with suffixes, by a difference of pointing, the former making אִתִּי, אִתְּךָ, in *pause* אֵתְךָ, 2nd fem. אֵתְךָ (Is 54<sup>10</sup> אֵתְךָ), אֵתָהּ, אֵתָם, אֵתְכֶם, אֵתְנִי, אֵתְנָם (also in the later books, especially in Kings, and always in Jer. and Ezek., incorrectly אִתִּי *with me*; אִתְּךָ *from thee*, 1 K 20<sup>26</sup>; מֵאִתּוֹ *from him*, 1 K 22<sup>7</sup>; אֵתָם *with them*), while the latter retains its *ô* (observed from *â*) before the light suffixes, but before grave suffixes is pointed with *S<sup>c</sup>ghôl*. This *S<sup>c</sup>ghôl* is to be explained, with Praetorius, *ZDMG*. lv. 369 f., as the modification of an *â* which again was shortened from original *â* (in 'âthi, 'âthô, &c.) in a closed syllable ('âth-hem, &c.). The same shortening and modification of the original *â* takes place before words in close connexion, hence אֵת־כָּל, &c. When not in close connexion, the toneless אֵת becomes tone-long אֵת, e.g. אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם Gn 1<sup>1</sup>. Hence the following forms arise:—

	Sing.		Plur.
1.	אִתִּי <i>me</i> .		אִתָּנוּ <i>us</i> .
2.	{ <i>m.</i> אִתְּךָ, <i>pause</i> אֵתְךָ } <i>thee</i> .		אִתְּכֶם <i>you</i> .
	{ <i>f.</i> אִתְּךָ . . . . . }		. . . . .
3.	{ <i>m.</i> אִתּוֹ <i>him</i> .		אִתָּם, rarely אֵתָם }
	{ <i>f.</i> אִתָּהּ <i>her</i> .		אִתָּהֶן, rarely אֵתָהֶן } <i>them</i> .

<sup>1</sup> Another *vox memor.* is כָּל־בּוֹ נֶעְלָם *all is hidden in him*.

Less common are the *plene* forms אֹתִי, אֹתְךָ (Nu 22<sup>33</sup> אֹתְךָ before ה), אֹתְךָ (Ex 29<sup>36</sup> אֹתְךָ), אֹתוֹ, אֹתָהּ, אֹתָם. Moreover, for אִתְּכֶם we find אִתְּכֶם Jos 23<sup>16</sup>; for אִתָּם, five times אִתְּהֶם (Gn 32<sup>1</sup>, Ex 18<sup>20</sup>, &c.), and in Ez 23<sup>45</sup> אִתְּהֶם; for אִתְּהֶן (Gn 19<sup>8</sup>, &c. [13 times]), אִתְּן (only found in Ez 16<sup>64</sup>; Ex 35<sup>26</sup> אִתְּנָה; Ez 34<sup>21</sup> אִתְּנָה), and אִתְּהֶן Ez 23<sup>47</sup>.—No instance of the 2nd fem. plur. אִתְּכֶן occurs in the O. T.; in Cant 2<sup>7</sup>, &c., אִתְּכֶם is used instead.

2. The preposition עִם (with suffixes on the model of stems עָמַע, עָמִי, עָמְךָ [I S 12<sup>26</sup> עָמְכָה], in *pause* עָפַךְ; 2nd fem. עָפְךָ, עָפְמוֹ, עָפְמָה) is united with the suffixes נָנִי, כָּם, and הָם by a (pretonic) *Qames*, which causes the sharpening of the *Mēm* to be distinctly audible: עָפְנִי, עָפְכֶם, עָפְהֶם (so in Nu 22<sup>12</sup>, Dt 29<sup>16</sup>, both in principal pause, and often in very late passages, otherwise עָמַם is generally used). In the first person, besides עָמִי, we also find עָמְדִי (probably from original עָנְדִי; cf. Arab. 'inda, beside, with).

3. It is but seldom that prepositions occur with verbal suffixes, as תַּחֲתָיִי d 2 S 22<sup>37,40,48</sup> (for which ψ 18<sup>37,40,48</sup> תַּחֲתָיִי), תַּחֲתָיִי Gn 2<sup>21</sup> and בְּעַרְיִי ψ 139<sup>11</sup> (here probably for the sake of the rhyme with יִשְׁוֹנִי).<sup>1</sup>

2. When pronominal suffixes are added to the prefixes (§ 102), there appears occasionally, especially in the case of the shorter suffixes, an endeavour to lengthen the preposition, so as to give it more strength and body. Hence to אֶ is appended the syllable מו (see below, *k*), and אֶ and אֶ take at least a full vowel, אֶ and אֶ (§ 102 d, f).—The following deviations from the analogy of the noun with suffixes are to be noticed (a) in the pausal forms אֶךָ, אֶךָ, אֶתְךָ, אֶתְךָ, אֶתְךָ (not *bēkhā*, &c.); (b) in the similar forms with the suffix of the 2nd sing. fem. (not *bēkh*, &c.) and in אֶנִּי, אֶנִּי, אֶנִּי, &c. (not *bēnū*, &c.).

(a) אֶ with Pronominal Suffixes.

f

Sing.

Plur.

- |    |   |  |  |
|----|---|--|--|
| 1. | אֶ to me.   | אֶנִּי to us.                                    |  |
| 2. | { m. אֶךָ (לְךָ), in <i>pause</i> אֶךָ } to thee. | { לְכֶם } to you.                                |  |
|    | { f. אֶךָ . . . . . }                             | { [לְכֶן] <sup>2</sup> } to you.                 |  |
|    | { m. אֶ לוֹ to him.                               | אֶלָּהּ, poet. אֶלָּהּ, poet. אֶלָּהּ } to them. |  |
| 3. | { f. אֶ לָּהּ to her.                             | { [53 times] <sup>3</sup> } to them.             |  |
|    |   | אֶלָּהּ, <sup>4</sup> אֶלָּהּ } to them.         |  |

<sup>1</sup> *Fini* and *bini* (in me), in vulgar Arabic for *fiyya* and *bi*, are compared by Socin. Brockelmann, *ZA.* xiv. 347, note 1, suggests that תַּחֲתָיִי, תַּחֲתָיִי, בְּעַרְיִי are later formations on the model of מִפְּנֵי when its origin from the reduplication of the preposition had become obscured, but see below, *m*.

<sup>2</sup> אֶלָּהּ does not occur in the O. T., by a mere accident, no doubt; Ez 13<sup>18</sup> אֶלָּהּ.

[For notes 3 and 4 see next page.]

*g* קָ takes suffixes in the same manner: קִי, קִי (Ex 7<sup>29</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>30</sup>, ψ 141<sup>8</sup> קִי, as in Gn 27<sup>37</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>32</sup>, Is 3<sup>6</sup> לִכִּי [for 2nd fem. לִי the *Kethibh* לִי occurs in 2 K 4<sup>2</sup>, Ct 2<sup>13</sup>, cf. § 91 e]), בִּי, &c.; except that for the 3rd plur., besides קֵי (especially in the later books) and קֵיָה (only in Ex 30<sup>4</sup>, 36<sup>1</sup>, Hb 1<sup>16</sup>; קֵיָה only in Jer 14<sup>16</sup>), the form קֵי is also used; and for the feminine, besides בֵּיָה (three times), בֵּיָה is found fifteen times, and בֵּיָה only in 1 S 31<sup>7</sup>, Is 38<sup>16</sup>, Ez 42<sup>14</sup>.—According to the Masora, לִי is found fifteen times for לוֹ (as conversely in 1 S 2<sup>16</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup> לוֹ for לִי), e.g. Ex 21<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>3</sup>, Is 9<sup>2</sup>, ψ 100<sup>3</sup> (and, as has been conjectured, also Jb 41<sup>4</sup>); cf. Delitzsch on ψ 100<sup>3</sup>.—In Nu 32<sup>42</sup>, Zc 5<sup>11</sup>, Ru 2<sup>14</sup>, the Masora requires לֵי instead of לִי (in all three places before a following tone-syllable; cf. § 23 k, and the analogous cases of the loss of *Mappiq* in § 58 g, § 91 e).

*h*

(b) קָ with Pronominal Suffixes.

Sing.

Plur.

1. קִמּוֹנִי <sup>5</sup> as I.	קִמּוֹנֵי as we.
2. { m. קִמּוֹךְ <sup>5</sup> } as thou.	{ קִמּוֹכֶם, קִמּוֹכֶם, rarely קִמּוֹכֶם } as ye.
{ f. . . . . }	{ . . . . . }
3. { m. קִמּוֹהוּ as he.	{ קִמּוֹהֶם, [קִמּוֹהֶם, קִמּוֹהֶם] as they.
{ f. קִמּוֹהֶה as she.	{ [קִמּוֹהֶה, קִמּוֹהֶה] }

<sup>5</sup> The question whether קִמּוֹ can also stand for the sing. לוֹ, which Rödiger and recently W. Diehl (*Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . des Hebr.*, p. 20 f.) and P. Haupt (*SBOT.* on Pr 23<sup>20</sup>, a contraction of *la-humū*) have altogether denied, must be answered in the affirmative unless we conclude with Diehl and Haupt that all the instances concerned are due to corruptions of the text. It is true that in such places as Gn 9<sup>26,27</sup>, Dt 33<sup>2</sup>, Is 30<sup>5</sup>, ψ 73<sup>10</sup> (all in or immediately before the principal pause; in Dt 33<sup>2</sup> with *Zaqeph qat'on* at least) קִמּוֹ can be better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); and in Is 53<sup>8</sup> for קִמּוֹ we should read with the LXX קִמּוֹת. On the other hand, in Is 44<sup>15</sup> its explanation as plural would be extremely forced. Even then there would remain—presuming the traditional text to be correct—קִמּוֹ ψ 11<sup>7</sup> and קִמּוֹ Jb 27<sup>23</sup>, as well as קִמּוֹ, three times, Jb 20<sup>23</sup>, 27<sup>23</sup> (beside קִמּוֹ), and especially Jb 22<sup>2</sup>. In all these places the most extreme exegetical artifices can only be avoided by simply admitting a singular suffix (= קִמּוֹ, קִמּוֹ, קִמּוֹ).—On the question of the antiquity of the suffixes in קִמּוֹ see § 91 L.

<sup>4</sup> The form קִמּוֹ in Ru 1<sup>13</sup> is Aramaic (= *therefore*).

<sup>5</sup> The use of קִי here for קִי (cf. above, d) might be due to euphonic reasons.—קִמּוֹ (defectively) only in the Pentateuch, קִמּוֹ Ex 15<sup>11</sup>.

(c) מִן with Pronominal Suffixes.

i

Sing.

Plur.

1. מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִנִּי [4 times], in pause also מִנִּי [6 times] from me.
2. { m. מִמֶּךָ, in pause מִמֶּךָ } from thee. { מִמֶּכָּם, מִמֶּנָּם } from you.
3. { m. מִמֶּנּוּ, Jb 4<sup>12</sup> in pause מִנֵּהוּ, [מִנֵּהוּ] or מִמֶּנּוּ: see below } from him. { מִמֵּהֶם, מִמֵּהֶם [twice], Jb 11<sup>20</sup> מִמֵּהֶם } from them.  
 { f. מִמֶּנָּה, from her. } { מִמֵּהָ, מִמֵּהָ [7 times] }

The syllable מו (in Arabic *mā* מֶא = Heb. מה *what*) in מִמֶּנִּי (probably from *k* מִמֶּנִּי, prop. according to *what I*, for as *I*) is, in poetry, appended to the three simple prefixes ב, כ, ל, even without suffixes, so that בִּמּו, כִּמּו, לִמּו appear as independent words, equivalent in meaning to ב, כ, ל. Poetry is here distinguished from prose by the use of longer forms; in the case of מִן, on the other hand, it prefers the shorter, which resemble the Syriac and Arabic.

The form מִמֶּכָּם, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 K 17<sup>15</sup> (in *l* pause), מִמֶּהֶם only in Jer 36<sup>32</sup> (in *l* pause); מִמֶּנָּה (Baer following Qimḥi מִמֶּנָּה) only in Ez 18<sup>14</sup>. Cf. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 ff.—For מִמֶּכָּם as *ye*, Qimḥi requires מִמֶּכָּם (invariably or only in Jb 16<sup>4</sup> ?); in Jos 1<sup>15</sup>, Ju 8<sup>2</sup>, Ezr 4<sup>2</sup> Baer gives מִמֶּכָּם.

With regard to מִן with suffixes, מִמֶּנִּי from *me* is usually explained as arising, *ml* by a reduplication of מִן, from an original מִנִּימִי, just as מִמֶּנּוּ from *him*, from מִנִּימֶנּוּ, identical in form with מִמֶּנּוּ<sup>1</sup> from *us*, from מִנִּימֶנּוּ, while מִמֶּנָּה from *her*, goes back to מִנִּימֶנָּה. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*REJ.* xxiii. 302 ff.), that מִמֶּנִּי, &c., have arisen from מִנִּינִי, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of מִנִּינִי, מִנִּינִי, מִנִּינִי, § 100 c.—The bracketed form מִמֶּנּוּ, for which Baer, following Qimḥi and others, writes מִמֶּנָּה, occurs only in ψ 68<sup>24</sup>, and is there regarded by Delitzsch, Hupfeld, and others (following Simonis) as a substantive (מִן = *portion*). The expression מִן-הוּא (for מִמֶּנּוּ ?) Is 18<sup>2.7</sup> is very strange.—מִמֵּהָ occurs only in Jer 10<sup>2</sup>, Ec 12<sup>12</sup> (Jb 11<sup>20</sup> מִמֵּהֶם); מִמֵּהוּ (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading מִמֵּהוּ) only in Ez 16<sup>47.52</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian Masora writes מִמֶּנִּי (to distinguish it from the 3rd sing.), which is justly blamed by Ibn Ezra.

**n** 3. Several prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are (like the German *wegen*) properly plural nouns (for the reason, see § 124 a), and are, therefore, joined with the pronominal suffixes in the form of the plural *construct state*, just like other plural nouns (§ 91 g). On the other hand, the apparent connexion of אֶל, עַד, עַל with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems ל"ה אָלִי (אֲלִי), עָדִי, עָלִי (contracted to אֲלֵי, אֲלֵי, &c.).<sup>1</sup>

**o** Without suffixes these prepositions are—

אַחֶר, more frequently אַחֲרֵי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind, after*.

אֶל,<sup>2</sup> poet. [4 times in Job] also אֲלֵי (*region, direction*), *towards, to, according to*.

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*; the suffixes indicating the singular are added to the singular בֵּין, thus בֵּינִי, בֵּינְךָ, &c. (Gn 16<sup>5</sup> בֵּינֶיךָ, the second *Yôdh* is, however, marked with a point as critically doubtful; בֵּינָיו, which occurs three times, is only the Masoretic *Qerê* בִּינוֹ, which is found e.g. in Gn 30<sup>36</sup>). On the other hand, the suffixes indicating a plural are attached to the plural forms בֵּינֵי or בֵּינוֹת.

סָבִיב (*circuit*) *around*, as a preposition, always has the plural form, sometimes masc. סָבִיבֶיךָ, &c. [10 times], but much more frequently in the fem. סָבִיבוֹת (*surroundings*). In Ez 43<sup>17</sup> סָבִיב אוֹתָהּ is a corruption of סָבִיבוֹתֶיהָ; [in 1 K 6<sup>5</sup> אֵת סָבִיב also is so contrary to usage, that it must be due to some textual error].

עַד (*continuation, duration*, from עָדָה) *as far as, unto*, poet. עָדִי [12 times]. In Jb 32<sup>12</sup> עָרִיכֶם, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> for עָרִיחֶם read עָרִיחֶם.

עַל *upon, over* (cf. the rare subst. עֵל *height* [see Lexicon], from עָלָה *to ascend*), poet. עָלַי [40 times, and 2 *Qerê*].

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*). On תַּחְתָּנִי, &c.; cf. above, d.

<sup>1</sup> The reference of these forms to original plurals has been again expressly supported by De Lagarde, *Symmicta*, ii. 101 ff.; *Nachrichten der G. g. G.*, 1881, p. 376, cf. *Mittheilungen*, 1884, p. 63; also *GGA.* 1884, p. 280 f. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 348 ff., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 375 ff., תַּחְתִּיךָ, &c., was only formed on the analogy of עָלֶיךָ, &c., and אַחֲרֶיךָ, &c., only on the analogy of לִפְנֵי, &c., since the real plural forms ought to be תַּחְתֵּיךָ, אַחֲרֵיךָ, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 f.

<sup>2</sup> On the use of this particle see § 119 g.

*With Suffixes.*

	אֲחֵרִי	בֵּינִי	סְבִיבוֹתַי	תַּחְתִּי	אֵלַי	עָדַי	עָלַי p
1 Sing.	(after me)	(between me)	(around me)	(beneath me)	(to me)	(unto me)	(on me)
2 S. m.	אֲחֵרֶךָ	בֵּינֶךָ	סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ & סְבִיבֶיךָ	תַּחְתֶּיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ	עָדֶיךָ	עָלֶיךָ
2 S. f.	אֲחֵרֶיךָ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ & סְבִיבֶיךָ		אֵלֶיךָ		עָלֶיךָ
3 S. m.	אֲחֵרָיו	בֵּינוֹ	סְבִיבוֹתָיו & סְבִיבָיו	תַּחְתָּיו	אֵלָיו	עָדָיו	עָלָיו
3 S. f.	אֲחֵרֶיהָ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיהָ & סְבִיבֶיהָ	תַּחְתֶּיהָ	אֵלֶיהָ	עָדֶיהָ	עָלֶיהָ
1 Plur.	אֲחֵרֵינוּ	בֵּינֵינוּ	סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ	תַּחְתֵּינוּ	אֵלֵינוּ		עָלֵינוּ
	& בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ <sup>1</sup>						
2 Pl. m.	אֲחֵרֵיכֶם	בֵּינֵיכֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם	תַּחְתֵּיכֶם	אֵלֵיכֶם	עָדֵיכֶם	עָלֵיכֶם
3 Pl. m.	אֲחֵרֵיהֶם	בֵּינֵיהֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם	תַּחְתֵּיהֶם	אֵלֵיהֶם	[עָדֵיהֶם]	עָלֵיהֶם
		& בֵּינוֹתָם	& סְבִיבוֹתָם	usually תַּחְתָּם	& אֵלֵיהֶם		[עָלֵיהֶם] <sup>2</sup>
					[אֵלֵיהֶם] <sup>2</sup>		
3 Pl. f.	אֲחֵרֵיהֶן			תַּחְתֵּיהֶן	אֵלֵיהֶן		עָלֵיהֶן
					& אֵלֵיהֶן		

§ 104. *Conjunctions.*

1. The conjunctions serve to connect sentences, and to express their *a* relations one to another. They may be either—

(a) Original pronouns, e.g. the demonstrative בֵּי that, because, for.

(b) Original substantives, which afterwards were reduced to the rank of pronouns, adverbs, or conjunctions; so perhaps אִשָּׁר (see § 36), which is sometimes used to express the general idea of relation, sometimes as a relative pronoun (properly a demonstrative), but in many cases stands simply for בֵּי; also אֵל (nothing), that not; כִּן that not (the Greek μὴ of prohibition), &c. To these may be added the adverbial combination of substantives with prepositions, e.g. בֵּתְרֶם.

<sup>1</sup> As Mayer Lambert observes, usage (cf. esp. Gn 26<sup>28</sup>) distinguishes between the two forms: בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ means *between us and you*, whereas בֵּינֵינוּ (Jos 22<sup>25, 27, 28</sup> before (וּבֵינֵיכֶם) means *between us on the one side*.

<sup>2</sup> The poetical form אֵלֵיהֶם only in ψ 2<sup>5</sup>; עָלֵיהֶם, on which see note 3 on ψ, 12 times [viz. Dt 32<sup>23</sup>, ψ 5<sup>12</sup>, 55<sup>16</sup>, 64<sup>9</sup>, Jb 6<sup>16</sup>, 20<sup>23</sup>, 21<sup>17, 22, 27</sup>, 29<sup>22</sup>, 30<sup>2, 5</sup>].

(in the not yet) earlier, before, for which מִשְׁרָם is also used. On the combination of two particles to express complex ideas (e.g. אֲרֵב־י added to this, that=much more), see the Syntax, § 163 f.

- b (c) Prepositions, which with the addition of the conjunction אֲשֶׁר or י together form one single conjunction, e.g. יָעַן אֲשֶׁר because, prop. on account of the fact that; אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, and more frequently אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, after that; כַּאֲשֶׁר according as (with י); עַל־כֵּן אֲשֶׁר and עַל־כֵּן אֲשֶׁר in consequence of the fact that, for the reason that, because. Sometimes, however, the conjunction in such cases is omitted, and the preposition itself used as a conjunction, e.g. עַל־ (for עַל־אֲשֶׁר) although, Jb 16<sup>17</sup>.

So, at any rate, according to our linguistic principles. It would, however, be more correct to say, that instead of the intermediary אֲשֶׁר the whole of the succeeding sentence is regarded as one substantival idea, under the immediate government of the preposition. In the same way, all prepositions governing the gerund in English may be paraphrased by conjunctions with the finite verb, see §§ 114 and 115, *passim*.

- c 2. Besides those already mentioned, there are certain other small words now used as conjunctions, of which the derivation or original meaning is altogether obscure, thus או or, אִם if (also or before the second member of a double question), אֲף also, ו and, and others.

- d Rem. The pointing of the ו (originally ו, as still before *Hateph Pathah* and—with a following *Dageš forte*—in *wāw* consecutive of the imperfect; cf. § 49 f) is in many respects analogous to that of the prefixes ב, פ, ל (§ 102 d-i), but as being a weak consonant, the *wāw* copulative has some further peculiarities:

(a) Usually it takes simple *Šēwā* (ו).

(b) Before words which begin with a guttural having a compound *Šēwā*, it takes the vowel with which the *Šēwā* is compounded (according to § 28 b), e.g. וְחָכָם and be thou wise, וְעֲבָדִים and servants, וְעוֹז and strength, וְאָכַל and eat thou, וְחָלִי and sickness. On וְאֵלֶיךָ and וְאֵלֶיךָ &c., see § 102 d; on וְאֶרְנִי &c., see § 102 m; on such cases as וְעֲצָר Jb 4<sup>2</sup>, cf. § 28 b.

- c (c) Before words with simple *Šēwā* under the first consonant (except in the cases under f), the *Wāw* becomes the vowel *i* (cf. § 26 a), e.g. וְלִכְל and to all, so also (except in the case under g) before the cognate labials ב, מ, פ, hence וְכָלֶךְ. On the cases in which simple *Šēwā* has become a *Hateph* after ו copulative (e.g. וְזָהָב Gn 2<sup>12</sup>), cf. § 10 g.

f (d) With a following ו the ו coalesces to form וי according to § 24 b, as ויְהִי and let him be. On the peculiar punctuation of the *wāw* copulative before forms with initial *Šēwā* from הָיָה to be and חָיָה to live (e.g. וְהָיָה Jos 8<sup>4</sup>, וְחָיָה Gn 20<sup>7</sup>), cf. § 63 g.

g (e) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qames*, like ב, פ, ל (see § 102 f), but in most cases only at the end of a sentence or clause (but cf. also וְכָא 2 K 22<sup>30</sup>), e.g. וְכָא Ex 21<sup>12</sup> (on the other hand, in verse 20



יָ (see the Lexicon) *I beseech, hear me!* נָא *pray!*<sup>1</sup> used to emphasize a demand, warning, or entreaty, and always placed after the expression to which it belongs.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> נָא serves to express the most various shades of expression, which are discussed in the various parts of the syntax. It is used especially (a) after the *imperative*, either in commands or entreaty, see § 110 d; (b) with the *imperfect*, either in the cohortative (§ 108 b) or jussive (§ 109 b); (c) once with *perfect*, Gn 40<sup>14</sup>; (d) after various particles: נָא-הִנֵּה *behold now*; particularly after the conjunctions לָא and אִם: נָא-לָא *ne quaeso* and נָא-אִם *if now, εἴπερ, εἴπote, if*, in a deprecatory sense, expressive of politeness or modesty. In Nu 12<sup>13</sup> נָא stands after a noun; but we ought certainly to read נָא-לָא.— In polite language this particle is used constantly in all these ways, Gn 18<sup>3,4</sup>, 19<sup>7,8,19</sup>, and 50<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Against the usual view which regards נָא as a hortatory particle (= *up! come!* analogous to the original imperatives הִנֵּה and הִלָּךְ and the Ethiopic *nā'ā*, properly *hither*, also *come!*), P. Haupt, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii, no. 114, p. 109, justly observes that we should then expect the particle to be *prefixed* to the imperative, &c. He proposes to describe נָא as an emphatic particle. Haupt's suggested identification of this נָא with the Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic particle *mā* (which is also an enclitic of emphasis), and ultimately with the interrogative *mā*, we shall not discuss here.

# THIRD PART

## SYNTAX<sup>1</sup>

### CHAPTER I

#### THE PARTS OF SPEECH

##### I. Syntax of the Verb.

##### A. USE OF THE TENSES AND MOODS.<sup>2</sup>

##### § 106. *Use of the Perfect.*

The perfect serves to express actions, events, or states, which the *a* speaker wishes to represent from the point of view of completion, whether they belong to a determinate past time, or extend into the present, or, while still future, are pictured as in their completed state.

The definition formerly given here ('the perfect serves to express *completed* actions') applies, strictly speaking, only to some of the varieties of the perfect discussed under *b-p*: hence the above modification based on the arguments of Knudtzon (for the title see note 2, and cf. further § 107 *a*).

More particularly the uses of the perfect may be distinguished as follows:—

##### 1. To represent actions, events, or states, which, after a shorter *b*

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<sup>1</sup> Recent works on Hebrew syntax are: A. B. Davidson, *Introductory Heb. Gram.*, vol. ii, *Heb. Syntax*, Edinburgh, 1894; Ed. König, *Hist.-compar. Syntax der hebr. Sprache*, Lpz. 1897 (see above, § 3 *f*). Important contributions to Hebrew syntax are also contained in H. Reckendorf's work *Die syntakt. Verhältnisse des Arab.*, 2 pts., Leiden, 1895, 1898, of which we have already made use in § 97 *a*. Cf. also the same author's very instructive discussions *Ueber syntakt. Forschung*, Munich, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the sketch of the tenses and moods used in Hebrew in § 40; and on the general characteristics of the perfect and imperfect see the note on § 47 *a*; also Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford, 1874; 3rd ed. 1892); Bennett, 'Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses' (*Hebraica*, 1886, vols. ii, iii). A partial modification of the accepted definition of the Semitic perfect and imperfect was proposed by J. A. Knudtzon, *Om det saakaldte Perfektum og Imperfektum i Hebraisk*, Kristiania, 1890; of which a summary entitled 'Vom sogenannten Perf. und Imperf. im Hebr.' appeared in the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Stockholm*, section sémitique *b*, p. 73 ff. (Leiden, 1893). Cf. also Knudtzon's articles, 'Zur assyrischen und allgemein semitischen Grammatik' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, especially vi. 422 ff. and vii. 33 ff.

or longer duration, were terminated in the past, and hence are finally concluded, viz.:

(a) Corresponding to the perfect proper in Latin and the English perfect definite, in assertions, negations, confirmations, interrogations, &c., e.g. Gn 18<sup>15</sup> *then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not* (לֹא צִחַקְתִּי) . . . . .; and he said, *Nay, but thou didst laugh* (צִחַקְתָּ); Gn 3<sup>11</sup> לָךְ מִי הִגִּיד לְךָ *who told thee . . . ?* Cf. 3<sup>13, 14, 17, 22</sup>. Also pointing to some undefined time in the past, e.g. Is 66<sup>8</sup> מִי־שָׁמַע בְּוֹאֵת *who hath (ever yet) heard such a thing?*

c Rem. In opposition to this express use of the perfect to emphasize the completion of an event, the imperfect is not infrequently used to emphasize that which is still future, e.g. Jos 1<sup>5</sup> *as I was* (הָיִיתִי) *with Moses, so will I be* (אֶהְיֶה) *with thee*; Jos 1<sup>17</sup>, Ex 10<sup>14</sup>, Dt 32<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>38</sup>, Is 46<sup>4, 11</sup>, Jo 2<sup>2</sup>, Ec 1<sup>9</sup>.

d (b) As a simple *tempus historicum* (corresponding to the Greek aorist) in narrating past events, e.g. Gn 4<sup>4</sup> *and Abel, he also brought* (וַהֲבִיֵּא), &c.; Gn 7<sup>10</sup> *the waters did prevail* (וַיִּבְרֹךְ), &c.; Jb 1<sup>1</sup> *there was a man* (אִישׁ הָיָה) *in the land of Uz, &c.*; even in relating repeated actions, 1 S 18<sup>30</sup>.

e Rem. As the above examples indicate, the perfect of *narration* occurs especially at the head of an entire narrative (Jb 1<sup>1</sup>; cf. Dn 2<sup>1</sup>) or an independent sentence (e.g. Gn 7<sup>11, 13</sup>), but in co-ordinate sentences, as a rule, only when the verb is separated from the copulative ו by one or more words (cf. above Gn 4<sup>4</sup> and 7<sup>19</sup>). In other cases, the narrative is continued in the imperfect consecutive, according to § 111 a. The direct connexion of the narrative perfect with ו copulative (not to be confounded with the perfect consecutive proper, § 112) agrees rather with Aramaic syntax (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 71, 1 b). On the examples (which are in many respects doubtful) in the earlier texts, see § 112 pp-uu.

f (c) To represent actions, &c., which were already completed in the past, at the time when other actions or conditions took place (pluperfect),<sup>1</sup> e.g. 1 S 28<sup>3</sup> *now Samuel was (long since) dead*<sup>2</sup> . . . *and Saul had put away* (וַיִּסְרֹף) *those that had familiar spirits . . . out of the land.* Both these statements, being as it were in parentheses, merely assign a reason for the narrative beginning at verse 6. Cf. 1 S 9<sup>15</sup>, 25<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>18</sup>.—Gn 20<sup>18</sup> (*for the Lord had fast closed up, &c.*); 27<sup>30</sup>, 31<sup>19, 34</sup>, Dt 2<sup>10</sup>; and in a negative statement, Gn 2<sup>5</sup> *for the Lord God had not (up to that time) caused it to ruin, &c.* This is especially frequent, from the nature of the case, in relative, causal, and temporal clauses, when the main clause contains a tense referring to the past, e.g. Gn 2<sup>2</sup> *and he rested . . . from all his work which he had made* (וַעֲשָׂה); Gn 7<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Haupt in the *Notes on Esther*, 9<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Incorrectly, e.g. in the Vulgate, *Samuel autem mortuus est . . . et Saul abstulit magos, &c.*

19<sup>27</sup>, &c.; 29<sup>10</sup> now when Jacob had seen Rachel (בָּאִשָּׁר רָאָה) . . . , Jacob went near, &c.; so also in clauses which express the completion or incompleteness of one action, &c., on the occurrence of another, as in Gn 24<sup>15</sup>, 27<sup>30</sup>, &c.; cf. § 164 b, with the note, and c.

2. To represent actions, events, or states, which, although completed *g* in the past, nevertheless extend their influence into the present (in English generally rendered by the present):

(a) Expressing facts which were accomplished long before, or conditions and attributes which were acquired long before, but of which the effects still remain in the present (present perfect), e. g.  $\psi$  10<sup>11</sup> הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו *he hath hidden his face (and still keeps it hidden)*;  $\psi$  143<sup>6</sup> פָּרַשְׁתִּי *I have spread forth my hands (and still keep them spread forth)*. This applies particularly to a large number of perfects (almost exclusively of intransitive<sup>1</sup> verbs, denoting affections or states of the mind) which in English can be rendered only by the present, or, in the case mentioned above under *f*, by the imperfect.<sup>2</sup> Thus, יָדַעְתִּי *I know* (prop. *I have perceived, have experienced*) Jb 9<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>13</sup>, לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not* Gn 4<sup>9</sup>, &c.; on the other hand, e. g. in Gn 28<sup>16</sup>, Nu 22<sup>34</sup>, the context requires *I knew not*; זָכַרְנִי *we remember* Nu 11<sup>6</sup>; מָאֲנָה *she refuseth* Jb 6<sup>7</sup>; עָלָז *it exulteth*; שִׂמְחָתִי *I rejoice* 1 S 2<sup>1</sup>; בִּקֵּשׁ *he requireth* Is 1<sup>12</sup>; קָוִיתִי *I wait* Gn 49<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  130<sup>5</sup> (parallel with הוֹלֵלְתִי); הִפְעֵתִי *I delight*  $\psi$  40<sup>9</sup> (mostly negative, Is 1<sup>11</sup>, &c.); אָהַבְתִּי *I love* Gn 27<sup>4</sup>; שִׂנְאָתִי *I hate*  $\psi$  31<sup>7</sup>; מִאֲסַתִּי *I despise* Am 5<sup>21</sup>; תִּקְעֹבוּנִי *they abhor me* Jb 30<sup>10</sup>; בָּטַחְתִּי *I trust*  $\psi$  25<sup>2</sup>; הִסֵּיתִי *I put my trust*  $\psi$  31<sup>2</sup>; צָדִיקָתִי *I am righteous* Jb 34<sup>5</sup>; פָּקַדְתִּי *I have decided to requite* 1 S 15<sup>2</sup>.—We may further include a number of verbs which express bodily characteristics or states, such as גָּדַלְתָּ *thou art great*  $\psi$  104<sup>1</sup>; קָטַנְתִּי *I am little* Gn 32<sup>11</sup>; גָּבְהוּ *they are high* Is 55<sup>9</sup>; רָחֲקוּ *they stand aloof* Jb 30<sup>10</sup>; טָבוּ *they are goodly* Nu 24<sup>5</sup>; נָאוּ *they are beautiful* Is 52<sup>7</sup>; זָקַנְתִּי *I am old* Gn 18<sup>13</sup>; יָנַעְתִּי *I am weary*  $\psi$  6<sup>7</sup>; שָׂבַעְתִּי *I am full* Is 1<sup>11</sup>, &c.

Rem. To the same category probably belong also the perfects after עֲדַמְתִּי *h* Ex 10<sup>3</sup> *how long hast thou already been refusing* (and *refusest still* . . . ? which really amounts to *how long will thou refuse*?),  $\psi$  80<sup>5</sup>, Pr 1<sup>22</sup> (co-ordinate with the imperf.), and after עֲדָנָה Ex 16<sup>28</sup>, Hb 1<sup>2</sup>.

(b) In direct narration to express actions which, although really *i* only in process of accomplishment, are nevertheless meant to be repre-

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the great but very natural preponderance of intransitive verbs (expressing an existing state), cf. the lists in Knudtson (see above, p. 309, note 2), pp. 117 and 122 in the Danish text.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *novi, odi, memini*; οἶδα, μέμνημαι, οἶκα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα; in the New Testament, ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα.

sented as already accomplished in the conception of the speaker, e.g. הִרְמֵתִי *I lift up* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gn 14<sup>22</sup>; נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I swear* Jer 22<sup>6</sup>; הִעֲדֵתִי *I testify* Dt 8<sup>19</sup>; יִעֲצָתִי *I counsel* 2 S 17<sup>11</sup> (but in a different context in ver. 15, *I have counselled*); אָמַרְתִּי (prop. *I say*) *I decide (I consider as hereby settled)* 2 S 19<sup>30</sup>; *I declare* Jb 9<sup>22</sup>, 32<sup>10</sup>.

k (c) To express facts which have formerly taken place, and are still of constant recurrence, and hence are matters of common experience (the Greek *gnomic aorist*), e.g. ψ 9<sup>11</sup> *for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken* (לֹא-רָעוּבָתָּ) *them that seek thee*. Cf. ver. 13, also ψ 10<sup>3</sup>, 119<sup>40</sup> and Gn 49<sup>11</sup> (כָּבִידִם).

l Rem. In almost all the cases discussed in No. 2 (included under the English present) the imperfect can be used instead of the perfect, wherever the action or state in question is regarded, not as already completed, but as still continuing or just taking place (see § 107 a). Thus, לֹא יָכֹלְתִּי *I am not able* ψ 40<sup>13</sup> and לֹא אֶכְבֵּל Gn 31<sup>35</sup> have practically the same meaning. Hence also it very frequently happens that the imperfect corresponds to such perfects in poetic or prophetic parallelism, e.g. Is 5<sup>12</sup>, ψ 21<sup>1</sup>, Pr 1<sup>22</sup>, Jb 3<sup>17</sup>.

m 3. To express *future* actions, when the speaker intends by an express assurance to represent them as finished, or as equivalent to accomplished facts:

(a) In contracts or other express stipulations (again corresponding to the English present, and therefore closely related to the instances noted under i), e.g. Gn 23<sup>11</sup> *the field I give* (תִּתֵּנִי) *thee*; cf. ver. 13 and 48<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>21</sup>, 24<sup>23</sup>, Jer 40<sup>4</sup>; in a threat, 1 S 2<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>6</sup> (unless, with Wellhausen, יִסִּיֶּךָ is to be read).—Especially in promises made by God, Gn 1<sup>29</sup>, 15<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>20</sup>, Ju 1<sup>2</sup>.

n (b) To express facts which are undoubtedly imminent, and, therefore, in the imagination of the speaker, already accomplished (*perfectum confidentiae*), e.g. Nu 17<sup>27</sup> הִנֵּנוּ מָוֶלֶת אֶבְרָנִי כָלֵנוּ אֶבְרָנִי *behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone*. Gn 30<sup>13</sup>, Is 6<sup>5</sup> (נִדְמֵיתִי *I am undone* <sup>1</sup>), Pr 4<sup>2</sup>. Even in interrogative sentences, Gn 18<sup>12</sup>, Nu 17<sup>28</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, Ju 9<sup>9,11</sup>, Zc 4<sup>10</sup> (?), Pr 22<sup>20</sup>. <sup>2</sup> This use of the perfect occurs most frequently in prophetic language (*perfectum propheticum*). The prophet so trans-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the similar use of ὥλολα (διέφθορας, Il. 15. 128) and perii! On the kindred use of the perfect in conditional sentences, cf. below, p.

<sup>2</sup> In Gn 40<sup>14</sup> a perf. *confidentiae* (after אִם כִּי; but cf. § 163 d) appears to be used in the expression of an earnest desire that something may happen (*but have me in thy remembrance, &c.*). Neither this passage, however, nor the use of the perfect in Arabic to express a wish or imprecation, justifies us in assuming the existence of a precative perfect in Hebrew. In Jb 21<sup>16</sup>, 22<sup>18</sup>, also, translate the counsel of the wicked is far from me. Cf. Driver, *Tenses*<sup>3</sup>, p. 25 f. In Is 43<sup>9</sup> either נִקְבָּצִי is imperative (see § 51 o) or we must read יִקְבָּצִי, corresponding to יִאסְפוּ which follows.

ports himself in imagination into the future that he describes the future event as if it had been already seen or heard by him, e.g. Is 5<sup>13</sup> *therefore my people are gone into captivity* (הָלָךְ); 9<sup>1st</sup>, 10<sup>28</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup> (after הָיָה, as frequently elsewhere); 19<sup>7</sup>, Jb 5<sup>20</sup>, 2 Ch 20<sup>37</sup>. Not infrequently the imperfect interchanges with such perfects either in the parallel member or further on in the narrative.

(c) To express actions or facts, which are meant to be indicated as *O* existing in the future in a completed state (*futurum exactum*), e.g. Is 4<sup>4</sup> וְרָחַץ אֶם *when he has washed away* = *when he shall have washed away* (an *imperfect* follows in the co-ordinate sentence; cf. the conditional sentences in § 107 x); Is 6<sup>11</sup> (after אֶם יִשְׁפָּר עַד, as in Gn 28<sup>15</sup>, Nu 32<sup>17</sup>; also 2 S 17<sup>13</sup> after אֶם יִשְׁפָּר עַד, Gn 24<sup>19</sup> after אֶם עַד and elsewhere frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mi 5<sup>2</sup> (יִלְרָח); Gn 43<sup>14</sup> וְאִנִּי בְּאִשֶּׁר שָׂלַחְתִּי שְׂכָלְתִּי and *I—if I am bereaved* (*orbis fuero*), *I am bereaved*, an expression of despairing resignation. Cf. Pr 23<sup>15</sup>, Est 4<sup>16</sup>.

4. To express actions and facts, whose accomplishment in the past *p* is to be represented, not as actual, but only as possible (generally corresponding to the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive), e.g. Gn 31<sup>42</sup> *except the God of my father . . . had been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away empty* (שְׁלַחְתָּנִי); Gn 43<sup>10</sup>, Ex 9<sup>15</sup> (שְׁלַחְתִּי *I had almost put forth, &c.*); Nu 22<sup>33</sup>, Ju 13<sup>23</sup>, 14<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>13</sup> (יִהְיֶי); 2 K 13<sup>19</sup>; so frequently after בְּמַעַט *easily, almost*, Gn 26<sup>10</sup>, Is 1<sup>9</sup> (where בְּמַעַט is probably to be connected with the word after it), ψ 73<sup>2</sup>, 94<sup>17</sup>, 119<sup>87</sup>, Pr 5<sup>14</sup>. Cf. also Jb 3<sup>13</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup> (בְּהִנֵּי), Ru 1<sup>12</sup> (*if I should think, &c.*; cf. 2 K 7<sup>4</sup>); in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, 1 S 25<sup>34</sup>.—So also to express an unfulfilled desire, Nu 14<sup>2</sup> לֹא מָוְתָנוּ *would that we had died . . .* (לֹא with the imperfect would mean *would that we might die* 1 S 14<sup>30</sup>). Finally, also in a question indicating astonishment, Gn 21<sup>7</sup> מִי מֵיָלַל *who would have said . . . ? quis dixerit ?* ψ 73<sup>11</sup>.

### § 107. Use of the Imperfect.<sup>1</sup>

The imperfect, as opposed to the perfect, represents actions, events, *a* or states which are regarded by the speaker at any moment as still continuing, or in process of accomplishment, or even as just taking place. In the last case, its occurrence may be represented as certainly imminent, or merely as conceived in the mind of the speaker, or simply as desired, and therefore only contingent (the modal use of the imperfect).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the literature cited above, p. 309, note 2.

Knudtson (see above, Rem. on § 106 a), comparing the Ass.-Bab. usage, would prefer the term *present* rather than imperfect, on the ground that the tense expresses what is either actually or mentally present. In any case, the essential difference between the perfect and imperfect consists, he argues, in this, that the perfect simply indicates what is actually complete, while the imperfect places the action, &c., in a more direct relation to the judgement or feeling of the speaker.

More precisely the imperfect serves—

1. In the sphere of *past time*:

- b (a) To express actions, &c., which *continued* throughout a longer or shorter period,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gn 2<sup>6</sup> *a mist went up* continually (עָלָה), 2<sup>25</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, 48<sup>10</sup>, Ex 1<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>20</sup>, 13<sup>22</sup>, 15<sup>6,12,14,15</sup>, Nu 9<sup>15 f.</sup>, 20<sup>f.</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, Ju 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>17 f.</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>28</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>4</sup>, 7<sup>8</sup>, 2 I<sup>6</sup>, Is 1<sup>21</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup> (יָפְלָא), 17<sup>10 f.</sup>, 51<sup>2 a</sup>, Jer 13<sup>7</sup>, 36<sup>18</sup>, ψ 18<sup>7,14,17 ff.,38 ff.</sup>, 24<sup>2</sup>, 32<sup>4,5</sup> (אֲדִירָעָה), 47<sup>5</sup>, 68<sup>10,12</sup>, 104<sup>6 ff.</sup>, 106<sup>19</sup>, 107<sup>18,29</sup>, 139<sup>13</sup>, Jb 3<sup>11</sup>, 4<sup>12,15 f.</sup>, 10<sup>10 f.</sup>, 15<sup>7 f.</sup>—very frequently alternating with a perfect (especially with a frequentative perfect; cf. Nu 9<sup>13-23</sup> and § 112 e), or when the narration is continued by means of an imperfect consecutive.<sup>2</sup>

- C Rem. 1. The imperfect is frequently used in this way after the particles אָז *then*, כִּי־עַד־בָּטָרָם *not yet*, בְּטָרָם *before*, עַד־ *until*, e.g. Ex 15<sup>1</sup> אָז־שָׁרָה־מִשָּׁחָה אָז *then sang Moses*, &c.; Nu 21<sup>17</sup>, Dt 4<sup>41</sup>, Jos 10<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>18</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, ψ 126<sup>2</sup>, Jb 38<sup>21</sup>. (The perfect is used after אָז when stress is to be laid on the fact that the action has really taken place, and not upon its gradual accomplishment or duration in the past, e.g. Gn 4<sup>26</sup> אָז־הוֹחֵל אָז *then began*, &c.; Gn 49<sup>4</sup>, Ex 15<sup>15</sup>, Jos 22<sup>31</sup>, Ju 5<sup>11</sup>, ψ 89<sup>20</sup>.)<sup>3</sup> After כִּי־עַד־בָּטָרָם e.g. Gn 19<sup>4</sup> יִשְׁכְּבוּ בָּרִים בְּטָרָם *before they lay down*; Gn 2<sup>5</sup>, 24<sup>45</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>8,7</sup>, always in the sense of our *pluperfect*. (In Gn 24<sup>15</sup> instead of the perf. בָּלָה, the imperf. should be read, as in verse 45; so also in 1 S 3<sup>7</sup> [יָנְלָה] an imperf. is co-ordinated with יָדַע). After בְּטָרָם (sometimes also simply בָּרִים Ex 12<sup>34</sup>, Jos 3<sup>1</sup>), e.g. Jer 1<sup>5</sup> הֵצֵא בְּטָרָם הָצֵא *before thou camest forth*; Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 37<sup>18</sup>, 41<sup>56</sup>, Ru 3<sup>14</sup> (perhaps also in ψ 90<sup>2</sup> an imperf. was intended instead of יָלְדָה; cf. Wellhausen on 2 S 3<sup>2</sup>; but note also Pr 8<sup>28</sup>, in a similar context, *before the mountains were settled*, הָרִים הָטְבְּעוּ, the predicate being separated from בְּטָרָם by הָרִים, as in ψ 90<sup>2</sup>). After עַד־ Jos 10<sup>13</sup>, ψ 73<sup>17</sup> (*until I went*), 2 Ch 29<sup>34</sup>; on the other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5, כִּי יֵאָנֶף כְּמֵשׁ בְּאַרְצָה *for Chemosh was angry with his land*. As Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 27, 1 a, remarks, this vivid realization of the accomplishment of the action is especially frequent in poetic and prophetic style.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Masora such imperfects occur in Is 10<sup>13</sup> *bis* (where, however, וְאֶסֶר might also mean *I am wont to remove*, &c.), Is 48<sup>3</sup>, 57<sup>17</sup>, ψ 18<sup>38 a</sup>, also (according to § 49 c) in 2 S 1<sup>10</sup> and Ez 16<sup>10</sup>. In some other cases † is no doubt a dogmatic emendation for † (imperf. consec.) in order to represent historical statements as promises; cf. Is 42<sup>6</sup>, 43<sup>28</sup> [contrasted with 42<sup>25</sup>], 51<sup>2 bis</sup>, 63<sup>3 ff.</sup> and the note on § 53 p.

<sup>3</sup> After אָז *then* (to announce future events) the imperf. is naturally used in the sense of a future, Gn 24<sup>41</sup>, Ex 12<sup>48</sup>, Mi 3<sup>4</sup>, Zp 3<sup>9</sup>, ψ 51<sup>21</sup>.

hand, with the perf., e.g. Jos 2<sup>22</sup>. As after אָן, so also after בָּרַם, בָּרַם, and עָר the imperf. may be used, according to the context, in the sense of our *future*, e.g. 2 K 2<sup>9</sup>, Is 65<sup>24</sup>, Jb 10<sup>21</sup>; after עָר e.g. Is 22<sup>14</sup>. The imperf. is used in the sense of our *present* after בָּרַם in Ex 9<sup>30</sup>, 10<sup>7</sup>.

2. Driver (*Tenses*<sup>3</sup>, p. 35 f.) rightly lays stress upon the inherent distinction *d* between the *participle* as expressing *mere* duration, and the *imperfect* as expressing *progressive* duration (in the present, past, or future). Thus the words אָרַךְ Gn 2<sup>10</sup> represent the river of Paradise as going out of Eden in a continuous, uninterrupted stream, but יָפַר, which immediately follows, describes how the parting of its waters is always taking place afresh. In the same way יָעָל Gn 2<sup>6</sup> represents new mists as constantly arising, and יָמָא Is 6<sup>4</sup> new clouds of smoke. Also those actions, &c., which might be regarded in themselves as single or even momentary, are, as it were, broken up by the imperfect into their component parts, and so pictured as gradually completing themselves. Hence חָבַלְעָמוֹ Ex 15<sup>12</sup> (after a *perf.* as in verse 14) represents the Egyptians, in a vivid, poetic description, as being swallowed up one after another, and יָנַחְנִי Nu 23<sup>7</sup> the leading on by stages, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which were *repeated* in the past, either *e* at fixed intervals or occasionally (the *modus rei repetitae*), e.g. Jb 1<sup>5</sup> *thus did* (יָעִיֶּה) *Job continually* (after each occasion of his sons' festivities); 4<sup>3f.</sup>, 22<sup>6f.</sup>, 23<sup>11</sup>, 29<sup>7,9,12f.</sup>, Gn 6<sup>4</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>8</sup>, 42<sup>31,39</sup> (*I used to bear the loss of it*), Ex 1<sup>12</sup>, 19<sup>19</sup>, 33<sup>7a.</sup> (יָקַח *used to take every time*), 40<sup>36a.</sup>, Nu 9<sup>17f. 20a.</sup>, 11<sup>5,9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>4</sup>, 14<sup>10</sup>, 21<sup>25</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>7</sup>, 2<sup>22</sup>, 9<sup>9</sup>, 13<sup>19</sup>, 18<sup>5</sup>, 27<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>22</sup>, 12<sup>3</sup>, 13<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>25</sup> (of tribute repeated year by year), 10<sup>5</sup>, 13<sup>33</sup>, 14<sup>28</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>29</sup>, 13<sup>20</sup>, 25<sup>14</sup>, Jer 36<sup>23</sup>, ψ 42<sup>5</sup>, 44<sup>3</sup>, 78<sup>15,40</sup>, 103<sup>7</sup>, Est 2<sup>14</sup>; even in a negative dependent clause, 1 K 18<sup>10</sup>.

2. In the sphere of *present time*, again

(a) To express actions, events, or states, which are *continued* for a shorter or longer time,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gn 37<sup>15</sup> מַה־חִבַּקֶּשׁ *what seekest thou?* 19<sup>19</sup> לֹא־אֵיבָל *I cannot*; 24<sup>50</sup>, 31<sup>35</sup>, Is 1<sup>13</sup>. Other examples are Gn 2<sup>10</sup>, 24<sup>31</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>7</sup>, ψ 2<sup>2</sup>, and in the prophetic formula יְאָמַר יְהוָה *saith the Lord*, Is 1<sup>11,13</sup>, &c., cf. 40<sup>1</sup>. So especially to express facts known by experience, which occur at all times, and consequently hold good at any moment, e.g. Pr 15<sup>20</sup> *a wise son maketh a glad father*; hence especially frequent in Job and Proverbs. In an interrogative sentence, e.g. Jb 4<sup>17</sup> *is mortal man just before God?* In a negative sentence, Jb 4<sup>18</sup>, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which may be *repeated* at any time, *g* including therefore the present, or are *customarily* repeated on a given occasion (cf. above, e), e.g. Dt 1<sup>44</sup> *as bees do* (are accustomed to

<sup>1</sup> It is not always possible to carry out with certainty the distinction between *continued* and *repeated* actions. Some of the examples given under *f* might equally be referred to *g*.

do); Gn 6<sup>21</sup>, 32<sup>33</sup>, 43<sup>32</sup>, Ju 11<sup>40</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, 5<sup>5</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>32</sup>, Is 1<sup>23</sup>, 3<sup>16</sup>, ψ 1<sup>3</sup>. So again (see *f*) especially to express facts known by experience which may at any time come into effect again, e.g. Ex 23<sup>8</sup> *a gift blindeth* (יְעִיֵר), &c.; Gn 2<sup>24</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, Is 32<sup>6</sup>, Am 3<sup>7</sup>, Mal 1<sup>6</sup>, Jb 2<sup>4</sup>, &c. Of the same kind also is the imperfect in such relative clauses (see § 155), as Gn 49<sup>27</sup> *Benjamin is* יִבְרָךְ אֶבְרָהָם *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יֵאָמֵר *it is* (wont to be) *said* (to introduce proverbial expressions) Gn 10<sup>9</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, &c.; לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה כֵן *it is not* (wont to be) *so done* (and hence may not, shall not be, see *u*), Gn 29<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>9</sup>, 34<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>12</sup>.

*h* (c) To express actions, &c., which although, strictly speaking, they are already finished, are regarded as still lasting on into the present time, or continuing to operate in it, e.g. Gn 32<sup>30</sup> *wherefore is it that thou dost ask* (תִּשְׁאַל) *after my name?* 24<sup>31</sup>, 44<sup>7</sup>, Ex 5<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>9</sup>. In such cases, naturally, the perfect is also admissible, and is sometimes found in the same formula as the imperfect, e.g. Jb 1<sup>7</sup> (2<sup>9</sup>) מֵאֵן תָּבֹא *whence comest thou* (just now)? but Gn 16<sup>8</sup> (cf. 42<sup>7</sup>) מֵאֵן תָּבֹא *whence camest thou?* The imperfect represents the coming as still in its last stage, whereas the perfect represents it as an accomplished fact.

*i* 3. In the sphere of *future time*. To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as about to take place, and as continuing a shorter or longer time in the future, or as being repeated; thus:

(a) From the standpoint of the speaker's present time, e.g. Ex 4<sup>1</sup> *they will not believe* (יֹאמְנִי) *me, nor hearken* (יִשְׁמְעוּ) *unto my voice: for they will say* (יֹאמְרוּ), &c., 6<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>5</sup>, &c.

*h* (b) In dependent clauses to represent actions, &c., which from some point of time in the past are to be represented as future, e.g. Gn 43<sup>7</sup> *could we in any wise know that he would say* (יֹאמֵר)? 2<sup>19</sup>, 43<sup>25</sup>, Ex 2<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>27</sup> אֲשֶׁר-יִמְלֹךְ *qui regnaturus erat*; 13<sup>14</sup>, Jon 4<sup>5</sup>, Jb 3<sup>3</sup>, Ec 2<sup>3</sup>, ψ 78<sup>6</sup> *that the generation to come might know*, יִלְדוּ בְנִים *the children which should be born* (*qui nascituri essent*; the imperfect here with the collateral idea of the occurrence being repeated in the future).

*l* (c) To represent a *futurum exactum*; cf. Is 4<sup>4</sup>, 6<sup>11</sup> (co-ordinated with a perfect used in the same sense, see § 106 o); so also sometimes after the temporal particles עַד, ψ 132<sup>5</sup>, and עַד יִשְׁמַר *until*, Gn 29<sup>8</sup>, Nu 20<sup>17</sup>, &c.

*m* 4. Finally to the sphere of future time belong also those cases in which the (modal) imperfect serves to express actions, events, or states, the occurrence of which is to be represented as willed (or not

willed), or as in some way conditional, and consequently only contingent. More particularly such imperfects serve—

(a) As an expression of will, whether it be a definite intention and *n* arrangement, or a simple desire, viz.:

(1) Sometimes in positive sentences in place of the cohortative (cf. e. g.  $\psi$  59<sup>17</sup> with verse 18; 2 S 22<sup>50</sup> with  $\psi$  18<sup>50</sup>; Ju 19<sup>11</sup>, &c.), of the imperative (Is 18<sup>3</sup>), or of the jussive (which, however, in most cases, does not differ from the ordinary form of the imperfect), e. g.  $\text{לֵךְ הָרָאָה}$  *let it appear* Gn 1<sup>9</sup>, 41<sup>34</sup>, Lv 19<sup>2,3</sup>, 2 S 10<sup>12</sup> (and so frequently in verbs ל"ה; cf. § 109 a, note 2); Zc 9<sup>5</sup> ( $\text{תְּהִי־לִי}$ );  $\psi$  61<sup>7</sup> ( $\text{תִּסְוֶיָהּ}$ ); Pr 22<sup>17</sup> ( $\text{תִּשְׁפֹּת}$ ); 23<sup>1</sup>, Jb 6<sup>23</sup> (co-ordinated with the imperative), 10<sup>20</sup> *Keth.*; so probably also  $\text{יִרְיֹן}$  *let him judge!*  $\psi$  72<sup>2</sup>.—So also in the 1st pers., to express a wish which is asserted subsequently with reference to a fixed point of time in the past, e. g. Jb 10<sup>18</sup>  $\text{אֶנֶּנִּי}$  *I ought to* [not *should* as A.V., R.V.] *have*, (then, immediately after being born) *given up the ghost*; cf. verse 19  $\text{אֶהְיֶה}$  and  $\text{אֶכְבֵּל}$  Lv 10<sup>18</sup>, Nu 35<sup>28</sup>. Even to express an obligation or necessity according to the judgement of another person, e. g. Jb 9<sup>29</sup>  $\text{אֶרְשָׁע}$  *I am to be guilty*, 12<sup>4</sup>. Cp. Jb 9<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>16</sup>; in a question,  $\psi$  42<sup>10</sup>, 43<sup>2</sup>.

(2) To express the definite expectation that something will not *O* happen. The imperfect with ל"ל represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive<sup>1</sup> with ל"ל (cf. § 109 c), and corresponds to our *thou shalt not do it!* with the strongest expectation of obedience, while ל"ל with the jussive is rather a simple warning, *do not that!* Thus ל"ל with the imperfect is especially used in enforcing the divine commands, e. g.  $\text{לֹא תִגְנֹב}$  *thou shalt not steal* Ex 20<sup>15</sup>; cf. verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10 ff. So ל"ל with the 3rd pers. perhaps in Pr 16<sup>10</sup>.

Rem. The *jussive*, which is to be expected after ל"ל, does not, as a rule *p* (according to *n*, and § 109 a, note 2), differ in form from the simple imperfect. That many supposed jussives are intended as simple imperfects is possible from the occurrence after ל"ל of what are undoubtedly imperfect forms, not only from verbs ל"ה (cf. § 109 a, note 2), but also from verbs ו"ע, to express a prohibition or negative wish, ל"ל-וְהָיִיתָ Gn 19<sup>17</sup>, ל"ל-וְהָיִיתָ Jos 1<sup>7</sup>, ל"ל-וְהָיִיתָ 1 S 25<sup>25</sup>. Even with the 1st pers. plur. (after an imperative) וְלֹא-נָמוּת *that we die not*, 1 S 12<sup>19</sup>. Also to express the conviction that something cannot happen, ל"ל-וְנָמָה *he will not slumber*,<sup>2</sup>  $\psi$  121<sup>8</sup>; cf. Jer 46<sup>6</sup>, 2 Ch 14<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> As stated in § 46 a, a prohibition cannot be expressed by ל"ל and the imperative.

<sup>2</sup> To regard this as an optative (so Hupfeld) is from the context impossible. It is more probably a strong pregnant construction, or fusion of two sentences (such as, *do not think he will slumber!*). Verse 4 contains the objective confirmation, by means of ל"ל with the imperf., of that which was previously only a subjective conviction.

- q (3) In dependent clauses after final conjunctions (§ 165 b), as אֲשֶׁר Gn 11<sup>7</sup> (לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ) אֲשֶׁר that they may not understand; Gn 21<sup>30</sup>, 27<sup>4,19</sup>, Ex 9<sup>14</sup>, &c.; לִמְעַן Nu 17<sup>5</sup>; לִמְעַן Dt 4<sup>1</sup>, ψ 51<sup>6</sup>, 78<sup>6</sup>, and יְזַכֵּךְ אֲשֶׁר<sup>1</sup> Ez 12<sup>12</sup>, in order that<sup>2</sup>; לְבִלְתִּי that . . . not, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>14</sup>; also after אֲפֹר that not, lest, Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup>, 19<sup>15</sup>, &c.<sup>3</sup>; cf. also the instances introduced by וְלֹא in § 109 g.—In Lv 9<sup>6</sup> such an imperfect (or jussive? see the examples in § 109 f) is added to the expression of the command by an asyndeton, and in La 1<sup>19</sup> to the principal clause simply by יְשִׁיבוּ וְיִשְׂכְּמוּ אֶת-נַפְשָׁם while they sought them food to refresh their souls (cf. also La 3<sup>26</sup>, it is good and let him hope, i. e. that he should hope); so after an interrogative clause, Ex 2<sup>1</sup>. Finally also in a relative clause, ψ 32<sup>8</sup> בְּדֶרֶךְ-וָי חֵלֶף in the way which thou shouldst go.
- r (b) To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as possibly taking place or not taking place (sometimes corresponding to the potential of the classical languages, as also to our periphrases with can, may, should<sup>4</sup>). More particularly such imperfects are used—
- s (1) In a permissive sense, e. g. Gn 2<sup>16</sup> of every tree of the garden (אָכַל תֹּאכֵל) thou mayest freely eat (the opposite in verse 17); 3<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>37</sup>, Lv 21<sup>3,22</sup>, Jb 21<sup>3</sup>. In the 1st pers. ψ 5<sup>3</sup>, 22<sup>18</sup> (I may, or can, tell); in a negative sentence, e. g. ψ 5<sup>5</sup>.
- t (2) In interrogative sentences, e. g. Pr 20<sup>9</sup> מִי-יֹאמַר quis dixerit? Cf. Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>14</sup>, 31<sup>43</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>12</sup> הֲלֹא-אֶרְחֵץ בָּהֶם may I not wash in them? Is 33<sup>14</sup>, ψ 15<sup>1</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, Ec 5<sup>5</sup>. So especially in a question expressing surprise after אֵיךְ, e. g. Gn 39<sup>9</sup> how then can I . . .? 44<sup>34</sup>, Is 19<sup>11</sup>, ψ 137<sup>4</sup>, and even with regard to some point of time in the past, looking forward from which an event might have been expected to take place, e. g. Gn 43<sup>7</sup> יָדָע הֲיָדָע could we in any wise know . . .? Cf. 2 S 3<sup>33</sup> (יָמוּת) was Abner to die as a fool, i. e. was he destined to die . . .?), and so probably also Gn 34<sup>31</sup> (should he deal . . .?). Very closely connected with this is the use of the imperfect—
- u (3) In a consecutive clause depending on an interrogative clause, e. g. Ex 3<sup>11</sup>, who am I (כִּי אֲנִי) that I should (ought, could) go? 16<sup>7</sup>, Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Ju 9<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>18</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>13</sup>, Is 29<sup>16</sup>, Jb 6<sup>11</sup>, 21<sup>15</sup>, similarly after אֲשֶׁר Gn 38<sup>18</sup>, Ex 5<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> But אֲשֶׁר יְזַכֵּךְ in a causal sense (because, since), e. g. Ju 22<sup>20</sup> (as אֲשֶׁר Gn 34<sup>27</sup>) is followed by the perfect. On Jos 4<sup>24</sup> see above, § 74 g.

[<sup>2</sup> R.V. because he shall not see.]

<sup>3</sup> In 2 K 2<sup>16</sup> אֲפֹר occurs with the perf. in a vivid presentment of the time when the fear is realized and the remedy comes too late. (In 2 S 2c<sup>6</sup>, since a perfect consec. follows, read with Driver יִמְצָא.)

<sup>4</sup> By this, of course, is not meant that these finer distinctions were consciously present to the Hebrew mind. They are rather mere expedients for making intelligible to ourselves the full significance of the Semitic imperfect.

Rem. In passages like 1 S 11<sup>5</sup>, ψ 8<sup>5</sup>, 114<sup>5</sup>, the context shows that the *u* imperfect corresponds rather to our present. In such sentences the perfect also is naturally used in referring to completed actions, e.g. Gn 20<sup>10</sup>, Ju 18<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 7<sup>18</sup>, Is 22<sup>1</sup>.

(4) In *negative sentences* to express actions, &c., which cannot or *w* should not happen, e.g. Gn 32<sup>13</sup> אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִסְפָּר מִרְבּוֹ *which cannot be numbered for multitude*; 20<sup>9</sup> אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יַעֲשֶׂה *that ought not to be done* (cf. above, g); ψ 5<sup>5</sup>.

(5) In *conditional clauses* (the *modus conditionalis* corresponding *x* to the Latin present or imperfect conjunctive) both in the protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter, ψ 23<sup>4</sup> וְלֹא-אֵינִי רָע . . . אֶפְרָאִי . . . *yea, though I walk (or had to walk) . . . I fear (or I would fear) no evil*; Jb 9<sup>20</sup> *though I be righteous, mine own mouth shall condemn me*. After a perfect in the protasis, e.g. Jb 23<sup>10</sup>. Very frequently also in an apodosis, the protasis to which must be supplied from the context, e.g. Jb 5<sup>8</sup> *but as for me, I would seek unto God (were I in thy place)*; 3<sup>13,16</sup>, 14<sup>14</sup>, ψ 55<sup>13</sup>, Ru 1<sup>12</sup>. However, some of the imperfects in these examples are probably intended as jussive forms. Cf. § 109 h.

### § 108. *Use of the Cohortative.*

The cohortative, i.e. according to § 48 c, the 1st pers.<sup>1</sup> sing. or *a* plur. of the imperfect lengthened by the ending ה־יָ, <sup>2</sup> represents in general an endeavour directed expressly towards a definite object. While the corresponding forms of the indicative rather express the mere announcement that an action will be undertaken, the cohortative lays stress on the determination underlying the action, and the personal interest in it.

Its uses may be divided into—

1. The cohortative standing alone, or co-ordinated with another *b* cohortative, and frequently strengthened by the addition of the particle אֲנִי:

(a) To express self-encouragement, e.g. Ex 3<sup>3</sup> אֲסֶרְהָנָא וְגַ' *I will turn aside now, and see . . . !* So especially as the result of inward deliberation (in soliloquies), e.g. Gn 18<sup>21</sup>, 32<sup>21</sup> (rarely so used after לֹא, Gn 21<sup>16</sup> *let me not look . . . !* Jer 18<sup>18</sup>), and also as a more or less emphatic statement of a fixed determination, e.g. Is 5<sup>1</sup> *I will sing* <sup>3</sup> . . . ! 5<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup>. Cf. also Gn 46<sup>30</sup> *now let me die (I am willing to die)*,

<sup>1</sup> For the few examples of cohortatives in the 3rd sing., see § 48 d.

<sup>2</sup> But verbs ה־יָ, according to § 75 l, even in the cohortative, almost always have the ending ה־יָ; cf. e.g. in Dt 32<sup>20</sup> אֲסֶרְהָנָא after אֲסֶרְהָנָא.

[<sup>3</sup> R. V. *let me sing*.]

since I have seen thy face; and  $\psi$  31<sup>8</sup>. In the 1st pers. plur. the cohortative includes a summons to others to help in doing something, e. g.  $\psi$  2<sup>3</sup>  $\text{בָּנֵהְךָ}$  come! let us break asunder! &c., and Gn 11<sup>3</sup>.

- c (b) To express a wish, or a request for permission, that one should be allowed to do something, e. g. Dt 2<sup>27</sup>  $\text{אֶעְבְּרָה}$  may I be allowed to pass through (let me pass through)! Nu 20<sup>17</sup>  $\text{נִעְבְּרָה־נָּא}$  may we be allowed to pass through! Jer 40<sup>15</sup> let me go, I pray thee! &c.; 2 S 16<sup>9</sup>; so after  $\text{לֹא}$  2 S 18<sup>14</sup>; after  $\text{לֹא־אֶל}$  2 S 24<sup>14</sup>, Jer 17<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  25<sup>2</sup>  $\text{לֹא־אֶבְשֶׁה}$  let me not be ashamed; cf.  $\psi$  31<sup>2,18</sup>, 71<sup>1</sup>; 69<sup>15</sup>. After  $\text{לֹא־נָא}$  Jon 1<sup>14</sup>.

- d 2. The cohortative in dependence on other moods, as well as in conditional sentences: (a) In dependence (with *wāw* copulative;  $\psi$  9<sup>15</sup> after  $\text{וְלִפְעֹלָה}$ ) on an imperative or jussive to express an intention or intended consequence, e. g. Gn 27<sup>4</sup> bring it to me,  $\text{וְאֵכְלָה}$  that I may eat, prop. then will I eat; Gn 19<sup>5</sup>, 23<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>56</sup>, 27<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>21</sup>, 30<sup>25f</sup>, 42<sup>34</sup>, 49<sup>1</sup>, Dt 32<sup>1</sup>, Ho 6<sup>1</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>8</sup>, 39<sup>14</sup>, Jb 10<sup>20</sup> *Qérê*; Is 5<sup>19</sup> and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come,  $\text{וְנִדְעָה$  that we may know (it)! Gn 26<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 27<sup>5</sup>. Also after negative sentences, Gn 18<sup>30,32</sup>, Ju 6<sup>39</sup>, and after interrogative sentences, 1 K 22<sup>7</sup>, Is 40<sup>25</sup>, 41<sup>26</sup>, Am 8<sup>5</sup>.

- e (b) In conditional sentences (with or without  $\text{אִם}$ ) to express a contingent intention, e. g. Jb 16<sup>6</sup>  $\text{אִם־אֶדְבַּרָה}$  should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged,  $\text{וְאֶחְדֹּלָה$  and should I forbear, what am I eased? without  $\text{אִם}$  Jb 19<sup>18</sup>, 30<sup>26</sup> (where, however,  $\text{וְאֶיחַלָה}$  is probably intended);  $\psi$  73<sup>16</sup> (unless 'נֶחֱחַ' should be read), 139<sup>8f</sup>. After the 3rd person, Jb 11<sup>17</sup> though it be dark, &c. So perhaps also 2 S 22<sup>35</sup>  $\text{אֶדְרֹפָה}$  if I determined to pursue, then . . . , but cf.  $\psi$  18<sup>38</sup>.

- f (c) Likewise in the apodosis of conditional sentences, e. g. Jb 31<sup>7f</sup>. if my step hath turned out of the way . . . ,  $\text{אֶזְרָעָה}$  then let me sow; cf. 16<sup>4f</sup>. I also could speak as ye do, if . . . ! So even when the condition must be supplied from the context, e. g.  $\psi$  40<sup>6</sup> else would I declare and speak of them; 51<sup>18</sup> else would I (gladly) give it, i. e. if thou didst require it (cf. the precisely similar  $\text{וְאֶשָּׂא}$   $\psi$  55<sup>13</sup>); Jb 6<sup>10</sup>. In the 1st plur. Jer 20<sup>10</sup>. To the same category belong the cohortatives after the formula expressing a wish  $\text{מִי־יִתֵּן, מִי־יִתֵּן}$ , e. g. Jer 9<sup>1</sup> oh, that I had . . . ,  $\text{וְאֶעֱזָבָה}$  then (i. e. if I had) should I (or would I) leave my people, &c.; Ju 9<sup>29</sup>; without *Wāw* Is 27<sup>4</sup>,  $\psi$  55<sup>7</sup>, Jb 23<sup>4</sup> (cf. also verse 7).

- g Rem. 1. The question, whether a resolution formed under compulsion (a necessity) is also expressed by the cohortative (so, according to the prevailing opinion, in Is 38<sup>10</sup>  $\text{אֶלְכָה}$ ; Jer 3<sup>25</sup>, 4<sup>19,21</sup>, 6<sup>10</sup>,  $\psi$  55<sup>3,18</sup> (?); 57<sup>5</sup>, where, however, with Hupfeld,  $\text{שְׂכַבְהָ}$  should be read; 77<sup>7</sup>, 88<sup>16</sup>, and in the 1st plur. Is 59<sup>10</sup>), is to be answered in the sense that in these examples the cohortative form is used after its meaning has become entirely lost, merely for the sake of its fuller sound, instead of the ordinary imperfect. This view is strongly

supported by the rather numerous examples of cohortative forms after *wāw* consec. of the imperfect (cf. § 49 e, as also  $\psi$  66<sup>6</sup> שָׂם נִשְׂמְחָה שָׂם there did we rejoice<sup>1</sup>;  $\psi$  119<sup>168</sup> וְאֶחָדָם עָבַדָהּ; Pr 7<sup>7</sup>), which can likewise only be explained as forms chosen merely for euphony, and therefore due to considerations of rhythm.

2. The cohortative is strange after עָרַךְ  $\psi$  73<sup>17</sup> until I went . . . אֶבְיֵנָה I considered their latter end; possibly a pregnant construction for 'until I made up my mind, saying, I will consider', &c. (but אֶבְיֵנָה Pr 7<sup>7</sup> is still dependent on the preceding  $\eta$ ); עָרַךְ אֶרְגֵּעַ Pr 12<sup>19</sup> is at any rate to be explained in the same way (in Jer 49<sup>19</sup>, 50<sup>44</sup> we have כִּי־אֶ with a similar meaning), as long as I (intentionally) wink with the eyelashes (shall wink). On the other hand, in Ex 32<sup>30</sup> אֶכַּפֶּר־ is to be read, with the Samaritan, instead of אֶכַּפֶּרָה after אֵילִי.

### § 109. Use of the Jussive.

As the cohortative is used in the 1st pers., so the jussive is especially *a* found in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. to express a more or less definite desire that something should or should not happen (cf. for its form, which frequently coincides with that of the ordinary imperfect,<sup>2</sup> § 48 f, g). More particularly its uses may be distinguished as follows:

1. The jussive standing alone, or co-ordinated with another jussive:

(a) In affirmative sentences to express a command, a wish (or a *b* blessing), advice, or a request; in the last case (the optative or precative) it is frequently strengthened by the addition of נָא. Examples: Gn 1<sup>3</sup> יְהִי אֹרֶךְ let there be light! Gn 1<sup>6,9,11</sup>, &c. (the creative commands); Nu 6<sup>26</sup> the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace! cf. verse 25. After particles expressing a wish, Gn 30<sup>34</sup> לִי יְהִי I would it might be;  $\psi$  81<sup>9</sup> אִם־תִּשְׁמַע־לִי if thou wouldst hearken unto me! As a humble request, Gn 44<sup>33</sup> . . . וְהָעֶרְבָדָךְ . . . יִשְׁבֶּנָא עִבְדְּךָ let thy servant, I pray thee, abide, &c., and let the lad go up, &c., Gn 47<sup>4</sup>.

(b) In negative sentences to express prohibition or dissuasion, *c* warning, a negative wish (or imprecation), and a request. The prohibitive particle used before the jussive (according to § 107 o) is almost always אַל־ (in negative desires and requests frequently

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this cohortative (as equivalent to the imperfect) after שָׂם is the use of the historic imperf. after אָז, § 107 c.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to verbs לָחַץ, it is true that the full form of the imperfect is frequently used with the meaning of the jussive (as also for the cohortative, see § 108 a, note 2), e.g. אֲלִירָאָה Jb 3<sup>9</sup> (but previously יָקוּ let it look for!): especially in (Neh 2<sup>3</sup>) and immediately before the principal pause, Gn 1<sup>9</sup> תִּרְאָה; Ju 6<sup>39</sup> יִהְיֶה, but previously יִהְיֶנָא; Is 47<sup>3</sup> תִּרְאָה, previously תִּגְלֵל;  $\psi$  109<sup>7</sup>. On the attempt to distinguish such jussives from the imperfect by means of a special meaning הִנֵּה, see § 75 hh.

אֵלֶּיךָ); e.g. Ex 34<sup>3</sup> אִישׁ אֶל־יָרֵא neither let any man be seen! Pr 3<sup>7</sup> בֵּהֱמוֹתֶיךָ (אֶל־הַחַיִּים) wise in thine own eyes! Jb 15<sup>31</sup> אֲלֵי־אֲמִן ne confidat. In the form of a request (prayer), Dt 9<sup>26</sup> אֶל־תִּשְׁחַח destroy not! 1 K 2<sup>20</sup>, ψ 27<sup>9</sup>, 69<sup>18</sup>.

d Rem. 1. The few examples of אֵלֶּיךָ with the jussive could at most have arisen from the attempt to moderate subsequently by means of the jussive (voluntative) form what was at first intended to be a strict command (אֵלֶּיךָ with imperf. indic.); probably, however, they are either cases in which the defective writing has been misunderstood (as in 1 K 2<sup>6</sup>, Ez 48<sup>14</sup>), or (as in Gn 24<sup>8</sup>) instances of the purely rhythmical jussive form treated below, under k. Moreover, cf. יִסְקֶה לֹא Jo 2<sup>2</sup> and from the same verb Gn 4<sup>12</sup> (unless it is to be referred to הִ) and Dt 13<sup>1</sup>. The same form, however, appears also to stand three times for the cohortative (see below), and in Nu 22<sup>19</sup> for the ordinary imperfect (but see below, i). Thus it is doubtful whether an imaginary by-form of the ordinary imperf. is not intended by the Masora in all these cases, and whether consequently יִסְקֶה, &c., should not be restored.—On אֶל־תִּחַחֻם עֵינֶיךָ, &c., Dt 7<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, &c., Ez 5<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. § 72 r, according to which תִּחַחֻם should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after אֵלֶּיךָ 1 S 14<sup>36</sup> וְאֶל־נִשְׁאָר co-ordinated with two cohortatives, 2 S 17<sup>12</sup>; cf. Is 41<sup>28</sup> K<sup>th</sup>. (וְנָרָא, i.e. וְנִרְאָה, after another cohortative); also (see above) אֵלֶּיךָ Dt 18<sup>16</sup>, Ho 9<sup>15</sup>, and even without אֵלֶּיךָ Ez 5<sup>16</sup>.

e 2. אֵלֶּיךָ with the jussive (or imperf., cf. § 107 p) is used sometimes to express the conviction that something cannot or should not happen; cf. Is 2<sup>9</sup> where, however, the text is very doubtful) וְאֶל־תִּשְׁאָל לָהֶם and thou canst not possibly forgive them [R.V. therefore forgive them not]; ψ 34<sup>6</sup>, 41<sup>3</sup>, 50<sup>3</sup>, 121<sup>3</sup> (אֶל־יִתֵּן); Pr 3<sup>25</sup>, Jb 5<sup>22</sup> אֶל־תִּירָא neither needest thou be afraid; 20<sup>17</sup>, 40<sup>22</sup>.

f 2. The jussive depending on other moods, or in conditional sentences:

(a) Depending<sup>1</sup> (with *Wāw*) on an imperative or cohortative to express an intention or an assurance of a contingent occurrence, e.g. Gn 24<sup>61</sup> take her and go, and let her be (וְתִהְיֶה prop. and she will be) . . . ; 30<sup>3</sup>, 31<sup>37</sup>, 38<sup>24</sup>, Ex 8<sup>4</sup>, 9<sup>13</sup>, 10<sup>17</sup>, 14<sup>2</sup>, Jos 4<sup>16</sup>, Ju 6<sup>30</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>10</sup>, ψ 144<sup>5</sup>, Pr 20<sup>22</sup>, Jb 14<sup>6</sup>. Also after interrogative sentences, which include a demand, Est 7<sup>2</sup> (say) what is thy desire . . . , וְהָעֵשׂ and it shall (i.e. in order that it may) be granted! 1 K 22<sup>20</sup>, Is 19<sup>12</sup>, Jb 38<sup>34</sup>. Depending on a cohortative, e.g. Gn 19<sup>20</sup> נָא שְׁמָה נָא אֶמְלִטָה oh, let me escape thither . . . וְתָחִי נַפְשִׁי that my soul may live; even after a simple imperf. (cf. below, g), 1 K 13<sup>33</sup> whosoever would, he consecrated him . . . יִהְיֶה that he might be a priest (read בָּהֶן) of the high places, but probably the LXX reading יִהְיֶה is to be preferred.

<sup>1</sup> This does not include the cases in which the jussive is not logically dependent on a preceding imperat., but is merely co-ordinated, e.g. Gn 20<sup>7</sup>, ψ 27<sup>14</sup>, &c.

Rem. In 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> a negative final clause with  $\text{וְלֹא־}$  is dependent on an *g* imperative, *forbear from (meddling with) God . . . that he destroy thee not*. As a rule, however, negative final clauses are attached to the principal sentence by means of  $\text{וְלֹא־}$  and a following imperfect; so after an imperative, Gn 42<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>44</sup>; after a jussive, Ex 30<sup>20</sup>, Neh 6<sup>9</sup>; after a perfect consec., Ex 28<sup>35,43</sup>, 30<sup>12</sup>, Nu 18<sup>5</sup>; after  $\text{לֹא־}$  with an imperfect, Lv 10<sup>6</sup>, Nu 18<sup>3</sup>, Dt 17<sup>17</sup> *neither shall he multiply wives unto himself* ( $\text{וְלֹא־יִסֹר לְכָבוֹ}$ ) *that his heart turn not away*; 1 S 20<sup>14</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>17</sup>, Jer 11<sup>21</sup>; after  $\text{אַל־}$  with jussive, Lv 10<sup>9</sup>, 11<sup>43</sup>, 16<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>25</sup>, Jer 25<sup>6</sup>, 37<sup>20</sup>, 38<sup>24 f.</sup>; after the asseverative  $\text{כִּי־}$  with the impft., Gn 14<sup>23</sup>; even after a simple imperfect, Jer 10<sup>4</sup> *with nails . . . they fasten it* ( $\text{וְלֹא־יָפִיץ}$ ) *that it move not*; after a participle, Jb 9<sup>7</sup>.

(b) Frequently in conditional sentences (as in Arabic), either in the *h* protasis or in the apodosis, cf.  $\psi$  45<sup>12</sup>  $\text{יִתְחַוֵּי}$  *should he desire . . . then . . .*; 104<sup>20</sup>  $\text{וְהָיָה . . . תְּשֵׁת}$  *if thou makest darkness, then it is night*; so also in the protasis, Ex 22<sup>4</sup>, Lv 15<sup>24</sup>, Is 41<sup>26</sup>, Ez 14<sup>7</sup> ( $\text{וְיָעַל}$ ), Jb 34<sup>29</sup>; in the apodosis, Ex 7<sup>9</sup> *then will it (not, then shall it) become a serpent*; Pr 9<sup>9</sup> after an imperat. in the protasis; Jb 10<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 22<sup>28</sup>. In a negative apodosis, Gn 4<sup>12</sup> ( $\text{לֹא־תִסְרָה}$ ), but see above, *d*). In 2 K 6<sup>27</sup>  $\text{אֶל־יִשְׁעֶיךָ}$  (*if the Lord do not help thee, &c.*) is to be explained as a jussive in a negative protasis.

Rem. Undoubtedly this use of the jussive (in conditional sentences) is based *i* on its original *voluntative* meaning; let something be so and so, then this or that must happen as a consequence. Certain other examples of the *jussive*, however, show that in the consciousness of the language the *voluntative* has in such cases become weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and hence the *jussive* serves to express facts which may happen *contingently*, or may be expected, e.g. Nu 22<sup>19</sup>  $\text{מִה־יִסְרָה}$ , but cf. above, *d*); Jb 9<sup>33</sup> *there is no daysman betwixt us, that might lay* ( $\text{יִשֵּׁת}$ ), hence plainly a *subjunctive* = *qui ponat*; also in Nu 23<sup>19</sup>  $\text{וְיִכְנֹה}$  *that he should lie* is probably intended as a jussive); Ec 5<sup>14</sup>; so after interrogative sentences, Jer 9<sup>11</sup> *who is the wise man*,  $\text{וְיִבִּין}$  *qui intelligat hoc?*; Ho 14<sup>10</sup>.

Moreover, in not a few cases, the jussive is used, without any collateral *k* sense, for the ordinary imperfect form. and this occurs not alone in forms, which may arise from a misunderstanding of the defective writing, as Dt 28<sup>21,36</sup>, 32<sup>8</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>1</sup>, Is 12<sup>1</sup>, Mi 3<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>8</sup>,  $\psi$  11<sup>6</sup>, 18<sup>12</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>  $\text{מִה־יָעַל}$  ( $\text{מִה־יָעַל}$ , *Keek*), 25<sup>9</sup>, 47<sup>4</sup>, 90<sup>3</sup>, 91<sup>4</sup>, 107<sup>29</sup>, Pr 15<sup>25</sup>, Jb 13<sup>27</sup>, 15<sup>33</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup>, 27<sup>22</sup>, 33<sup>11</sup>, 36<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>24</sup>, Ec 12<sup>6</sup> (verse 7  $\text{יִשָּׁב}$ ), but immediately afterwards  $\text{תִּשָּׁב}$ ), Dn 8<sup>12</sup>,—but also in shortened forms, such as  $\text{יָהִי}$  Gu 49<sup>17</sup> (Sam.  $\text{יִהְיֶה}$ ), Dt 28<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>24</sup>, Ho 6<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup>, Am 5<sup>14</sup>, Mi 1<sup>2</sup>, Zp 2<sup>13</sup>, Zc 9<sup>5</sup>,  $\psi$  72<sup>16 f.</sup> (after other jussives), 104<sup>31</sup>, Jb 18<sup>12</sup>, 20<sup>23,26,28</sup>, 27<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>21</sup>, 34<sup>87</sup>, Ru 3<sup>4</sup>. This use of the jussive can hardly be due merely to poetic licence, but is rather to be explained on rhythmical grounds. In all the above-cited examples, in fact, the jussive stands at the beginning of the sentence (and hence removed as far as possible from the principal tone), in others it is immediately before the principal pause (Is 42<sup>6</sup>, 50<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>15</sup>, Pr 23<sup>26</sup>, Jb 24<sup>14</sup>, 29<sup>3</sup>, 40<sup>19</sup>), or actually *in* pause (Dt 32<sup>18</sup>, Jb 23<sup>9,11</sup>, La 3<sup>50</sup>), and is then a simply rhythmical shortening due to the strong influence of the tone. Moreover, since the jussive in numerous cases is not distinguished in form from the imperfect (§ 48 g), it is frequently doubtful which of the two the writer intended. This especially applies to those cases, in which a *subjunctive* is to be expressed by one or other of the forms (cf. § 107 k and m-x).

## § 110. The Imperative.

Mayer Lambert, 'Sur la syntaxe de l'impératif en hébreu,' in *REJ.* 1897, p. 106 ff.

*a* 1. The imperative,<sup>1</sup> which, according to § 46, is restricted to the 2nd pers. sing. and plur., and to *positive* commands, &c., may stand either alone, or in simple co-ordination (as in 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, Is 56<sup>1</sup>, 65<sup>18</sup>) with other imperatives:

(*a*) To express real commands, e.g. Gn 12<sup>1</sup> *get thee out of thy country*; or (like the jussive) mere admonitions (Ho 10<sup>12</sup>) and requests, 2 K 5<sup>22</sup>, Is 5<sup>3</sup>; on the addition of אַךְ see below, Rem. 1. The imperative is used in the sense of an ironical challenge (often including a threat) in 1 K 22<sup>22</sup> *ask for him the kingdom also*; 22<sup>15</sup>, Ju 10<sup>14</sup>, Is 47<sup>12</sup> (with אַךְ), Jer 7<sup>21</sup>, Ez 20<sup>39</sup>, Am 4<sup>4</sup>, Jb 38<sup>31</sup>, 40<sup>10π</sup>, La 4<sup>21</sup>. The imperative has a concessive sense in Na 3<sup>15</sup> (though thou *make thyself many*, &c.), and in the cases discussed under *f*, e.g. Is 8<sup>9f</sup>, 29<sup>9</sup>.

*b* (*b*) To express permission, e.g. 2 S 18<sup>23</sup> after previous dissuasion, (then) *run* (as far as I am concerned)! Is 21<sup>12</sup>, 45<sup>11</sup>.

*c* (*c*) To express a distinct assurance (like our expression, *thou shalt have it*)<sup>2</sup> or promise, e.g. Is 65<sup>18</sup> *but be ye glad*, &c. (i.e. ye will have continually occasion to be glad); and Is 37<sup>30</sup>, ψ 110<sup>2</sup>; in a threat, Jer 2<sup>19</sup>. So especially in commands, the fulfilment of which is altogether out of the power of the person addressed, e.g. Is 54<sup>14</sup> *be far from anxiety* (meaning, thou needst not fear any more); Gn 1<sup>28</sup>, &c. (for other examples, such as 1 K 22<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>13</sup>, see below, *f*). Most clearly in the case of the imperative *Niph'al* with a passive meaning, e.g. Gn 42<sup>16</sup> וְאַתֶּם הָאֲסוּרִים *and ye shall be bound*; Dt 32<sup>50</sup>, Is 49<sup>9</sup> (Is 45<sup>22</sup>, see below, *f*).

*d* Rem. 1. The particle אַךְ *age*! (§ 105) is frequently added to the imperative, as to the jussive, sometimes to soften down a command, or to make a request in a more courteous form (see above, *a*), Gn 12<sup>13</sup>, 24<sup>2</sup>, sometimes to strengthen an exhortation uttered as a rebuke or threat (Nu 16<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup>) or in ridicule (Is 47<sup>12</sup>).

*e* 2. The imperative after the desiderative particle הִנֵּה Gn 23<sup>15</sup> (at the end of verses 5 and 14 also read הִנֵּה for הִנֵּה and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anacoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after הִנֵּה, the more forcible imperative is used in a new sentence.

*f* 2. The imperative in logical dependence upon a preceding imperative, jussive (or cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, serves to

<sup>1</sup> On the close relation between the imperative and jussive (both in meaning and form), cf. § 46 and § 48 *i*.

<sup>2</sup> Like the threatening formulae in the Latin comic writers, e.g. *vapula*, Ter. Phorm. v. 6, 10 = *vapulare te iubeo*, Plaut. Curc. vi. 4, 12.

express the distinct assurance or promise that an action or state will ensue as the certain consequence of a previous action. So especially:

(a) The imperative when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon another imperative. In this case the first imperative contains, as a rule, a condition, while the second declares the consequence which the fulfilment of the condition will involve. The imperative is used for this declaration, since the consequence is, as a matter of fact, intended or desired by the speaker (cf. *divide et impera*), e.g. Gn 42<sup>18</sup> וְאַתָּה עֲשֵׂה וְחַיִּי *this do, and live*, i.e. thus shall ye continue to live. Gn 17<sup>1</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>13</sup>, Is 36<sup>16</sup>, 45<sup>22</sup> (וְהַיִּשְׁעוּ), Jer 6<sup>16</sup>, Am 5<sup>4,6</sup>, ψ 37<sup>27</sup>, Pr 3<sup>3f</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>20</sup> *Keth.*, Jb 2<sup>9</sup>, 2 Ch 20<sup>20</sup>; in Jer 25<sup>5</sup>, Jb 22<sup>21</sup> נָא is added to the first imperative. In other cases, the first imperative contains a mocking concession, the second an irrevocable denunciation, e.g. Is 8<sup>9</sup> וְהָרַעְתִּי עַמִּים (continue to) *make an uproar, O ye peoples, and ye shall be broken in pieces*; cf. verse 9 b.

Rem. 1. If a promise or threat dependent on an imperative be expressed in the 3rd pers. then the jussive is naturally used instead of the 2nd imperative <sup>g</sup> Is 8<sup>10</sup>, 55<sup>2</sup>.

2. In Pr 20<sup>13</sup> the second imperative (containing a promise) is attached by *h* asyndeton; elsewhere two imperatives occur side by side without the copula, where the second might be expected to be subordinated to the first, e.g. Dt 24<sup>4</sup> רָשָׁה הָחֵל (where רָשָׁה is virtually, as it were, an object to הָחֵל) *begin, take in possession for to take in possession* (cf., however, Ju 19<sup>6</sup> וְלֵין הוֹאֵל נָא *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night*, and on this kind of co-ordination in general, cf. § 120 d). But such imperatives as קוּם (קוּמָה), when immediately preceding a second imperative, are for the most part only equivalent to interjections, *come! up!*

(b) The imperative, when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon *i* a jussive (cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, frequently expresses also a consequence which is to be expected with certainty, and often a consequence which is intended, or in fact an intention; cf. Gn 20<sup>7</sup> *and he shall pray for thee*, וְחַיִּי *and thou shalt live*; cf. Ex 14<sup>16</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>10</sup>, Jb 11<sup>6</sup>, ψ 128<sup>5</sup> *the Lord bless thee . . . so that* (or *in order that*) *thou seest*, &c.; Ru 1<sup>9</sup>, 4<sup>11</sup>; after a cohortative, Gn 12<sup>2</sup>, 45<sup>18</sup>, Ex 3<sup>10</sup> וְהוֹצֵאת *that thou mayest bring forth*; Ex 18<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>12</sup>; Jer 35<sup>15</sup> (after imperative and jussive); after an interrogative sentence, 2 S 21<sup>3</sup> *wherewith shall I make atonement*, וְיִבְרַכְּךָ *that ye may bless*, &c.—In Nu 5<sup>19</sup> the imperative without ! (in 32<sup>23</sup> with !) is used after a conditional clause in the sense of a definite promise.

Rem. The 2nd sing. masc. occurs in addressing feminine persons in Ju 4<sup>20</sup> *k* (עֲמֹר, according to Qimḥi an infinitive, in which case, however, the infinitive absolute עֲמַר should be read; but probably we should simply read עֲמָרִי with Moore), Mi 1<sup>3</sup> and Zc 13<sup>7</sup> (after עֲמָרִי); and in Is 23<sup>1</sup>, the 2nd plur. masc. (On

the four forms of the 2nd fem. plur. imperative in Is 32<sup>11</sup>, erroneously explained here in former editions, see now § 48 i). In Na 3<sup>16</sup> the interchange of masc. and fem. serves to express totality (the nation in all its aspects). Cf., moreover, § 145 p on other noticeable attempts to substitute the corresponding masculine forms for the feminine.

### § 111. The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

- a** 1. The *imperfect with wāw consecutive* (§ 49 a-g) serves to express actions, events, or states, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or states mentioned immediately<sup>1</sup> before. The *imperfect consecutive* is used in this way most frequently as the *narrative tense*, corresponding to the Greek *aorist* or the Latin *historic perfect*. As a rule the narrative is introduced by a perfect, and then continued by means of imperfects with *wāw consecutive* (on this interchange of tenses cf. § 49 a, and especially § 112 a), e.g. Gn 3<sup>1</sup> *now the serpent was* (וַיִּהְיֶה) *more subtil . . . and he said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *unto the woman*; 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>9a</sup>, 10<sup>9f</sup>, 15<sup>19</sup>, 11<sup>12a</sup>, 27<sup>a</sup>, 14<sup>5f</sup>, 15<sup>1f</sup>, 16<sup>1f</sup>, 21<sup>1a</sup>, 24<sup>1f</sup>, 25<sup>19a</sup>, 36<sup>2a</sup>, 37<sup>a</sup>.
- b** Rem. 1. To this class belong some of the numerous *imperfects consec.* after various expressions of time, whenever such expressions are equivalent in meaning to a perfect<sup>2</sup> (viz. וַיָּבֵיט it came to pass), e.g. Is 6<sup>1</sup> *in the year that king Uzziah died, I saw* (וַיֵּרָא), &c.; Gn 22<sup>4</sup>, 27<sup>34</sup>, Ju 11<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>19</sup>, 17<sup>67</sup>, 21<sup>8</sup>, Ho 11<sup>1</sup>: on the use of וַיִּהְיֶה to connect expressions of time, see below, g.—It is only in late books or passages that we find the simple *perfect* in a clause following an expression of time, as 1 S 17<sup>66</sup> (cf. Driver on the passage), 2 Ch 12<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>8</sup>, &c., Dn 10<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>19</sup>; the *Perfect* after וַי and the subject, 2 Ch 7<sup>1</sup>.
- c** 2. The continuation of the narrative by means of the imperfect consec. may result in a series of any number of such imperfects, e.g. there are forty-nine in Gn. 1. As soon, however, as the connecting *Wāw* becomes separated from the verb to which it belongs, by the insertion of any word, the perfect necessarily takes the place of the imperfect, e.g. Gn 1<sup>6</sup> *and God called* (וַיִּקְרָא) *the light Day, and the darkness he called* (וַיִּקְרָא לַלַּיְלָה לַלַּיְלָה) *Night*; verse 10, 2<sup>20</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup> and frequently.
- d** 3. Of two co-ordinate *imperfects consecutive* the former (as equivalent to a temporal clause) is most frequently subordinate in sense to the latter, e.g. Gn 28<sup>8f</sup>. וַיֵּלֶךְ . . . וַיֵּשֶׁב יִצְחָק when Esau saw that . . . , he went, &c.; so also, frequently וַיִּשְׁמַע, &c., Gn 37<sup>21</sup>, &c. On the other hand, a second *imperfect consecutive* is seldom used in an explanatory sense, e.g. Ex 2<sup>10</sup> וַתֵּאמֶר for she said; cf. 1 S 7<sup>12</sup>. Other examples of the imperfect consecutive, which apparently represent a progress in the narrative, in reality only refer to the same time, or explain what precedes, see Gn 2<sup>25</sup> וַיְהִי they were; but Jos 4<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>8</sup> they are; Gn 36<sup>14</sup> (וַתֵּלֶךְ), 36<sup>32</sup> (וַיִּמְלֹךְ), 1 K 1<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On an apparent exception (the *imperf. consec.* at the beginning of whole books) see § 49 b note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Is 45<sup>4</sup>, where the *imperf. consec.* is joined to an abrupt statement of the cause, and Jb 36<sup>7</sup>, where it is joined to an abrupt statement of the place.

4. The imperfect consecutive sometimes has such a merely external connexion with an immediately preceding perfect, that in reality it represents an antithesis to it, e.g. Gn 32<sup>31</sup> and (yet) my life is preserved; 2 S 3<sup>8</sup> and yet thou chargest me; Jb 10<sup>8</sup>, 32<sup>3</sup>; similarly in dependence on noun-clauses, Pr 30<sup>25</sup> ff.

2. The introduction of independent narratives, or of a new section *f* of the narrative, by means of an *imperfect consecutive*, likewise aims at a connexion, though again loose and external, with that which has been narrated previously. Such a connexion is especially often established by means of וַיְהִי (καὶ ἐγένετο) and it came to pass, after which there then follows either (most commonly) an *imperfect consecutive* (Gn 4<sup>3,8</sup>, 8<sup>6</sup>, 11<sup>2</sup>, Ex 12<sup>29</sup>, 13<sup>17</sup>, &c.), or *Wāw* with the perfect (separated from it), Gn 7<sup>10</sup>, 15<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>1</sup>, 27<sup>30</sup>, or even a perfect without *Wāw* (Gn 8<sup>13</sup>, 14<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>1</sup>, Ex 12<sup>41</sup>, 16<sup>22</sup>, Nu 10<sup>11</sup>, Dt 1<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>30</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>21</sup>, &c.), or finally a noun-clause introduced by *Wāw*, Gn 41<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. 1. This loose connexion by means of וַיְהִי<sup>1</sup> is especially common, *g* when the narrative or a new section of it begins with any expression of time, see above, *b*; cf., in addition to the above-mentioned examples (e.g. Gn 22<sup>1</sup> and it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham), the similar cases in Gn 19<sup>34</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>11</sup>, Ru 1<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere the statement of time is expressed by וְ or וַ with an infinitive (Gn 12<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>17,29</sup> 39<sup>13</sup>, 15<sup>18</sup> f., Ju 16<sup>25</sup>) or by an independent sentence with the perfect (equivalent to a pluperfect, cf. § 106 *f*), e.g. Gn 15<sup>17</sup>, 24<sup>15</sup>, 27<sup>30</sup>, or by a temporal clause introduced by כִּי when, Gn 26<sup>8</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, Ju 16<sup>16</sup>, וְכַאֲשֶׁר when, Gn 12<sup>11</sup>, 20<sup>13</sup>, מֵאָז from the time that, Gn 39<sup>5</sup>; or, finally, by a noun-clause (cf. § 116 *u*), e.g. 2 K 13<sup>21</sup> וַיְהִי הֵם קִבְּרִים אִשׁ and it came to pass, as they were (just) burying a man (prop. they burying), that . . . ; Gn 42<sup>35</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>11</sup> (the apodosis in both these cases being introduced by וְהָיָה); 1 S 7<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>30</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>26</sup>, 19<sup>37</sup> (= Is 37<sup>38</sup>).—In 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>23</sup>, 15<sup>2</sup> a noun standing absolutely follows וַיְהִי (as the equivalent of a complete sentence; see below, *h*), and then an *imperfect consecutive* follows.

2. Closely related to the cases noticed in *g* are those in which the *imperfect consecutive*, even without a preceding וַיְהִי, introduces the apodosis either—*h* (a) to whole sentences, or (b) to what are equivalent to whole sentences, especially to nouns standing absolutely. As in certain cases of the *perfect consecutive* (see § 112 *x*), so the *imperfect consecutive* has here acquired a sort of independent force. Cf. for (a) 1 S 15<sup>23</sup> because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, וַיִּמָּאֶסֶךְ he hath rejected thee (cf. Nu 14<sup>16</sup>, Is 48<sup>4</sup>, where the causal clause precedes in the form of an infinitive with preposition), Ex 9<sup>21</sup>; for (b) Gn 22<sup>24</sup> וַיְבִלְיָנִשׁוּ and (as to) his concubine . . . , וַתֵּבָרֶךְ she bare, &c.; Ex 38<sup>24</sup>, Nu 14<sup>36</sup> f., 1 S 14<sup>19</sup>, 17<sup>24</sup>, 2 S 4<sup>10</sup>, 19<sup>41</sup> *Ke*th., 21<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 9<sup>20</sup> f., 12<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>22</sup>, Jer 6<sup>19</sup>, 28<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>24</sup>, 44<sup>26</sup>.<sup>2</sup>—In 1 K 15<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>14</sup> the preceding noun, used absolutely, is even regarded as the object of the following *imperfect consecutive*, and is therefore introduced by אֶת.

<sup>1</sup> Exhaustive statistics of the use of וַיְהִי in its many and various connexions are given by König in ZAW. 1899, p. 260 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5 (Omri) the king of Israel, וַיַּעֲנֵי he oppressed Moab, &c.—The peculiar *imperfect consecutive* in Gn 30<sup>27b</sup> (in the earlier editions explained as equivalent to an object-clause) arises rather from a pregnant brevity of expression: I have observed and have come to the conclusion, the Lord hath blessed me, &c.—In Gn 27<sup>34</sup> read, with LXX, וַיְהִי before בִּשְׁמֵעַ.

i 3. The *imperfect consecutive* serves, in the cases treated under *a-h*, to represent either expressly, or at least to a great extent, a *chronological* succession of actions or events; elsewhere it expresses those actions, &c., which represent the logical consequence of what preceded, or a result arising from it by an inherent necessity. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* is used—

k (a) As a final summing up of the preceding narrative, e.g. Gn 2<sup>1</sup>, 23<sup>20</sup> וַיֵּקַם הַשָּׂדֶה וְגו' so (in this way) *the field became* (legally) *the property of Abraham, &c.*; 1 S 17<sup>50</sup>, 31<sup>6</sup>.

l (b) To express a logical or necessary consequence of that which immediately precedes, e.g. Gn 39<sup>2</sup>, Jb 2<sup>3</sup> and *he still holdeth fast his integrity*, וַיִּתְּן יְהוָה וְיִתְּנֵהוּ so *that thou thus* (as it now appears) *groundlessly movedst me against him*; ψ 65<sup>9</sup> so *that they are afraid* . . . ; even a consequence which happens conditionally, Jer 20<sup>17</sup> וַיְהִי יְהוָה so *that my mother should have been* . . . . Another instance of the kind perhaps (if the text be correct) is Jer 38<sup>9</sup> וַיָּמָת so *that he dies* (must die).

m Rem. Such consecutive clauses frequently occur after interrogative sentences, e.g. Is 51<sup>12</sup> *who art thou* (i.e. *art thou so helpless*), וַיִּירָא יְהוָה that *thou art (must needs be) afraid?* ψ 144<sup>3</sup> (cf. ψ 85, where in a very similar context כִּי that is used with the imperfect); Gn 12<sup>19</sup> (וַיִּשְׁלַח) 31<sup>27</sup> וַיִּשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק so *that I might have sent thee away*.

4. As regards the range of time it is to be carefully noticed—

n (a) That the *imperfect consecutive* may represent all varieties in the relations of tense and mood, which, according to § 107 *a*, follow from the idea of the imperfect;

o (b) That the more precise determination of the range of time to which an *imperfect consecutive* relates must be inferred in each case from the character of the preceding tense (or tense-equivalent), to which it is attached, in a more or less close relation, as temporal or logical sequence. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* serves—

p (1) To represent actions, events, or states, which are *past* (or were repeated in past time), when it is united with tenses, or their equivalents, which refer to an actual past.

q Cf. the examples given above, under *a* and *f*, of the *imperfect consecutive* as an historic tense. The *imperfect consecutive* also frequently occurs as the continuation of a perfect (*preterite*) in a subordinate clause; e.g. Gn 27<sup>1</sup>, Nu 11<sup>20</sup>, Dt 4<sup>27</sup>, 1 S 8<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>5</sup>, 11<sup>33</sup>, 18<sup>13</sup>, &c.; also in Is 49<sup>7</sup> וַיִּבְחַרְךָ is the continuation of a preterite, contained, according to the sense, in the preceding אֲנִי אֲשֶׁר נִבְחַרְתִּי.—In Jb 31<sup>26,34</sup> the *imperfect consecutive* is joined to an imperfect denoting the past in a conditional sentence. An *imperfect consecutive* occurs in dependence on a perfect which has the sense of a pluperfect (§ 106 *f*), e.g. in Gn 26<sup>18</sup>, 28<sup>6 f.</sup>, 31<sup>19,34</sup> (now Rachel had taken the teraphim, וַתִּשְׁמֹם and had

put them, &c.); Nu 14<sup>36</sup>, 1 S 28<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>29</sup>, Is 39<sup>1</sup>. Finally there are the cases in which an infinitival or participial construction representing past time, according to § 113 r, § 116 x, is taken up and continued by an imperfect consecutive.

(2) To represent *present* actions, &c., in connexion with tenses, or *r* their equivalents, which describe actions and states as being either present or lasting on into the present (continuing in their effect); so especially,

(a) In connexion with the present perfects, described in § 106 g, e.g.  $\psi$  16<sup>9</sup> *therefore my heart is glad* (שִׂמְחָה) and *my glory rejoiceth* (וַיִּשְׂמַח); Is 3<sup>16</sup> (parallel with a simple imperfect). Cf. also such examples as  $\psi$  29<sup>10</sup> וַיֵּשֶׁב (prop. he sat down, and has been enthroned ever since),  $\psi$  41<sup>13</sup>.

(β) In connexion with those perfects which represent experiences *s* frequently confirmed (see § 106 k), e.g. Jb 14<sup>2</sup> *he cometh up* (וַיֵּצֵא) *like a flower, and is cut down* (וַיִּפֹּל); *he fleeth* (וַיִּבָּרַח) *also as a shadow*, וַיֵּמָוֶד and *continueth not*; Jb 20<sup>16</sup>, 24<sup>2,11</sup>, Is 40<sup>24</sup>, Pr 11<sup>2</sup>.

(γ) In connexion with imperfects which, in one of the ways *t* described in § 107. 2, are used in the sense of the present; e.g. Jb 14<sup>10</sup> *but man dieth* (וַיָּמוּת) and *becometh powerless* (וַיִּחַלֵּשׁ), &c., i. e. remains powerless; Jb 4<sup>5</sup>, Ho 8<sup>13</sup>, Hb 1<sup>9f.</sup>,  $\psi$  55<sup>18</sup>, 90<sup>3</sup>, Jb 5<sup>15</sup>, 7<sup>18</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup> (*when thou mockest*), 12<sup>25</sup>, 34<sup>24</sup>, 37<sup>8</sup> (parallel with a simple imperfect); 39<sup>16</sup>. In the apodosis of a conditional sentence,  $\psi$  59<sup>16</sup>, so also after an interrogative imperfect, 1 S 2<sup>29</sup>,  $\psi$  42<sup>6</sup> (וַיִּתְהַמֵּי for which in verse 12 and in 43<sup>5</sup> we have וַיִּמָּה וַיִּתְהַמֵּי and *why art thou disquieted?*).

(δ) In dependence on participles, which represent what at present *u* continues or is being repeated, e.g. Nu 22<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>6</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>2</sup> *behold the king weepeth* (בֹּכֶה) and *mourneth* (וַיִּתְאַבֵּל) *for Absalom*; Am 5<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>5f.</sup>, Na 1<sup>4</sup>,  $\psi$  34<sup>8</sup>, Pr 20<sup>26</sup>, Jb 12<sup>22ff.</sup>, but cf. e.g. Jb 12<sup>4</sup> קָרָא לְאֱלֹהִים *who called upon God*, וַיַּעֲנֵהוּ and *he answered him*.

(ε) In dependence on other equivalents of the present, as in Is 51<sup>12</sup>,  $\psi$  144<sup>3</sup> (see above, *m*); Jb 10<sup>22</sup>. So especially as the continuation of an infinitive, which is governed by a preposition (cf. § 114 r), Is 30<sup>12</sup>, Jer 10<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  92<sup>8</sup>, &c.

(3) To represent *future* actions, &c., in dependence on—(α) an *u* imperfect which refers to the future,  $\psi$  49<sup>15</sup>, 94<sup>22f.</sup>;—(β) a perfect consecutive, or those perfects which, according to § 106 n, are intended to represent future events as undoubtedly certain, and therefore as though already accomplished (*perf. propheticum*); cf. Is 5<sup>15</sup> (parallel with a simple imperfect separated from ו); 5<sup>16</sup> (cf. 2<sup>11,17</sup>, where the same threat is expressed by the perfect consecutive); 5<sup>25</sup>, 9<sup>5,10f.</sup>,

13<sup>15, 17π</sup>, 22<sup>7π</sup>, Jo 2<sup>23</sup>, Mi 2<sup>13</sup>, Ez 33<sup>4, 6</sup>, ψ 7<sup>13</sup>, 64<sup>8π</sup>;—(γ) a future participle, Jer 4<sup>16</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

x Rem. An imperfect consecutive in dependence on a perfect or imperfect, which represents an action occurring only conditionally, is likewise used only in a hypothetical sense, e. g. Jb 9<sup>16</sup> וְיִעֲנֵי אִם קָרָאתִי if I had called, and he had answered me, yet . . .; ψ 139<sup>11</sup> וְאִמַּר if I should say (previously, in verse 8 f., hypothetical imperfects are used).—In Is 48<sup>18 f.</sup> an imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a sentence expressing a wish introduced by וְיָחִי (יְהִי) *utinam* and it, or so that it were, equivalent to *then should it be*. Cf. also the examples mentioned above, under *l* (Jer 20<sup>17</sup>) and *m* (Gn 31<sup>27</sup>), where the imperfect consecutive expresses facts occurring *contingently*.

### § 112. The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive.

G. R. Berry, 'Waw consecutive with the perfect in Hebrew,' in *Bibl. Lit.*, xxii. (1903), pp. 60–69.

a 1. The perfect, like the imperfect (§ 111), is used with *wāw consecutive* (cf. § 49 a; on the external differentiation of the perfect consecutive by a change in the position of the tone, see § 49 h) to express actions, events, or states, which are to be attached to what precedes, in a more or less close relation, as its *temporal* or *logical* consequence. And as, according to § 111 a, the narrative which begins with a perfect, or its equivalent, is continued in the imperfect consecutive, so, vice versa, the perfect consecutive forms the regular continuation to a preceding imperfect, or its equivalent.

b Rem. 1. This alternation of perfect and imperfect or their equivalents is a striking peculiarity of the *consecutio temporum* in Hebrew. It not only affords a certain compensation for the lack of forms for tenses and moods, but also gives to Hebrew style the charm of an expressive variety, an action conceived as being still in progress (*imperfect*, &c.), reaching afterwards in the *perfect* a calm and settled conclusion, in order to be again exhibited in movement in the imperfect, and vice versa.<sup>2</sup> The strict regularity of this

<sup>1</sup> Also in Jer 51<sup>20</sup> the imperfects consecutive are attached to the threat virtually contained in the preceding imperatives. On the other hand וְיָחִי Ho 8<sup>10</sup> would be very remarkable as expressing a future; the text is, however, certainly corrupt, and hence the Cod. Babyl. and the Erfurt MS. 3 endeavour to remedy it by וְיָחִי, and Ewald reads וְיָחִי.—In Ez 28<sup>16</sup> (cf. Jer 15<sup>6 f.</sup>) וְאִחֲלֶיךָ appears to announce an action irrevocably determined upon, and therefore represented as already accomplished; cf. the prophetic perfects in verse 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to give a proper explanation of this phenomenon (according to § 49 a, note, to be found only in the Canaanitish group of languages), when we have given up the theory of a special *wāw conversum* in the unscientific sense mentioned in § 49 b, note, at the end, and if we accept the fact that the *perfect* and *imperfect consecutive* cannot possibly be used in a way which contradicts their fundamental character as described in §§ 106 and 107. In other words, even the *perfect consecutive* originally represents a finally completed action, &c., just as the *imperfect consecutive* represents an action which

alternation belongs indeed rather to the higher style, and even then it depends upon the view and intention of the speaker, whether he wishes the action, &c., to be regarded as the logical consequence of what has preceded, or as simply co-ordinate with it, and so in the same tense.

2. A succession of any number of other *perfects consecutive* may be co-ordinated with a *perfect consecutive* (cf. e.g. Ez 14<sup>13</sup>, Am 5<sup>19</sup>, Ru 3<sup>3</sup>, four perfects in each case, Is 8<sup>7</sup> five, Ex 6<sup>6f.</sup> eight). It is true, however, of the perfect (as conversely of the *imperfect*, § 111 c), that as soon as the *Wāw* is separated by any intervening word from the verb to which it belongs, an *imperfect* necessarily takes the place of the *perfect*, e.g. Gn 12<sup>12</sup> *when the Egyptians shall see thee, they shall say* (וַאֲמָרֻךְ), *This is his wife: and they will kill me* (וְהָרַגוּ אֹתִי) *but thee they will save alive* (וְהַחַיִּיךָ).

2. The perfect consecutive, like the imperfect consecutive, always *d* belongs to the period of time expressed by the preceding tense, or its equivalent, with which it is connected as the temporal or logical consequence. The particular cases may be classed under three heads: (a) the perfect consecutive in *immediate* dependence (see *e*), (b) in loose connexion (see *x*) with the preceding, and (c) the perfect consecutive at the beginning of the apodosis to other sentences, or their equivalents (see *ff*).

3. The perfect consecutive in immediate dependence on the pre-*e* ceding tense, or its equivalent, serves

(a) As a frequentative tense to express *past* actions, &c., i.e. actions repeatedly brought to a conclusion in the past, and follows tenses, or their equivalents, representing actions which have *continued* or been *repeated in the past*:

(a) After a simple imperfect, e.g. Gn 2<sup>6</sup> יָעָלָה אֶרֶץ מִן הָאָרֶץ there went up a mist (again and again) from the earth, וַיִּשְׁקֶה and watered (as it were, and ever watered afresh), &c. This frequentative use of the perfect consecutive is equally evident after frequentative imperfects, Gn 2<sup>10</sup> (וְהָיָה) and it became again every time; וַיְהִי would mean, and it became so once for all); 29<sup>2f.</sup> (four perfects consecutive referring to actions repeated daily); Ex 33<sup>7-11</sup> וַיֵּשֶׁב he used to take at each new encampment the tent, וַיִּנָּח and to pitch it again every time without the camp; notice, amongst the numerous frequent. perff. consec., the imperf. in vv. 7, 8, 9, 11, always in a frequentative sense; 34<sup>34f.</sup>, Nu 9<sup>19.21</sup> (among several simple imperfects), 10<sup>17</sup>, Ju 2<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>19</sup> הָעֵשָׂה

is only beginning, becoming or still continuing, and hence in any case incomplete. The simplest view is to suppose, that the use of the *perfect consecutive* originated from those cases, in which it had to express the conclusion (or final consequence) of an action which was continued (or repeated) in *past time* (see the examples above), and that this use was afterwards extended to other cases, in which it had to represent the temporal or logical consequence of actions, &c., still in progress, and thus in the end a regular interchange of the two tenses became recognized.

she used to make . . . וְהֵעֲלָתָהּ and brought it to him from year to year; 27<sup>9</sup> (וְלִקְחָהּ), 1 K 14<sup>28</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>25</sup>, 12<sup>15</sup> (in verses 16<sup>f</sup>. imperfects occur again). So also in dependent sentences, Gn 6<sup>4</sup> (וְיִלְדוּ) as a continuation of וַיְבֹאוּ, Jb 31<sup>29</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

*f* (β) After an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Ex 39<sup>3</sup> (סָמְרוּ), 1 S 5<sup>7</sup> (? see § 112 rr), 7<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>2,5</sup>, 16<sup>13</sup> and he threw stones at him, וַיַּעֲפֵר and cast dust continually; 12<sup>16,31</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>10</sup>, 12<sup>11 ff.</sup>, 15, Jer 37<sup>15</sup>, Jb 1<sup>5</sup>.

*g* Rem. The frequentative perfect consecutive is sometimes joined even with imperfects consecutive which simply express one single action or occurrence in the past; thus Ex 18<sup>28</sup>, 4c<sup>31 f.</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>1 f.</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>27</sup> (cf. verse 28); 1 K 18<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 12<sup>10</sup>. For other examples of a loosely connected frequentative perfect consecutive, see below, *dd*.

*h* (γ) After a perfect, Gn 37<sup>3</sup> (וַיַּעֲשֶׂה לוֹ), i. e. as often as he needed a new garment<sup>2</sup>; Gn 31<sup>7</sup>, Nu 11<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>14</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>4</sup>, ψ 22<sup>6</sup>;<sup>3</sup> in interrogative sentences, 1 S 26<sup>9</sup> *who has ever*, &c.; ψ 80<sup>13</sup>, Jb 1<sup>4</sup>, Ru 4<sup>7</sup>.

*i* (δ) After an infinitive, Am 1<sup>11</sup> עַל-דֶּרְכָּיו because he did pursue his brother, וְשָׁחַת and (on each occasion) did cast off all pity (then an imperfect consecutive); after an infinitive absolute, Jos 6<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>19</sup>, Jer 23<sup>14</sup>.

*k* (ε) After a participle, Is 6<sup>3</sup> (וְקָרָא), &c., frequentative, as a continuation of עֹמְדִים, verse 2); 1 S 2<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>17</sup>.<sup>4</sup>

*l* (ζ) After other equivalents of tenses, e. g. Gn 47<sup>22</sup> the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, וַיֹּאכְלוּ and did eat (year by year), &c.; 1 K 4<sup>7</sup>.

*m* (b) To express present actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence of actions or events which continue or are repeated in the present, especially such as have, according to experience, been at all times frequently repeated, and may be repeated at any time:

(a) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2<sup>24</sup> therefore a man leaves (וְעוֹבֵד is accustomed to leave) . . . וְרִבֵּק and cleaves, &c., here, as frequently elsewhere, clearly with the secondary idea of purpose, i. e. in order to cleave; Is 5<sup>11</sup> (if וְהָיָה is to be taken as a continuation

<sup>1</sup> Also in Ez 44<sup>12</sup> (where Stade, *ZAW.* v. 293, would read וְיִהְיֶה וְשָׁרְתָהּ and וְיִהְיֶה) the unusual forms may have been intentionally chosen: *because they continually ministered and so always became afresh* . . .

<sup>2</sup> Driver, on this passage, rightly refers to 1 S 2<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Am 4<sup>7</sup> would also come under this head, if וְהִמְטַרְתִּי is really intended, and the statement refers to the past; מִנְעָתִי might, however, also be a perfect expressing positive assurance (§ 106 m), and the passage would then come under s.

<sup>4</sup> That וְהֵלְכָה, &c., are frequentatives (*the maidservant used to go repeatedly and tell them*) may be seen from וַיִּלְכוּ (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from וְ by הֵם) and וַיִּבְלֶה; on the other hand in verse 18 וַיֵּרָא and וַיִּלְכוּ of actions which happened only once.

of יָדְלִיקֶם); Is 28<sup>28</sup>, Jer 12<sup>3</sup>, Ho 4<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>7</sup>, ψ 90<sup>6</sup>, Jb 14<sup>9</sup>; also in dependent clauses, Lv 20<sup>18</sup>, Is 29<sup>8,11f.</sup>, Am 5<sup>18</sup>.

(β) After a participle, as the equivalent of a sentence representing *n* a contingent action, &c., e.g. Ex 21<sup>12</sup> מִכָּה אִישׁ וְנָתַת (instead of מִכָּה there is in verse 20, &c. וְנָתַת אִישׁ if one smite a man and (so that) he die, &c., Ex 21<sup>16</sup>, Is 29<sup>15</sup>, Am 6<sup>1</sup>, Hb 2<sup>12</sup>).

(γ) After an infinitive absolute, Jer 7<sup>9f.</sup> will ye steal, murder, and O commit adultery (simple infinitives absolute; cf. § 113 ee), וּבֹאֲתֶם and then come and stand before me . . . and say, &c.; cf. below, u.

(c) To express *future* actions, &c., as the temporal or logical *con-**p*  
sequence of tenses, or their equivalents, which announce or require such future actions or events. Thus—

(a) After imperfects in the sense of a simple future, e.g. Am 9<sup>3f.</sup> מִשְׁעִם אֶחָדִים וְלִקְחָתִים I will search and take them out thence, &c.; Gn 4<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>13</sup>, Ex 7<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>32</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>11</sup>, Jb 8<sup>6f.</sup> (also with a change of subject, Gn 27<sup>12</sup>, Ju 6<sup>16</sup>, &c.); and in interrogative sentences, Gn 39<sup>9</sup>, Ex 2<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>18</sup>, 2 K 14<sup>10</sup>, Am 8<sup>3</sup>, ψ 41<sup>6</sup>; cf. also Ru 1<sup>11</sup>; in sentences expressing a wish, 2 S 15<sup>4</sup>; as well as in almost all kinds of dependent clauses. Also in conditional clauses after אִם Gn 32<sup>9</sup>, Ex 19<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>11</sup>, or כִּי Gn 37<sup>26</sup>, or הֵן Jer 3<sup>1</sup>; in final clauses after לְמַעַן Gn 12<sup>13</sup>, Nu 15<sup>40</sup>, Is 28<sup>13</sup>; after אֲשֶׁר Dt 2<sup>25</sup>, or כִּי Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 19<sup>19</sup>, 32<sup>13</sup>, Is 6<sup>10</sup>, Am 5<sup>6</sup>; in temporal clauses, Is 32<sup>15</sup>, Jer 13<sup>16</sup>; and in relative clauses, Gn 24<sup>14</sup>, Ju 1<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>26</sup>.

(β) After the jussive (or an imperfect in the sense of a jussive or *q*  
optative) or cohortative, with the same or a different subject, e.g. Gn 1<sup>14f.</sup> וְהָיָה . . . מְאֹרֹת יְהִי let there be lights . . . and let them be, &c.; Gn 24<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>3</sup>, 31<sup>44</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>13</sup>, Ru 2<sup>7</sup>, 1 Ch 22<sup>11</sup>; after a jussive expressing an imprecation, ψ 109<sup>10</sup>.

(γ) After an imperative, also with the same or a different subject, *r*  
e.g. 2 S 7<sup>5</sup> וְאַמְרָתָה לֵךְ go and tell (that thou mayst tell), &c., and often, *perf. consec.* after לֵךְ (as also the *perf. consec.* of אָמַר and דִּבֶּר very frequently follows other imperatives); Gn 6<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>, 27<sup>43f.</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>3,18</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>36</sup>, Jer 48<sup>26</sup>.

(δ) After perfects which express a definite expectation or assurance *s*  
(cf. § 106 m and n), e.g. Gn 17<sup>20</sup> וְהִפְרֵתִי אֹתוֹ וְהִפְרֵתִי אֹתוֹ behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, &c.; Is 2<sup>11</sup>, 5<sup>14</sup>; on Am 4<sup>7</sup> see above, note 3 on h; in an interrogative sentence, Ju 9<sup>9</sup>, 11<sup>13</sup>.

(ε) After a participle, e.g. Gn 7<sup>4</sup> for yet seven days, מִמָּטֶר and I will cause it to rain . . . וּמִהָיִיתִי and I will (i.e. in order to) destroy, &c.; Jer 21<sup>9</sup>; also with a different subject, Gn 24<sup>43f.</sup> the

maiden which cometh forth (הַיָּצֵאת) . . . , וְאָמַרְתִּי אֵלֶיהָ to whom I shall say . . . , וְאָמְרָהּ and she (then) shall say, &c. This use of the perfect consecutive is especially frequent after a participle introduced by הִנֵּה, e.g. Gn 6<sup>17</sup><sup>t</sup>; with a different subject 1 K 20<sup>36</sup>, Am 6<sup>14</sup>; after a complete noun-clause introduced by הִנֵּה (cf. § 140), Ex 3<sup>13</sup> behold, I come (i.e. if I shall come) . . . לָהֶם וְאָמַרְתִּי and shall say unto them . . . , וְאָמְרוּ and they (then) shall say, &c.; 1 S 14<sup>8ff.</sup>, Is 7<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>7</sup><sup>t</sup>, 39<sup>6</sup>.

u (z) After an infinitive absolute, whether the infinitive absolute serves to strengthen the finite verb (see § 113 t), e.g. Is 31<sup>5</sup>, or is used as an emphatic substitute for a cohortative or imperfect (§ 113 dd and ee), e.g. Lv 2<sup>6</sup>, Dt 1<sup>16</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup>, Ez 23<sup>46</sup><sup>t</sup>.

v (η) After an infinitive construct governed by a preposition (for this change from the infinitive construction to the finite verb, cf. § 114 r), e.g. 1 S 10<sup>8</sup> לְךָ וְהוֹרַעְתִּי אֵלַיךְ עַד-בֹּאִי אֵלַיךְ till I come unto thee (prop. until my coming) and show thee, &c.; Gn 18<sup>25</sup>, 27<sup>45</sup>, Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, Ez 39<sup>27</sup>; cf. 1 K 2<sup>37.42</sup>.

w Rem. To the same class belong 1 S 14<sup>24</sup>, where the idea of time precedes, until it be evening and until I be avenged, &c., and Is 5<sup>6</sup>, where the idea of place precedes, in both cases governed by עַד.

x 4. The very frequent use of the perfect consecutive in direct dependence upon other tenses (see above, d-v) explains how it finally obtained a kind of independent force—especially for the purpose of announcing future events—and might depend loosely on sentences to which it stood only in a wider sense in the relation of a temporal or logical consequence. Thus the perfect consecutive is used—

(a) To announce future events, &c., in loose connexion with a further announcement, e.g. Gn 41<sup>30</sup> וְקָמוּ and two co-ordinate perfects consecutive, equivalent to *but then shall arise*, &c.; frequently so after הִנֵּה with a following substantive (1 S 9<sup>8</sup>), or a participial clause (cf. the analogous instances above, under t), e.g. 1 S 2<sup>31</sup> behold, the days come, וְגִדַּעְתִּי that I will cut off, &c.; Is 39<sup>6</sup>, Am 4<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>13</sup>, and very often in Jeremiah; after an expression of time, Ex 17<sup>4</sup>, Is 10<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>17</sup>, Jer 51<sup>33</sup>, Ho 1<sup>4</sup>. Further, when joined to a statement concerning present or past facts, especially when these contain the reason for the action, &c., expressed in the perfect consecutive; cf. Is 6<sup>7</sup> lo, this hath touched thy lips, וְסָר therefore thine iniquity shall be taken away, &c. (not copulative and it is taken away, since it is parallel with a simple imperfect), Gn 20<sup>11</sup>, 26<sup>22</sup>, Ju 13<sup>3</sup> (here in an adversative sense); Ho 8<sup>14</sup>. In loose connexion with a noun-clause, a long succession of perfects consecutive occurs in Ex 6<sup>6ff.</sup>. Also in Amos 5<sup>26</sup> וְנִשְׁאַתָּם may be an announcement *yea, ye shall take up*; but cf. below, rr.

Rem. 1. Very frequently the announcement of a future event is attached *y* by means of וְהָיָה<sup>1</sup> and *it shall come to pass* (cf. the analogous continuation in the past by means of וְהָיָה, § 111, 2), after which the event announced (sometimes after a long parenthesis) follows in one or more (co-ordinate) perfects consecutive, Gn 9<sup>14</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup> (וְהָיָה כִּי = *if*, as in 46<sup>33</sup>, Ex 1<sup>10</sup>, 22<sup>26</sup> and frequently), 1 K 18<sup>12</sup>, Is 14<sup>3f.</sup>, Am 8<sup>9</sup>; or in the imperfect, Gn 4<sup>14</sup>, Is 2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>24</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>18,21</sup> π. (cf. 29<sup>8</sup>); or in the jussive, Lv 14<sup>9</sup>. It very rarely happens that the verb which is thus loosely added, agrees in gender and number with the following subject, as in Nu 5<sup>27</sup>, Jer 42<sup>16</sup> וְהָיָה (before הָיָה), and in Jer 42<sup>17</sup> וְהָיָה (before כָּל-הָאֲנָשִׁים).

2. The jussive form וְהָיָה occurs (in the sense described in *y*) instead of וְהָיָה<sup>2</sup> in 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>24</sup> (1 Ch 14<sup>15</sup>), 1 K 14<sup>5</sup>, Ru 3<sup>4</sup>, although in the first three places a jussive is wholly inadmissible in the context, and even in Ru 3<sup>4</sup> (where an admonition follows) וְהָיָה would be expected (see below, *bb*). In 1 K 14<sup>5</sup> the form is a textual error, and the pointing should simply be וְהָיָה. In the other passages וְהָיָה (always before an infinitive with a preposition) stands at the beginning of the sentence at an unusually long distance from the principal tone, and hence is certainly to be explained according to § 109 *k*, except that in 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>, &c., the simply rhythmical jussive form takes the place, not of the full imperfect form, but (exceptionally) of the perfect consecutive.

(*b*) To introduce a command or wish: Dt 10<sup>19</sup> *love ye therefore the aa stranger*; 1 S 6<sup>5</sup>, 24<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>6</sup> (in Gn 40<sup>14</sup> the precative perfect consecutive, as elsewhere the cohortative, jussive, and imperative, is strengthened by means of נָתַן). So, also, in loose connexion with participial and other noun-clauses (see above, *x*), Gn 45<sup>12f.</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>2f.</sup>, Ru 3<sup>3f.</sup>, 3<sup>9</sup>.—In Gn 17<sup>11</sup> the perfect consecutive (וַיִּמְלֹךְ and *ye shall be circumcised*, &c.) is used to explain a preceding command.

Rem. As in the cases mentioned above under *y*, the connexion may be *bb* made by means of וְהָיָה. Thus with a following perfect consecutive, e.g. Gn 46<sup>33</sup>, 47<sup>24</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>. Cf. also Gn 24<sup>14</sup>, where the real wish, at least as regards the sense, is contained in the next sentence.

(*c*) To introduce a question, whether in loose connexion with *cc* another interrogative sentence (see above, *p*), e.g. Gn 29<sup>15</sup> *art thou my brother* (equivalent to, *Surely thou art*), וְעַבְדְּךָ הֵנִי and *shouldest thou then serve me for naught?* or with a positive statement, e.g. Ex 5<sup>5</sup> (וְהַשְׁפַּתְתָּם) *will ye then make them rest?*; Nu 16<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>11</sup>, and (if it is *Mil'ra*) ψ 50<sup>21</sup> (וְהַחֲשִׁיתִי).

(*d*) To introduce actions frequently repeated (hence analogous to *dd* the numerous examples of a frequentative perfect consecutive, above, under *e*), e.g. 1 S 1<sup>3</sup> (וַעֲלֶה of annual festival journeys); 13<sup>21</sup> (where, however, the text appears radically corrupt); 27<sup>9</sup> (וְהָיָה, i.e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְלֹא יָחִיגָה); 1 K 5<sup>7</sup> (וְכָל־כֶּלֶל),

<sup>1</sup> On the various combinations with וְהָיָה see Könl's statistics in *ZAW.* xix, 272 ff.

parallel with a simple imperfect); 9<sup>25</sup>, Jer 25<sup>4</sup>, Ho 12<sup>11</sup>, Dn 8<sup>4</sup>.—In Jb 1<sup>41</sup> a series of frequentative perfects consecutive is interrupted by an imperfect consecutive, while a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*) forms the conclusion. In Jer 6<sup>17</sup> a similar perfect is expressly marked, by placing the tone on the final syllable (according to § 49 *h*), as parallel with the real perfects consecutive.

*ee* Rem. The loose connexion of *tempora frequentativa* by וְהָיָה (cf. the Rem. on *y* and *bb*) is also very common in this sense; thus with a following perfect consecutive, Gn 30<sup>41</sup> (but in verse 42<sup>a</sup>, where the verb is separated from the *Wāw* by an insertion, we find וְהָיָה לָהֶם he used not to put them in. according to § 107 *e*); Gn 38<sup>9</sup>, Ex 17<sup>11</sup>, 33<sup>7</sup> ff. (see above, *e*), Nu 21<sup>9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>3</sup>, 19<sup>30</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>23</sup> (followed by five perfects consecutive); 2 S 15<sup>5</sup>; with a following imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*), Ju 2<sup>19</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>.—In Ju 12<sup>5</sup>, וְהָיָה, contrary to what would be expected, is continued by means of the imperfect consecutive, and in 1 S 13<sup>22</sup> by וְהָיָה with the perfect (instead of the imperfect).

*ff* 5. Further, the perfect consecutive is very frequently employed with a certain emphasis to introduce the apodosis after sentences (or their equivalents) which contain a condition, a reason, or a statement of time. Such an apodosis, as in the cases already treated, may represent either future events, or commands and wishes, or even events which have been often repeated in the past. Thus—

(a) The perfect consecutive occurs in the apodosis to conditional sentences<sup>1</sup> (§ 159 *g, o, s*):

(a) After וְהָיָה with the imperfect, e. g. 2 K 7<sup>4b</sup> וְהָיָה וְנָחֵנוּ if they kill us, (well then) we shall but die; here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (וְהָיָה) which immediately precedes; Gn 18<sup>26</sup>, 24<sup>8, 41</sup>, 32<sup>9</sup>, Nu 30<sup>15</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>11</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>14</sup>, Na 3<sup>13</sup>, Ec 4<sup>11</sup>.

*gg* (β) After וְהָיָה with the perfect (in the sense of a *futurum exactum*), Nu 5<sup>27</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>20</sup>, 7<sup>4a</sup>, Is 4<sup>4</sup>; as precative apodosis after וְהָיָה with the *perf. preteritum*, Gn 33<sup>10</sup>; as a frequentative perfect consecutive, to represent past events in the apodosis after וְהָיָה with a perfect, Gn 38<sup>9</sup>, Nu 21<sup>9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>3</sup>, Jb 7<sup>4</sup>; after וְהָיָה with imperfect, Gn 31<sup>3</sup>.

*hh* (γ) After וְהָיָה (in case, suppose that) with the imperfect, Gn 12<sup>12</sup>, Ex 18<sup>16</sup>, Ju 13<sup>17</sup>, Is 58<sup>7</sup>, Ez 14<sup>13</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Frequentative with reference to the past, after וְהָיָה with frequentative perfect, Ju 2<sup>18</sup>, Jb 7<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In a number of the examples of this kind the protasis is already loosely connected by means of וְהָיָה, and hence some of them had to be already mentioned above, under *y*, *bb*, *ee*.

<sup>2</sup> In 1 S 24<sup>19</sup> a question appears to be expressed by the perfect consecutive, for if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away? Probably, however, with Klostermann, וְהָיָה should be read for וְהָיָה.

(δ) After אִשֶּׁר with the imperfect, Gn 44<sup>9</sup> וְיָמָת . . . אִתּוֹ *ii* with whomsoever . . . it be found, let him die; with the perfect, Ex 21<sup>13</sup> and if a man lie not in wait, &c.; Ju 1<sup>12</sup>.

(ε) Very frequently after a perfect consecutive (one or more) containing the condition, e.g. Gn 44<sup>29</sup> וְיִלְקַחְתֶּם גַּם-אֶת-זֶה . . . וְהוֹרִדְתֶּם *kk* and if ye take (or shall have taken) this one also . . . ye shall bring down, &c.; cf. Gn 33<sup>13</sup>, 42<sup>38</sup>, 44<sup>4,22</sup>, 47<sup>80</sup>, Nu 30<sup>12</sup>, Ru 2<sup>9</sup>, and probably also Ez 39<sup>28</sup>.—Also frequentative in reference to the past, e.g. 1 S 17<sup>84f.</sup> . . . וּבָא הַלֵּוֹיִם *kk* and when there came (as sometimes happened) a lion . . . I went out, &c.; Ex 33<sup>10</sup>, Nu 10<sup>17ff.</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>10</sup>, Jer 20<sup>9</sup> (the perfects consecutive being regularly continued in the apodosis by וְלֵא with an imperfect!).

Rem. The perfect consecutive may be used also in the protasis to express *ll* a condition when the employment of the perfect consecutive in the apodosis has become impossible, owing to an emphatic word having to stand before it; thus in Ez 14<sup>14</sup> on account of וְיִכְמֹה; 33<sup>4</sup> on account of וְיָמָת.—In 1 S 14<sup>62</sup> the imperfect consecutive, contrary to what might be expected, stands in the apodosis, and when Saul saw any . . . valiant man, he took him unto him, where וַיֹּאכְלֵהוּ suggests the special case, rather than a repeated occurrence; cf. 2 S 15<sup>2</sup>. Conversely, in 1 S 2<sup>16</sup> (וַיֹּאמֶר) perhaps a mere mistake for (וְיֹאמֶר), 17<sup>85b</sup> an imperfect consecutive stands in the protasis.

(ζ) After various equivalents of sentences, which contain a condition; *mm* thus, after a substantive standing absolutely, or a participle (a *casus pendens*), Gn 17<sup>14</sup> וְנִכְרְתָהּ יוֹנָתָן . . . וְעָרַל זָכָר *kk* and the uncircumcised male (in case such an one be found), he shall be cut off, &c.; cf. Gn 30<sup>32</sup>, Ex 12<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>10</sup>, Is 6<sup>13</sup>, and (after an infinitive with a preposition) 2 S 7<sup>14</sup>; in a wider sense also Ex 4<sup>21</sup>, 9<sup>19</sup>, 12<sup>44</sup>, Is 9<sup>4</sup>, 56<sup>5</sup>.

(b) The perfect consecutive serves as the apodosis to causal clauses; *nn* thus e.g. after פִּי לֵעַן with the perfect, Is 3<sup>16f.</sup>; after אִשֶּׁר with perfect, 1 K 20<sup>28</sup>; after עָלֶיְכֶם with perfect, Nu 14<sup>24</sup>; also after what are equivalent to causal clauses, e.g. ψ 25<sup>11</sup> (וְסִלַּחְתָּ) . . . לְמַעַן שְׁמִיךְ *kk* for thy name's sake . . . pardon . . .; Is 37<sup>29</sup> after לֵעַן with an infinitive.

(c) The perfect consecutive occurs as the apodosis to temporal *oo* clauses or their equivalents, e.g. 1 S 2<sup>15</sup> וּבָא . . . אֶת-הַחֵלֶב *kk* בְּתָרֵם יִקְטְרוּן before they burnt the fat, the priest's servant came (used to come), &c., hence a frequentative perfect consecutive relating to the past, as in Ex 1<sup>19</sup>; also after participial clauses (§ 116 w), e.g. 1 S 2<sup>13f.</sup> וּבָא . . . כִּלְאִישׁ זֶבַח זֶבַח *kk* when(ever) any man offered sacrifice, then came,

<sup>1</sup> In all these examples (not only in the frequentative perfects consecutive) the original idea of the perfect, which also underlies the perfect consecutive, comes out very distinctly. Gn 44<sup>29</sup> (see above) implies in the mind of the speaker, If it ever shall have come to this, that ye have taken this one also, then ye have thereby brought me down to Sheol.

&c. (so Ju 19<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>12</sup>), with a frequentative perfect consecutive. The perfect consecutive is very frequently used to announce future actions or events after simple expressions of time of any kind; thus Gn 3<sup>5</sup>, Ex 32<sup>34</sup> (after בָּיִם with the infinitive), cf. also such examples as Gn 44<sup>31</sup>, Ju 16<sup>2</sup>, Jos 6<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>22</sup>, 16<sup>23</sup> (numerous frequentative perfects consecutive after the infinitive with a preposition; so 2 S 15<sup>5</sup>, see above, *ee*); 1 S 20<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>, Is 18<sup>5</sup>; moreover, Ex 17<sup>4</sup>, Is 10<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>17</sup>, 37<sup>26</sup>; even after single disconnected words, e.g. Ex 16<sup>6</sup> עֶרֶב יִרְעָתֶם *at even* (when it becomes evening) *then ye shall know*; cf. verse 7, Lv 7<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>31</sup>, Pr 24<sup>27</sup>.

**pp** 6. Finally there still remains a number of passages which cannot be classed with any of those hitherto mentioned. Of these, some are due to the influence of Aramaic modes of expression, while in others the text is evidently corrupt.<sup>1</sup> In a few instances we can do no more than merely call attention to the incorrectness of the expression. (We are not of course concerned here with the cases—usually occurring in dependent clauses—in which a 2nd pers. *perf.* with Wāw copulative is simply co-ordinate with what precedes, as in Gn 28<sup>6</sup>, and probably Nu 21<sup>15</sup>, Dt 33<sup>2</sup>.)

(a) The influence of the Aramaic construction of the perfect with י as the narrative tense, instead of the Hebrew imperfect consecutive (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 71 b), is certainly to be traced in *Qohemoth*, and sporadically in other very late books,<sup>2</sup> perhaps also in a few passages in the books of Kings, which are open to the suspicion of being due to later interpolation; so probably 1 K 12<sup>32</sup> וְהָעֶמִיד; 2 K 11<sup>1</sup> *Keth.* וְהָאֵתָה; 14<sup>14</sup> וְלָקָח (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch 25<sup>24</sup>, the word is wanting); 2 K 23<sup>4</sup> וְנִשָּׂא, &c.; verse 10 וְנָמְנָה, &c.; verse 12 וְהִשְׁלִיךְ, &c.; verse 15 וְשָׂרָף, &c.<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Ez 37<sup>2,7,10</sup>.

**qq** (b) The text is certainly corrupt in Is 40<sup>6</sup> (read with the LXX and Vulgate

<sup>1</sup> Mayer Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 55, is probably right in pointing some of these forms as *infin. abs.* instead of *perfects*.

<sup>2</sup> In the whole of *Qohemoth* the imperfect consecutive occurs only in 1<sup>17</sup> and 4<sup>1,7</sup>. Several of the perfects with י can no doubt be explained as frequentatives, e.g. 1<sup>13</sup>, 2<sup>5,9,11,13,15</sup>, 5<sup>18</sup>, compared with 6<sup>2</sup>; but this is impossible in such passages as 9<sup>14 ff.</sup> In *Ezra*, Driver reckons only six examples of the historical perfect with י, in *Nehemiah* only six, and in *Esther* six or seven.

<sup>3</sup> Stade in *ZAW.* v. 291 ff. and in *Ausgewählte akad. Reden*, Giessen, 1899, p. 194 ff. and appendix p. 199, discusses, in connexion with 2 K 12<sup>12</sup>, a number of critically questionable perfects with י. He considers that the whole section, 2 K 23<sup>4</sup> from וְנִשָּׂא to verse 5 inclusive, is to be regarded as a gloss, since the continuation of an imperfect consecutive by means of a perfect with י never occurs in pre-exilic documents, except in places where it is due to corruption of the original text. The theory of frequentative perfects consecutive (even immediately after imperfects consecutive), which has been supported above, under *f* and *g*, by a large number of examples, is quite inconsistent with the character of the action in 2 K 23<sup>6</sup> וְהִשְׁבִּית, verse 8 וְנָתַן, and verse 14 וְשָׂרָף.

וְאָמַר); Jer 38<sup>28</sup>, where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40<sup>3</sup> (וְהָיָה, &c., wanting in the LXX); also in Ju 7<sup>18</sup> וַיִּפֹּל הָאֱהָל is altogether redundant; in 1 S 3<sup>13</sup> read, with Klostermann, the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. masc. instead of וְהִגַּדְתִּי; in 1 K 21<sup>12</sup> וְהִשְׁכַּח is, no doubt, incorrectly repeated from verse 9, where it is an imperative.

Of other questionable instances, (α) the following, at any rate, may also be *rr* explained as frequentatives, Gn 21<sup>25</sup>, 49<sup>23</sup>, Ex 36<sup>38</sup>, 38<sup>28</sup>, 39<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>7</sup>, 17<sup>20</sup>, 24<sup>11</sup> (but even so וְאָמַר would be expected); 2 K 23<sup>12</sup>, Is 28<sup>28</sup> (parallel with an imperfect); Am 5<sup>26</sup> (unless it is rather, *yea, ye shall take up*; see above, x); ψ 26<sup>3</sup>, Ez 8<sup>36</sup>.

(β) A longer or constant continuance in a past state is perhaps represented *SS* by the perfect with וְ (as a variety of the frequentative perfect with וְ), in Gn 15<sup>6</sup>, 34<sup>5</sup>, Nu 21<sup>20</sup>, Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>3b</sup>, Is 22<sup>14</sup>, Jer 3<sup>3</sup>. But the unusual *perfects consec.* in Jos 15<sup>3-11</sup>, 16<sup>2-8</sup> (ultimately parallel with an imperf. as in 17<sup>9</sup>, 18<sup>20</sup>), 18<sup>12-21</sup>, 19<sup>11-14</sup>, 22<sup>26-29</sup>, 34, are without doubt rightly explained by Bennett (*SBOT.*, Joshua, p. 23) as originally containing the directions either of God to Joshua or of Joshua to the people; cf. the evident trace of this in 15<sup>4b</sup>. A redactor transformed the directions into a description but left the *perfects consec.*, which are to be explained as in *aa*. In the same way וְהָיָה Ex 36<sup>29</sup> is most simply explained as repeated from 26<sup>25</sup>.

(γ) The following are due to errors in the text, or to incorrect modes of *tt* expression: Ex 36<sup>29f</sup>, Ju 3<sup>23</sup>, 16<sup>18</sup> (read וַיַּעֲלֶה), 1 S 4<sup>19</sup>, 17<sup>38</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>18f</sup> (read וַיַּעֲבֶר and וַיַּעֲבֶר), 1 K 3<sup>11</sup> (where וְשָׁאֵלַת is, no doubt intentionally, assimilated to the four other perfects); 13<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>21</sup>; 2 K 14<sup>7</sup> (where, with Stade, וְאַתְּהֶפֶלֶס הַפֶּשֶׁ should be read); 14<sup>14</sup>, 18<sup>4</sup> (where, at any rate, וְשָׁפַר might be taken as a frequentative, but not וּכְרַת, &c.; evidently the perfects are co-ordinated only in form with הוּא הַסִּיר); 18<sup>36</sup>, 21<sup>15</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>, Jer 37<sup>15</sup> (where וְהָבִי, but not וְנִתְּנָה, might be frequentative); Ez 9<sup>7</sup> (omit וַיֵּצֵא with Stade, and read וְהָבִי); 20<sup>22</sup> (וְהִשְׁבַּח *Mil'el* before an imperfect consecutive); Am 7<sup>4</sup> (וְאָכְלָה after an imperfect consecutive); Jb 16<sup>12</sup>.

Finally, in 1 S 12<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>9</sup>, 17<sup>48</sup>, 25<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>16</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>15</sup>, Jer 37<sup>11</sup>, Am 7<sup>2</sup> וְהָיָה is to be *uu* read throughout instead of וְהָיָה, but in Gn 38<sup>5</sup> וְהָיָה with the LXX.

## B. THE INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE.

### § 113. *The Infinitive Absolute.*

Cf. the dissertation of J. Kahan, and, especially, the thorough investigation by E. Sellin, both entitled, *Ueber die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur der hebräischen Participien und Infinitive*, &c., Lpz. 1889; F. Prätorius, 'Ueber die sogen. Infin. absol. des Hebr.' in *ZDMG.* 1902, pp. 546 ff.

1. The infinitive absolute is employed according to § 45 to emphasize *a* the idea of the verb in the abstract, i.e. it speaks of an action (or state) without any regard to the agent or to the circumstances of time and mood under which it takes place. As the name of an action the infinitive absolute, like other nouns in the stricter sense,

<sup>1</sup> Or does וַנַּעַל, as a frequentative, imply fastening with several bolts? It is, at all events, to be noticed, that in 2 S 13<sup>18</sup> also וַנַּעַל follows an imperfect consecutive.

may form part of certain combinations (as a subject, predicate, or object, or even as a genitive,<sup>1</sup> see below); but such a use of the infinitive absolute (instead of the infinitive construct with or without a preposition) is, on the whole, rare, and, moreover, open to question on critical grounds. On the other hand, the infinitive absolute frequently exhibits its character as an expression of the *verbal idea* by taking an object, either in the accusative or even with a preposition.

**b** Examples of the use of the infinitive absolute:—

(a) As subject, Pr 25<sup>27</sup> **טוֹב לֹא יֵבֶשׂ הָרְבִּיּוֹת לֹא אֵכֵל** *it is not good to eat much honey*; Jer 10<sup>5</sup>, Jb 6<sup>25</sup>, Ec 4<sup>17</sup>; epexegetically, after a demonstrative pronoun, Is 58<sup>6f.</sup>, Zc 14<sup>18</sup>.

**c** (b) As predicate, Is 32<sup>17</sup> and the effect of righteousness (is) **הַשְׁקֵט הַשָּׁקֵט וְנָבִיטָה** *quietness* (prop. to find rest) and confidence.

**d** (c) As object, Is 1<sup>17</sup> **לִמְדוּ הַיָּטִב** *learn to do well*; Is 7<sup>15</sup>, Pr 15<sup>13</sup>, Jb 9<sup>18</sup>; according to the sense also Jer 9<sup>23</sup> 23<sup>14</sup>, as well as Is 5<sup>5</sup> **הָסֵר וּפְרִיץ** and **הָסֵר וְעִשֶׂה** virtually depend on the idea of the wish contained in **הִנֵּה**, and 59<sup>13</sup> (six infinitives governed by **יִרְעֲנוּם** in verse 12); Dt 28<sup>56</sup> is strange since the object precedes the infinitive absolute which governs it,<sup>2</sup> also Is 42<sup>24</sup>, where the statement of place precedes the infinitive absolute.—In Jer 9<sup>4</sup>, Jb 13<sup>3</sup> the infinitive absolute as the object of the verb is placed before it for the sake of emphasis (with the verb negated by **לֹא** in Is 57<sup>20</sup>, Jer 49<sup>23</sup>), so also in La 3<sup>45</sup> where it is the remoter object and co-ordinated with a substantive.

**e** (d) As genitive, Is 14<sup>23</sup> **הַשְׁמֹד בְּמַמְאֵמָה** *with the besom of destruction*; so perhaps also 4<sup>4</sup> **בְּעֵר בְּרִיחַ**; cf. further, Pr 1<sup>3</sup>, 21<sup>16</sup>. The infinitive absolute is never used in immediate connexion with prepositions<sup>3</sup> (which as being originally substantives govern the genitive), but always the infinitive construct; but if a second infinitive is co-ordinated by **וְ** with such an infinitive construct, it has the form of the infinitive absolute (since it is released from the immediate government of the preposition), e.g. 1 S 22<sup>13</sup> . . . **לִי לֶחֶם** **וְשָׂאֵל לוֹ בְּאֱלֹהִים** *in that thou hast given him bread . . . and hast enquired of God for him*; Ez 36<sup>3</sup>; 1 S 25<sup>26.33</sup> (after **כֵּן**); after **לְ** Ex 32<sup>6</sup>, Jer 7<sup>18</sup>, 44<sup>17</sup>.

**f** (e) Governing an accusative of the object, e.g. Is 22<sup>13</sup> **צֹאן וְשֹׂחַט בָּקָר וְהָג** *slaying oxen and killing sheep*; cf. Ex 20<sup>8</sup>, 23<sup>30</sup>, Dt 5<sup>12</sup>, Is 37<sup>19</sup>, Ez 23<sup>30</sup>, and of the examples in a-d, Dt 28<sup>56</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup>, 58<sup>6f.</sup>, Pr 25<sup>27</sup>, &c.; followed by a preposition, e.g. Is 7<sup>16</sup> **מָאֻם בָּרַע וּבָחַר בְּטוֹב** *to refuse the evil and choose the good*; Pr 15<sup>12</sup> **(הוֹכֵחַ לוֹ)**.

**g** If the object be a personal pronoun, then, since the infinitive absolute can never be united with a suffix (see the note on a), it is affixed by means of the accusative-sign **אֵת** (את), e.g. Jer 9<sup>23</sup> **וְיָדוּעַ אֹתִי** *and knoweth me*; Ez 36<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The infinitive absolute can never be joined with a genitive or a pronominal suffix.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps **הִנֵּנִי** according to § 53 *k* should be explained as an infinitive construct, or should be written **הִנֵּנִי**.

<sup>3</sup> **וְאָחֲרַי שָׂתָה** 1 S 1<sup>9</sup> is impossible Hebrew, and as the LXX shows, a late addition.

2. Analogous to the use of the infinitive absolute as the accusative *h* of the object, mentioned in *d*, is its employment as a *casus adverbialis*<sup>1</sup> in connexion with some form of the finite verb, to describe more particularly the manner or attendant circumstances (especially those of time and place) under which an action or state has taken place, or is taking place, or will take place; e.g. Jer 22<sup>19</sup> *he shall be buried with the burial of an ass*, קָחֹב וְהִשְׁלָךְ *a drawing and casting forth*, i. e. being drawn and cast forth, &c.; Gn 21<sup>16</sup> (הִרְחֵק) *a removing*, i. e. distant; cf. Ex 33<sup>7</sup>, Jos 3<sup>16</sup>; Gn 30<sup>32</sup>, Ex 30<sup>36</sup>, Nu 6<sup>5,23</sup>, 15<sup>35</sup> (where a subject is added subsequently; see below, *gg*); Jos 3<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>12</sup> (הָחַל וְכָלָה) *a beginning and ending*, i. e. from beginning to end); 2 S 8<sup>2</sup>, Is 7<sup>11</sup> (הַעֲמִיק and הִגְבִּיהַ, prop. *a making deep* . . ., and *a making high*, i. e. whether thy request extend to the world below or to the height above); 57<sup>17</sup> (הִסְתַּר) *in hiding*, sc. my face); Jer 3<sup>15</sup> (דָּעָה וְהִשְׁבִּיל) *with knowledge and understanding*); Hb 3<sup>13</sup> (עָרוֹת, for the form cf. § 75 *aa*); Zc 7<sup>3</sup>, ψ 35<sup>16</sup> (הָרָק, to define more precisely קִרְעֵי verse 15); Jb 15<sup>3</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. 1. To an adverbial infinitive absolute of this kind, there may further *i* be added a *casus adverbialis* (the accusative of state or circumstance), or even a circumstantial clause, to define more exactly the manner in which the action is performed, e. g. Is 20<sup>2</sup> *and he did so* הָלַךְ עָרוֹם וְיָחָף *walking naked and barefoot*, prop. in the condition of one naked, &c.; Is 30<sup>14</sup> *a breaking in pieces* (acc. to the reading פָּתוֹת; the Masora requires פְּתוֹת) *without sparing*.

2. A few infinitives of this kind, all of which are in Hiph'il, have, through *k* frequent use, come to be treated by the language as simple adverbs; so especially הִרְבֵּה (cf. § 75 *f*) *multum faciendo*, i. e. *multum*, very frequently strengthened by מְאֹד *very* and even used without connexion with a finite verb (see the Lexicon); also הֵיטֵב *bene faciendo*, i. e. *bene*, used especially to express the careful and thorough performance of an action (e. g. Dt 13<sup>15</sup>); in Dt 9<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>8</sup> it is added epexegetically to another adverbial infinitive absolute, in Jon 4<sup>9</sup> it twice precedes the verb for the sake of emphasis. Finally, הִשָּׁבַח *mane faciendo*, i. e. *early in the morning*, then in general *early* with the additional idea of earnestness; in 1 S 17<sup>16</sup> joined with the infinitive absolute וְהָעֵרֶב *a denominative from עָרַב evening (morning and evening, i. e. early and late)*, elsewhere (with the exception of Pr 27<sup>14</sup>) always joined with the infinitive absolute of the governing verb, e. g. Jer 11<sup>7</sup> *for I earnestly protested* (הִעָרַתִּי) *unto your fathers* . . . וְהָעֵרֶב הִשָּׁבַח *rising early and protesting*, i. e. with earnest protestation; Jer 25<sup>3</sup>, 26<sup>6</sup> (where וְ should be omitted before ה'); Jer 29<sup>19</sup>, 32<sup>33</sup>, 2 Ch 16<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> That this *casus adverbialis* also was originally regarded as an accusative, may be seen from classical Arabic, where an infinitive of this kind expressly retains the accusative ending. In Latin the ablative of the gerund corresponds in many ways to this use of the infinitive absolute.

<sup>2</sup> Also in 2 K 21<sup>13</sup> וְהָפַךְ מִחָה וְהָפַךְ read with Stade and Klostermann מָחָה וְהָפַךְ; similarly, with Stade, וְקָשָׁה in Ju 4<sup>24</sup>; וְחָזַק in Jer 23<sup>14</sup>, and on Is 31<sup>6</sup> cf. *l*.

l 3. The infinitive absolute occurs most frequently in immediate connexion with the finite verb of the same stem, in order in various ways to define more accurately or to strengthen the idea of the verb.<sup>1</sup>

m These infinitives absolute joined immediately to the finite verb belong in a sense to the *schema etymologicum* treated in § 117 p, i.e. they are objects of the finite verb in question, except that the infinitive absolute (as a *nomen abstractum*) lays stress rather on the actual occurrence or the energy of the action (see the examples below), while the noun proper emphasizes the result or extent of the action; cf. e.g. Ex 22<sup>22</sup> אֵלֶי יָצַעַק יָצַעַק אִם־יִצְעַק if it actually happens that he cries to me, with Gn 27<sup>34</sup> (as it were, he cried, so that a great cry was heard).

We must further distinguish—

n (a) The infinitive absolute used before the verb to strengthen the verbal idea, i.e. to emphasize in this way either the certainty (especially in the case of threats) or the forcibleness and completeness of an occurrence. In English, such an infinitive is mostly expressed by a corresponding adverb, but sometimes merely by putting greater stress on the verb; e.g. Gn 2<sup>17</sup> מוֹת תָּמוּת מוֹת thou shalt surely die, cf. 18<sup>10,18</sup>, 22<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>6</sup> (cometh surely to pass); 24<sup>21</sup>, Am 5<sup>5</sup>, 7<sup>17</sup>, Hb 2<sup>3</sup>, Zc 11<sup>17</sup>; with the infinitive strengthened by אַף Gn 44<sup>28</sup> (but 27<sup>30</sup> and Jacob was yet scarce gone out, &c.); Gn 43<sup>3</sup> הָעֵר הָעֵר בְּנֵי הָעָר he did solemnly protest unto us; 1 S 20<sup>6</sup> נִשְׂאֵל נִשְׂאֵל David earnestly asked leave of me; Jos 17<sup>13</sup>, Ju 1<sup>23</sup> וְהוֹרִישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ and did not utterly drive them out; especially typical instances are Am 9<sup>8</sup> I will destroy it from off the face of the earth לֹא הַשְׁמִיר אֲשַׁמִּיר וגו' saving that I will not utterly destroy, &c.; Jer 30<sup>11</sup> and will in no wise leave thee unpunished; cf. further Gn 20<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>26</sup>, Jo 1<sup>7</sup>, Jb 13<sup>5</sup>.

o The infinitive absolute is used before the verb with less emphasis:

(1) Frequently at the beginning of the statement; cf. Driver on 1 S 20<sup>6</sup>. However, in these cases a special emphasis on the following verb is sometimes intended; cf. above, n, on Gn 43<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>6</sup>; also Gn 3<sup>16</sup>, 26<sup>28</sup>, 32<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>28</sup>, 20<sup>3</sup>. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute is evidently used only as possessing a certain fullness of sound (hence for rhythmical reasons, like some uses of the separate pronoun, § 135 a), as in Gn 15<sup>13</sup>, 43<sup>7,20</sup>, Ju 9<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>16</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>6</sup>, 20<sup>18</sup>.

(2) Very frequently in conditional sentences after אִם, &c. The infinitive absolute in this case emphasizes the importance of the con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Rieder, *Die Verbindung des Inf. abs. mit dem Verb. fin . . . im Hebr.*, Lpz., 1872; also his *Quae ad syntaxin Hebraicam . . . planiorem faciendam ex lingua Graeca et Latina afferantur*, Gumbinnen (Programm des Gymnasiums), 1884. G. R. Hauschild, *Die Verbindung finiter und infinitiver Verbalformen desselben Stammes in einigen Bibelsprachen*, Frankfurt a. M., 1893, discussing especially the rendering of such constructions in the Greek and Latin versions.

dition on which some consequence depends, e.g. Ex 15<sup>26</sup> *if thou wilt diligently hearken*, &c., Ex 19<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>5</sup>, 22<sup>3, 11<sup>f</sup>, 16, 22</sup> (see above, m); 23<sup>22</sup>, Nu 21<sup>2</sup>, Ju 16<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>25</sup>; after לֹא 1 S 14<sup>30</sup>.

The infinitive absolute is used to give emphasis to an antithesis, e.g. p 2 S 24<sup>24</sup> *nay; but I will verily buy* (קָנוֹ אֶקְנֶה) *it of thee*, &c. (not receive it as a gift); Ju 15<sup>13</sup> *no; but we will bind thee fast . . . but surely we will not kill thee*; cf. further Gn 31<sup>30</sup> (thou art indeed gone=) *though thou wouldst needs be gone* (Vulg. *esto*), *because thou sore longedst*, &c.; ψ 118<sup>13, 18</sup>, 126<sup>6</sup> (the second infinitive absolute as a supplement to the first—see below, r—comes *after* the verb).—Hence also, as permissive, Gn 2<sup>16<sup>f</sup></sup>. אָכַל תֹּאכַל *thou mayest freely eat, but*, &c. (so that verse 16 is in antithesis to verse 17); or concessive, 1 S 2<sup>30</sup> *I said indeed . . .*, 14<sup>43</sup>.

The infinitive absolute is used to strengthen a question, and *q* especially in impassioned or indignant questions, e.g. Gn 37<sup>8</sup> הִמָּלֵךְ עָלֵינוּ *shalt thou indeed reign over us?* Gn 37<sup>10</sup>, 43<sup>7</sup>, Ju 11<sup>25</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>27</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>43</sup>, Jer 3<sup>1</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup>, Ez 28<sup>9</sup>, Am 3<sup>5</sup>, Zc 7<sup>5</sup>; but cf. also Gn 24<sup>5</sup> *must I needs bring again?*

(b) The infinitive absolute *after the verb*, sometimes (as in n) to *r* intensify<sup>1</sup> the idea of the verb (especially after imperatives and participles, since the infinitive absolute can never precede either, e.g. Nu 11<sup>15</sup>, Jb 13<sup>17</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>, 37<sup>2</sup> שָׁמְעוּ שְׁמָעוּ *hearken ye attentively*; Jer 22<sup>10</sup>; after participles, e.g. Is 22<sup>17</sup>, also elsewhere, e.g. Nu 23<sup>11</sup>, 24<sup>10</sup> *thou hast altogether blessed them*; Jos 24<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>11</sup>, Dn 11<sup>10</sup>, and with the infinitive absolute strengthened by means of בְּ Gn 31<sup>15</sup>, 46<sup>4</sup>, Nu 16<sup>13</sup>); sometimes to express the long *continuance* of an action; here again after an imperative, Is 6<sup>9</sup> שָׁמְעוּ שְׁמָעוּ *hear ye continually*; after a perfect, Jer 6<sup>20</sup>; after a participle, Jer 23<sup>17</sup>; after an imperfect consecutive, Gn 19<sup>9</sup>, Nu 11<sup>32</sup>.

To this class belong especially those cases in which a second infinitive absolute is co-ordinated with the first; the latter then expresses either an accompanying or antithetical action or the aim to which the principal action is directed; e.g. 1 S 6<sup>12</sup> וָלָכֵן הִלְכוּ הָלָכָה *lowing as they went* (lowing continually; so after a participle, Jos 6<sup>13<sup>b</sup></sup> *Qerê*); Gn 8<sup>7</sup> *it went forth to and fro*<sup>2</sup>; Is 19<sup>22</sup> *smiting and* (i. e. but also) *healing again*; Jo 2<sup>25</sup> (see above, m).

Rem. 1. Instead of a second infinitive absolute (see above) there is sometimes found a perfect consecutive (Jos. 6<sup>13<sup>a</sup></sup> and 2 S 13<sup>19</sup> [but Stade's וַיַּעַק is

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic also, the intensifying infinitive regularly stands *after* the verb, but in Syriac *before* the verb.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Ez 1<sup>14</sup> for the distorted form רָצוּא רָצוּא reads simply יָצוּא יָצוּא.

is preferable], in both places as perfect frequentative; Is 31<sup>5</sup> referring to the future, unless with Stade, *ZAW.* vi. 189, we read וְהָצִיל and וְהִסְלִיט), or an imperfect consecutive (1 S 19<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>13</sup>) or participle (2 S 16<sup>6</sup>); cf. also u.

- u 2. The idea of long continuance is very frequently expressed by the verb הָלַךְ to go, along with its infinitive absolute, or even by the latter alone, and this occurs not only when it can be taken in its literal sense (to go, to walk, as in the examples given above, Jos 6<sup>9,13</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>19</sup>; cf. also, Is 3<sup>16</sup>, where both infinitives stand before the verb, and ψ 126<sup>6</sup>, where הָלוֹךְ precedes), but also in cases where הָלַךְ in the sense of to go on, to continue, merely performs the function of an adverb. The action itself is added in a second infinitive absolute, or sometimes (see above, t) in a participle or verbal adjective. Examples, Gn 8<sup>3</sup> וַיָּשֹׁבוּ הַמַּיִם . . . הָלוֹךְ וְשׁוֹב and the waters returned . . . continually; Gn 8<sup>5</sup>, 12<sup>9</sup>, Ju 14<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 21<sup>1</sup>; with a participle following, Jer 41<sup>6</sup> (unless we read וַיִּבְכֶּה, as in 2 S 3<sup>16</sup>); with an adjective following, Gen 26<sup>13</sup>, Ju 4<sup>24</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>19</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>10</sup> (1 Ch 11<sup>9</sup>), 2 S 18<sup>25</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, in 1 S 17<sup>41</sup> the participle הֹלֵךְ is used instead of the infinitive absolute. Of a different kind are the instances in which the participle הֹלֵךְ is used as predicate along with the co-ordinate adjective (Ex 19<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>26</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>1</sup>, 15<sup>12</sup>, Est 9<sup>4</sup>, 2 Ch 17<sup>12</sup>) or participle (1 S 17<sup>15</sup>, Jon 1<sup>11</sup>, Pr 4<sup>18</sup>, Ec 1<sup>6</sup>).

- v 3. The regular place of the negative is between the intensifying infinitive absolute and the finite verb,<sup>2</sup> e.g. Ex 5<sup>23</sup> וְהָצַל לֹא-הֵצַלְתָּ neither hast thou delivered at all, Ju 15<sup>13</sup>, Jer 13<sup>12</sup>, 30<sup>11</sup>; cf. Mi 1<sup>10</sup> (אֵל). Exceptions are Gn 3<sup>4</sup> (where the negation of the threat pronounced in 2<sup>17</sup> is expressed in the same form of words); Am 9<sup>8</sup>, ψ 49<sup>8</sup>.
- w 4. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations, not only the infinitive absolute of the same conjugation may be connected (Gn 28<sup>22</sup> Piel; 17<sup>13</sup>, Ex 22<sup>3</sup>, Ez 14<sup>3</sup> Niph'al; Gn 40<sup>15</sup> Pu'al; Ho 4<sup>18</sup> Hiph'il; Ez 16<sup>4</sup> Hoph'al), but also (especially with Niph'al, rarely with Piel and Hiph'il; see Driver on 2 S 20<sup>18</sup>) that of Qal as the simplest and most general representative of the verbal idea, 2 S 20<sup>18</sup> (with Piel; but in Gn 37<sup>23</sup>, 44<sup>28</sup> טָרַף is a passive of Qal, § 52 e); 46<sup>4</sup> (with Hiph'il); Ex 19<sup>13</sup>, 21<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>7</sup>, Is 40<sup>30</sup>, Jer 10<sup>5</sup>, Jb 6<sup>2</sup> (with Niph'al); Is 24<sup>19</sup> (with Hithpo'el; רָעָה in the same verse must also, according to the Masora, certainly be the infinitive absolute Qal; see § 67 o), and so always מוֹת יָמָת he shall surely be put to death. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute of a conjugation with kindred meaning is found, Lv 19<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>23</sup> Hoph'al for Niph'al (but most probably we should read, with Driver, the infin. Niph. in both places, הִפְסְדָה and הִהָרַב); 1 S 2<sup>16</sup> (Piel for Hiph'il, unless יִקְטְרוּ is to be read); Ez 16<sup>4</sup> (Hoph'al for Pu'al).<sup>3</sup> Finally, the infinitive absolute may

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in French, *Le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, 'continually increases and becomes worse and worse.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rieder, *Quo loco ponantur negationes* לֹא et אֵל . . . (*Zeitschrift für Gymn.-Wesen*, 1879, p. 395 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> In three passages even the infinitive absolute of another stem of like sound occurs; but in Is 28<sup>28</sup> אָרַשׁ is no doubt a mere textual error for רָשׁ, and in Jer 8<sup>13</sup>, according to § 72 aa, we should read אָסַפְמָם, and in Zp 1<sup>2</sup> אָסַף. Barth, *Nom.-bildung*, § 49 b, sees in אָרַשׁ and אָסַף infinitives Hiph'il, exactly corresponding in form to 'aqām[ā] the Aram. infin. 'Aph'el of קָם; but there is no more evidence for a Hiph. of רָשׁ in Hebrew than for a stem אָרַשׁ.

equally well be represented by a *substantive* of kindred stem.<sup>1</sup> In Is 29<sup>14</sup> the substantive intensifying the verb is found *along with* the infinitive absolute.

5. Instead of the infinitive absolute immediately connected with the finite *x* verb, an infinitive construct form appears (cf. § 73 *d*), in Nu 23<sup>25</sup> (יָם לָב); cf. Ru 2<sup>16</sup> (יָם שָׁל); Jer 50<sup>34</sup> (רִיב יָרִיב); Pr 23<sup>1</sup> (בֵּין תִּבְיִן). In the last instances the infinitive is probably assimilated to the imperfect, like the infinitive Niph'al in the forms noticed in § 51 *k* and note.—Cf. also 2 K 3<sup>24</sup> יִרְבֹּא בֹא (read so with the LXX) before *א*, hence, no doubt due to the dislike of a hiatus; so in *ψ* 50<sup>21</sup>, Neh 1<sup>7</sup> (תִּכְבֵּל), all in rapid style; *after* the verb, Jos 7<sup>7</sup>, unless הַעֲבִיר is intended.

4. Finally the infinitive absolute sometimes appears as a *substitute y* for the *finite verb*, either when it is sufficient simply to mention the verbal idea (see *z*), or when the hurried or otherwise excited style intentionally contents itself with this infinitive, in order to bring out the verbal idea in a clearer and more expressive manner (see *aa*).

(*a*) The infinitive absolute as the continuation of a preceding finite *z* verb. In the later books especially it often happens that in a succession of several acts only the first (or sometimes more) of the verbs is inflected, while the second (or third, &c.) is added simply in the infinitive absolute. Thus after several perfects, Dn 9<sup>5</sup> (cf. verse 11) *we have sinned . . . and have transgressed thy law*, וְסוּר; *and have turned aside* (prop. *a turning aside* took place); so after a perfect Ex 36<sup>7</sup> (?), 1 S 2<sup>28</sup>, Is 37<sup>19</sup>, Jer 14<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>, Hag 1<sup>6</sup> (four infinitives), Zc 3<sup>4</sup> (but read with Wellhausen, after the LXX, וְהִלָּכְשִׁי אֹתוֹ), 7<sup>6</sup>, Ec 8<sup>9</sup>, 9<sup>11</sup>, Est 3<sup>13</sup>, 9<sup>6,16,18</sup>, 12<sup>6ff.</sup>, Neh 9<sup>8,13</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>20</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>19</sup>; <sup>2</sup> after the perfect consecutive, Zc 12<sup>10</sup>; after the perfect frequentative 1 K 9<sup>25</sup> (unless וְהִקְטִיר be intended); after the simple imperfect, Lv 25<sup>14</sup>, Nu 30<sup>3</sup>, Jer 32<sup>44</sup> (three infinitives), 36<sup>23</sup>, 1 Ch 21<sup>24</sup>; after a cohortative, Jos 9<sup>20</sup>; after the imperfect consecutive, Gn 41<sup>48</sup> (as a continuation of וַיִּרְכֹּב); Ex 8<sup>11</sup>, Ju 7<sup>19</sup>, Jer 37<sup>21</sup>, Neh 8<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 16<sup>36</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>3</sup>; with וְאוֹ or after the jussive, Dt 14<sup>21</sup>, Est 2<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>9</sup>; after the imperative, Is 37<sup>30b</sup>, Am 4<sup>4c</sup>; after the participle, Hb 2<sup>15</sup> (strengthened by וְאֵ, and regarded, like the participle itself, as an adverbial accusative); Est 8<sup>8</sup>.

(*b*) At the beginning of the narrative, or at least of a new section *aa* of it. The special form of the finite verb which the infinitive absolute represents must be determined from the context. The infinitive

<sup>1</sup> On these substantives (and on the use of the infinitive absolute generally as absolute object, see above, *m*), cf. the *schema etymologicum* treated in connexion with the government of the verb in § 117 *p, q*.

<sup>2</sup> In Ez 7<sup>14</sup> a perfect appears to be continued by means of an infinitive construct; but the text is quite corrupt; Cornill reads תִּקְעוּ תִקְעוּ תִקְעוּ הַכִּינוּ הַכִּינוּ הַכִּינוּ.

absolute is most frequently used in this way, corresponding to the infinitive of command in Greek, &c.<sup>1</sup>:—

*bb* (α) For an emphatic imperative,<sup>2</sup> e.g. שְׁמֹר (thou shalt, ye shall), *observe* Dt 5<sup>12</sup>; זָכוֹר (thou shalt) *remember*, Ex 13<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>8</sup> (the full form occurs in Dt 6<sup>17</sup> שְׁמֹר הַשְׁמִרָן; 7<sup>18</sup> זָכוֹר הַזָּכוֹר); Lv 2<sup>6</sup>, Nu 4<sup>2</sup>, 25<sup>17</sup>, Dt 1<sup>16</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>10</sup>, Is 38<sup>5</sup>, Jer 2<sup>2</sup>, followed by a *perfect consecutive*; Jos 1<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>16</sup>, Is 7<sup>4</sup>, 14<sup>31</sup> (parallel with an *imperative*; in Na 2<sup>2</sup> three imperatives follow). But הִבֵּיט ψ 142<sup>6</sup> may be only an incorrect spelling of הִבֵּט imperative.<sup>3</sup>

*cc* (β) For the jussive, Lv 6<sup>7</sup>, Nu 6<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>15</sup>, Ez 23<sup>46</sup>; cf. also Pr 17<sup>12</sup> (*let it rather meet*).

*dd* (γ) For the cohortative, Is 22<sup>13b</sup> אָכֹל וְשָׂתוּ (the exclamation of the mocker); Ez 21<sup>31</sup>, 23<sup>30, 46</sup>; perhaps also Jer 31<sup>2</sup> (הָלוֹךְ).<sup>4</sup>

*ee* (δ) For the imperfect in emphatic promises, e.g. 2 K 4<sup>43</sup> ye shall eat and leave thereof; 19<sup>29</sup> (Is 37<sup>30</sup>), 2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup>; also in indignant questions, Jb 40<sup>2</sup> shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty? <sup>5</sup> (on the addition of the subject cf. the Rem. below); Jer 3<sup>1</sup> and thinkest thou to return again to me? Jer 7<sup>9a</sup>. (six infinitives, continued by means of the *perfect consecutive*; cf. § 112 o).

*ff* (ε) For any historical tense (like the Latin *historic infinitive*) in lively narration (or enumeration) and description, even of what is still taking place in present time, e.g. Hos 4<sup>2</sup> *swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery* (in these they are busied); 10<sup>4</sup> (after a *perfect*); Is 21<sup>5</sup>, 59<sup>4</sup>, Jer 8<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>19</sup>, Jb 15<sup>35</sup>; cf. further Jer 32<sup>33</sup>, Ec 4<sup>2</sup>.—In Ez 23<sup>30</sup>, Pr 12<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>22</sup>, and 25<sup>4</sup>, the infinitive absolute is best rendered by the passive.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also such infinitives in French as *voir* (page so and so, &c.), *s'adresser* . . . , *se mêler des voleurs*!

<sup>2</sup> Prätorius, *op. cit.*, p. 547: the extraordinarily common use of the infinitive form *qātōl* in the sense of an imperative, jussive, or cohortative has long since caused it to be compared with the Arab. *fa'ālī*. It thus appears that the infin. *qātōl* in Hebrew could be used from early times as a kind of fixed, invariable word of command.

<sup>3</sup> In Ez 21<sup>31</sup>, for the infinitives construct הָרִים, הַשְׁפִּיל, הָקִיר (beside הִנְבֵּה) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הָרָם, &c. The K<sup>e</sup>thibh probably intends הָקִיר, &c.

<sup>4</sup> In 2 S 3<sup>18</sup> the infinitive construct appears to be used instead of the cohortative, but הוֹשִׁיעַ should certainly be read for הוֹשִׁיעַ. Also in 1 K 22<sup>30</sup> (2 Ch 18<sup>29</sup>), which was formerly included under this head (I will disguise myself and go into the battle), read אֶתְחַפֵּשׂ וְאֶבֶּא.

<sup>5</sup> In Jb 34<sup>18</sup> in a similar question instead of the infinitive constr. we should rather expect the infinitive absolute (הִתְאַמֵּר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle with the article (הַתְּאַמֵּר) is to be read.

Rem. The subject is sometimes added to the infinitive absolute when it *gg* takes the place of the finite verb, e. g. Lv 6<sup>7</sup>, Nu 15<sup>35</sup>, Dt 15<sup>2</sup>, ψ 17<sup>5</sup>, Pr 17<sup>12</sup>, Jb 40<sup>2</sup>, Ec 4<sup>2</sup>, Est 9<sup>1</sup>. So, probably, also in Gn 17<sup>10</sup>, Ex 12<sup>48</sup>, although here פָּלִי-וֹכֵר according to § 121 *a* might also be taken as an object with a passive verb; cf. Est 3<sup>18</sup>. In 1 S 25<sup>26.33</sup> the subject follows an infinitive absolute which is co-ordinated with an infinitive construct, see above, *e*.

## § 114. *The Infinitive Construct.*

1. The infinitive construct, like the infinitive absolute, may also *a* represent a *nomen verbale* (§ 45 *a*), but of a much more flexible character than the infinitive absolute (cf. § 113 *a*). Its close relation with nouns properly so called is especially seen in the readiness with which the infinitive construct may be used for any case whatever; thus,

(*a*) As the nominative of the subject, e. g. Gn 2<sup>18</sup> לֹא-טוֹב הָיִיתָ לְבָדְדִי הָאָדָם, literally, *not good is the being of man in his separation*; Gn 30<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>20</sup>, Is 7<sup>13</sup>, Pr 17<sup>26</sup>, 25<sup>7.24</sup> (but cf. 21<sup>9</sup> לֹא-יָשֻׁבָה לְךָ טוֹב in the same statement); ψ 32<sup>9</sup> prop. *there is not a coming near unto thee*, but the text is probably corrupt. With a *feminine* predicate, 1 S 18<sup>23</sup>, Jer 2<sup>17</sup>.

(*b*) As genitive, e. g. Ec 3<sup>4</sup> עַת פְּפוֹד וְעַת רִקּוֹד *a time of mourning b* and *a time of dancing*; Gn 2<sup>17</sup>, 29<sup>7</sup>, Neh 12<sup>46</sup>, 2 Ch 24<sup>14</sup>. This equally includes, according to § 101 *a*, all those cases in which the infinitive construct depends on a preposition (see below, *d*) [and Driver, *Tenses*, § 206].

(*c*) As accusative of the object, e. g. 1 K 3<sup>7</sup> לֹא יֵדַע צֵאת וְבֹא *I know c* not the going out or the coming in (*I know not how to go out and come in*); Gn 21<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>28</sup>, Nu 20<sup>21</sup>, Is 1<sup>14</sup>, 37<sup>28</sup> (even with אֵת), Jer 6<sup>15</sup>, Jb 15<sup>22</sup> (cf. for the use of the infinitive absolute as object, § 113 *f*); as accusative with a verb expressing fullness, Is 11<sup>9</sup>.

2. The construction of the infinitive with prepositions (as in Greek, *d* ἐν τῷ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι, &c.) may usually be resolved in English into the finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Nu 35<sup>19</sup> בְּפָגְעוֹ-בּוֹ *in his meeting him*, i. e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gn 27<sup>45</sup> (עַד-שׁוּב); Is 30<sup>12</sup> בְּעֵץ כִּי תִסְמְךְ *because ye despise*; Jer 23<sup>5</sup> עַל-אִמְרֶךָ *because thou sayest*; Gn 27<sup>1</sup> and his eyes were dim מִרְאֵת *from seeing*, i. e. so that he could not see.

This use of the infinitive construct is especially frequent in con- *e* nexion with וְ or כִּי to express time-determinations (in English resolved into a temporal clause, as above the combination of the infinitive with וְ or כִּי is resolved into a causal clause), especially after וַיְהִי (see the

examples, § 111 g), e.g. 1 S 2<sup>27</sup> בְּהֵיוֹתָם בְּמִצְרַיִם when they were in Egypt; Gn 24<sup>30</sup> וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ וְיָהִי כִּרְאֹת אֶת־הַחֲנֻךְ . . . and it came to pass, when he saw (prop. in the seeing) the ring . . . , and when he heard (prop. in his hearing), &c.

f But by far the most frequent is the connexion of the infinitive construct with לְ.<sup>1</sup> Starting from the fundamental meaning of לְ, i. e. *direction towards something*, infinitives with לְ serve to express the most varied ideas of purpose or aim, and very commonly also (with a weakening or a complete disregard of the original meaning of the לְ) to introduce the object of an action, or finally even (like the infinitive absolute used adverbially, § 113 h, and the Latin gerund in *-ndo*) to state motives or attendant circumstances. See the instances in the Remarks.

g Rem. 1. The original meaning of the לְ is most plainly seen in those infinitives with לְ which expressly state a purpose (hence as the equivalent of a final clause), e.g. Gn 11<sup>8</sup> and the Lord came down, לִרְאֹת אֶת־הָעִיר to see the city; also with a change of subject, e.g. 2 S 12<sup>10</sup> and thou hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite לְהָיִית לְךָ לְאִשָּׁהּ to be (i. e. that she may be) thy wife; cf. Gn 28<sup>4</sup>, Jer 38<sup>28</sup> (לְמוֹת).—If there is a special emphasis on the infinitive with לְ, it is placed, with its complement, before the governing verb, e.g. Gn 42<sup>9</sup>, 47<sup>4</sup>, Nu 22<sup>20</sup>, Jos 2<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>2</sup> with בּוֹא; Ju 15<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>26</sup> with עָלָה.

h 2. Just as clearly the idea of aiming at a definite purpose or turning towards an object may be seen in the combination of the verb הָיָה to be, with לְ and an infinitive. In fact הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת may mean, either (a) *he was in the act of, he was about to* (as it were, he set himself), *he was ready, to do something*, or (b) *he or it was appointed or compelled, &c., to do the action in question*. In the latter case הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת corresponds to the Latin *faciendum erat*, cf. also the English *I am to go*. In both cases הָיָה (as elsewhere when copula) is often omitted.

i Examples of (a) Gn 15<sup>12</sup> וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא and when the sun was going down (just about to set); 2 Ch 26<sup>5</sup> וַיְהִי לִדְרֹשׁ אֱלֹהִים and he set himself to seek God (here with the secondary idea of a continuous action); with the omission of הָיָה Is 38<sup>20</sup> יְהוָה לְהוֹשִׁיעַנִי the Lord is ready to save me; 1 S 14<sup>21</sup> (?), Jer 51<sup>49</sup>, ψ 25<sup>14</sup> (et foedus suum manifestaturus est eis); Pr 18<sup>24</sup> (?), 19<sup>8</sup> (לְמַצֵּא) consecuturus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 45 g, according to which the close union of the לְ with the first consonant of the infinitive (לְכָתֵב with a firmly closed syllable, as opposed to כָּתֵב, כְּכָתֵב, &c.) seems to point to the formation of a special new verbal form. Quite distinct are the few examples where the infinitive with לְ serves to express time, as Gn 24<sup>63</sup> לְפָנֹת עֶרֶב at the eventide (prop. at the time of the return of evening); cf. Dt 23<sup>12</sup>, Ex 14<sup>27</sup>, Ju 19<sup>26</sup>; 2 S 18<sup>29</sup> when Joab sent the king's servant.

*est*, unless we simply read יִמְצָא with the LXX<sup>1</sup>; 2c<sup>26</sup>, Ec 3<sup>15</sup> לְהִיֹּת אֲשֶׁר הָיָה *quod futurum est*; 2 Ch 11<sup>22</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup> (in a negative statement); in a question, Est 7<sup>8</sup> (will he even . . . ?). Cf. also 1 S 4<sup>19</sup>.

Of (b) Jos 2<sup>5</sup> וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לִסְגּוֹר *and the gate was to be shut* (had to be shut); k Is 37<sup>26</sup>, ψ 109<sup>18</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Mostly with the omission of הִיָּה, e.g. 2 K 4<sup>13</sup> מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת הַיֵּשׁ לְבָרֶךְ-לֶךְ? *what is to be done for thee?* (הִיָּשׁ לְבָרֶךְ-לֶךְ) *wouldst thou be* (lit. is it to be) *spoken for to the king, &c.?* 2 K 13<sup>19</sup> לְהַבּוֹת *it was to smite* equivalent to *thou shouldst have smitten*; Is 5<sup>4</sup>, ψ 32<sup>9</sup>, 68<sup>19</sup> (?), Jb 30<sup>6</sup> (*habitandum est iis*), 1 Ch 9<sup>25</sup>, 10<sup>18</sup>, 22<sup>5</sup>, 2 Ch 8<sup>13</sup> (?), 11<sup>22</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>, 36<sup>19</sup> (?), Ho 9<sup>13</sup>, Hb 1<sup>17</sup>. In a question 2 Ch 19<sup>3</sup>; after לֹא 1 Ch 5<sup>1</sup>, 15<sup>2</sup>; after אֵין 1 Ch 23<sup>26</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup> and frequently.

Of the same kind also are the cases, in which the infinitive with ל depends on the idea of an obligation or permission (or prohibition); especially in such forms of expression as 2 S 18<sup>11</sup> עָלַי לָתֶת לֶךְ וְג' *it was upon me*, i. e. *it would have been my duty to give thee, &c.*<sup>3</sup>; cf. Mi 3<sup>1</sup> (2 Ch 13<sup>5</sup>) *it is not for you to* (i. e. *are ye not bound to*)?<sup>4</sup> with a negative, 2 Ch 26<sup>18</sup> לֹא לֶךְ וְג' *it pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but only to the priests*; also אֵין לֶךְ with an infinitive expresses *it is not permitted* (*nefas est*), *may not*, e.g. Est 4<sup>2</sup> לְבֹאֵי אֵין לְבֹאֵי *for none might enter*; 8<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 15<sup>2</sup>; <sup>5</sup> אֵין לֶךְ with an infinitive is used in a somewhat different sense, equivalent to *it is not feasible, not possible*, e.g. in ψ 40<sup>6</sup>, Ec 3<sup>11</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup>.<sup>6</sup>—With either meaning לֹא can be used instead of אֵין, e.g. Am 6<sup>10</sup> לֹא לְהוֹבִיר *nefas est, to make mention of the name of the Lord*: but Ju 1<sup>19</sup> *for it was not possible to drive out, &c.*, perhaps, however, the text originally stood as in Jos 17<sup>12</sup> לֹא יָכֹלוּ לָהּ; 1 Ch 15<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P. Haupt (SBOT., Proverbs, p. 52, lines 10 ff.; *Critical Notes on Esther*, p. 170, on 7<sup>8</sup>) considers it possible that here and in Pr 2<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>24</sup>, 7<sup>5</sup>, 16<sup>30</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup>, as well as in 14<sup>35</sup>, 17<sup>21</sup> before a noun, the ל is a survival of the emphatic ל with an imperf., which is especially common in Arabic. In that case לִמְצָא must be read לִמְצָא, i. e. לִמְצָא. But all the above instances can be taken as infinitives with ל without difficulty.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat different are the cases where לִיְהִי with the infinitive (which is then used exactly as a substantive) implies *to become something*, i. e. *to meet with a particular fate*, as Nu 24<sup>22</sup> (cf. Is 5<sup>5</sup>, 6<sup>13</sup>) לְבָעַר *for wasting*, for which elsewhere frequently לְשַׂמָּה and the like; probably also לְבָלוֹת ψ 49<sup>16</sup> is to be explained in this way, the הִיָּה being omitted.

<sup>3</sup> 2 S 4<sup>10</sup> (*cui dandum erat mihi*) appears to be similar; it may, however, be better, with Wellhausen, to omit the אֲשֶׁר.

<sup>4</sup> But in 1 S 23<sup>20</sup> after וְלָנוּ *and our part shall be* the infinitive without ל stands as the subject of the sentence.

<sup>5</sup> Quite different of course are such cases as Is 37<sup>3</sup> וְכֹחַ אֵין לְלָרָה *and there is not strength to bring forth*; cf. Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, Ru 4<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> In 2 S 14<sup>19</sup> אֵישׁ (= יֵשׁ *it is, there is*) is used in a similar sense after אֵם, the negative particle of asseveration, of a truth it is not possible to turn to the right hand or to the left.

*m* 3. A further class comprises the very numerous cases, in which the infinitive with לְ is used as the object<sup>1</sup> of a governing verb, hence, again, for the direction which an action takes. The verbs (or conjugations) which occur most frequently in this combination with לְ and an infinitive are: הָחֵל (with an infinitive without לְ, e.g. Dt 2<sup>25,31</sup>, Jos 3<sup>7</sup>), הוֹאִיל to begin, הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף (prop. to add) to continue, very frequently, even in prose, with an infinitive without לְ, as Gn 4<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>10,12</sup>, 37<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>8</sup>, Jb 27<sup>1</sup>, &c.; חָדַל to cease from, to desist; כָּלָה to complete, to make an end of; תָּמַם to be finished; הִקְרִיב to come near to, Gn 12<sup>11</sup>; מָהֵר to hasten (with an infinitive without לְ Ex 2<sup>18</sup>); אָכָה to be willing (with an infinitive without לְ Is 28<sup>12</sup>, 30<sup>9</sup>, Jb 39<sup>9</sup>); חָפֵץ to will, to desire; יָמָן to refuse (to be unwilling); בִּקֵּשׁ to seek; יָכַל to be able (with an infinitive without לְ, e.g. Gn 24<sup>50</sup>, 37<sup>4</sup>, Ex 2<sup>3</sup>, 18<sup>23</sup>, Nu 22<sup>38</sup>, Jb 4<sup>2</sup>); נָתַן with an accusative of the person in the sense of to give up to some one, to cause, or permit him to do something, e.g. Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, ψ 16<sup>11</sup> (with an infinitive abs. Jb 9<sup>18</sup>, see § 113 d), יָדַע to understand how to do something (in Jb 3<sup>8</sup> הִעָתִידִם עָרַר is analogous); לָמַד to learn; קָוָה to wait, expect (with a change of subject, e.g. Is 5<sup>2</sup> and he waited for it to bring forth grapes).

*n* We must further mention here a number of verbs in Hiph'il (partly denominatives), which express an action in some definite direction, cf. § 53 f, as הִנְדִּיל to do greatly, הִשְׁפִּיל to make (it) low, הִנְבִּיֵה to make (it) high, הִעֲמִיק to make (it) deep, הִרְחִיק to make (it) far, distant, הִיטִיב to make (it) good (with an infinitive without לְ ψ 33<sup>3</sup>, but 1 S 16<sup>17</sup>, in the same combination, with לְ); הִשְׁבִּיחַ to do anything early (ψ 127<sup>2</sup>, along with its opposite אָחַר to do something late, with an infinitive without לְ); הִרְבֶּה to make (it) much, הִפְלִא to make (it) wonderful (even with a passive infinitive 2 Ch 26<sup>18</sup>),<sup>2</sup> &c.

<sup>1</sup> This view is based upon the fact, that in numerous expressions of this kind (see the examples above) the לְ may be omitted, and the infinitive consequently stand as an actual accusative of the object (see above, c). However, the connexion of the verb with the object is in the latter case closer and more emphatic (hence especially adapted to poetic or prophetic diction), than the looser addition of the infinitive with לְ; thus לֹא אָבוּ שְׁמוֹעַ Is 28<sup>12</sup> is equivalent to they desired not obeying (לֹא אָבוּ) also with the infin. abs. in Is 42<sup>24</sup>; cf. § 113 d); but לֹא אָבוּ לְשָׁמֹעַ Ez 20<sup>8</sup> rather expresses they could not make up their mind as to hearkening. When connected with לְ, the governing verb has a more independent sense than when it directly governs the accusative of the object.

<sup>2</sup> In almost all these examples the principal idea is properly contained in the infinitive, whilst the governing verb strictly speaking contains only a subordinate adverbial statement, and is therefore best rendered in English by an adverb; e.g. Gn 27<sup>20</sup> how is it that thou hast found it so quickly? (prop. how thou hast hastened to find!), Gn 31<sup>27</sup> wherefore didst thou flee secretly? So frequently with הִרְבֶּה (=often, abundantly), Ex 36<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 21<sup>6</sup>, Is 55<sup>7</sup>, Am 4<sup>4</sup>, ψ 78<sup>38</sup>, &c.; with שׁוּב (=again), Dt 30<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>17</sup>, Ho 11<sup>9</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>14</sup>; cf. also 2 S 19<sup>4</sup>, Jer 1<sup>12</sup>, Jn 4<sup>2</sup>, and the analogous instances in § 120 g; also 2 K 2<sup>1</sup> thou hast asked a hard thing.

4. Finally, the infinitive with  $\dot{\text{ל}}$  is very frequently used in a much looser O connexion to state motives, attendant circumstances, or otherwise to define more exactly. In English, such infinitive constructions (like the Latin gerund in -do; cf. *f*) must frequently be turned by *that* or a gerund; e.g. 1 S 12<sup>17</sup>  $\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{ש}}\dot{\text{א}}\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{כ}}\dot{\text{ם}}\dot{\text{מ}}\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{ך}}$  *in asking you a king*; 14<sup>38</sup>, 19<sup>5</sup>, 20<sup>36</sup>, Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 18<sup>19</sup>, 34<sup>7,16</sup>, Ex 23<sup>2</sup>, Lv 5<sup>4,22,26</sup>, 8<sup>15</sup>, Nu 14<sup>36</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>3f</sup>, 14<sup>8</sup>, Jer 44<sup>7f</sup>,  $\psi$  63<sup>3</sup>, 78<sup>18</sup>, 101<sup>8</sup>, 103<sup>20</sup>, 104<sup>14f</sup>, 111<sup>6</sup>, Pr 2<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>34</sup>, 18<sup>5</sup>, Neh 13<sup>18</sup>. Sometimes the infinitive with  $\dot{\text{ל}}$  is used in this way simply by itself, e.g. 1 Ch 12<sup>8</sup> *as the roes upon the mountains*  $\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{מ}}\dot{\text{ה}}\dot{\text{ר}}$  (as regards hasting) *in swiftness*; Gn 2<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>25</sup>  $\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{ה}}\dot{\text{ל}}$ ; Is 21<sup>1</sup>  $\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{ח}}\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{ו}}\dot{\text{ף}}$ ; Jo 2<sup>26</sup>, Pr 2<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>2</sup> and so very frequently the infinitive  $\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{א}}\dot{\text{מ}}\dot{\text{ר}}$  *dicendo* which has become stereotyped as an adverb to introduce direct narration (in the sense of *thus*, *as follows*).<sup>1</sup>

5. In a number of instances—especially in the later books—the infin. *p* constr. with  $\dot{\text{ל}}$  appears to be attached by *Wāw* (like the infinitive absolute, § 113 *z*), as the continuation of a previous finite verb. In most examples of this kind it is, however, evident that the infinitive with  $\dot{\text{ל}}$  virtually depends on an idea of intention, effort, or being in the act of, which, according to the sense, is contained in what has preceded, whilst the copula, as sometimes also elsewhere, is used in an emphatic sense (*and that too*); thus e.g. Ex 32<sup>29</sup> (if the text be right) *fill your hand to-day* (sc. with an offering) *for the Lord . . . and that to bring a blessing upon you*, i.e. that ye may be blessed; cf. 1 S 25<sup>31</sup> (otherwise in verses 26 and 33 where the infinitive absolute is used, see § 113 *e*);  $\psi$  104<sup>21</sup>, 2 Jb 34<sup>8</sup>, Ec 9<sup>1</sup>, Neh 8<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>17</sup>.—In Lv 10<sup>10f</sup>  $\dot{\text{ו}}\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{ה}}\dot{\text{ב}}\dot{\text{ד}}\dot{\text{י}}\dot{\text{ל}}$  might be regarded as an explanatory addition to the command contained in verse 9 *b* (= this prohibition of wine before the service shall ye observe, and that in order to put a difference, &c.); but probably the text has been disturbed by a redactor.—In 2 Ch 30<sup>9</sup>  $\dot{\text{ו}}\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{ש}}\dot{\text{ב}}$  depends on the idea of receiving a favour which lies in  $\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{ר}}\dot{\text{ח}}\dot{\text{מ}}\dot{\text{י}}\dot{\text{ם}}$ . On the other hand, in 1 S 8<sup>12</sup> it is sufficient to explain *and in order to appoint them unto him for captains of thousands* (sc. he will take them). In Is 44<sup>28</sup> translate *and he* (Cyrus) *shall perform all my pleasure, and that in saying of Jerusalem, &c.*

3. The period of time to which an action or occurrence represented *q* by the infinitive construct belongs, must sometimes be inferred from the context, or from the character of the principal tenses; cf. e.g. Gn 2<sup>4</sup> *these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth, בְּהִבְרָאֵם when they were created* (prop. in their being created); Ju 6<sup>18</sup> *עַד-בָּאִי וְנ' until*

<sup>1</sup>  $\dot{\text{ל}}\dot{\text{א}}\dot{\text{מ}}\dot{\text{ר}}$  is very often so used after  $\dot{\text{ו}}\dot{\text{י}}\dot{\text{ד}}\dot{\text{ב}}\dot{\text{ר}}$  in the Priestly document (Gn 8<sup>15</sup>, 17<sup>3</sup>, &c., and numberless times in the legal parts of Exod., Lev., and Num.)—a pleonasm which is not surprising considering the admittedly prolix and formal style of the document.

<sup>2</sup> When Delitzsch on  $\psi$  104<sup>21</sup>, referring to Hb 1<sup>17</sup>, explains the infinitive with  $\dot{\text{ל}}$  as an elliptical mode of expressing the *coniugatio periphrastica* (equivalent to *flagitaturi sunt a deo cibum suum*), this is, in point of fact, certainly applicable to this and a few other places mentioned above; but all these passages, in which the infinitive with  $\dot{\text{ו}}\dot{\text{ל}}$  follows, are to be distinguished from the cases treated above under *h*, where the infinitive with  $\dot{\text{ל}}$  without *Wāw* corresponds to a Latin gerundive, or is actually used to express the *coniugatio periphrastica*.

*I come unto thee, and bring forth, &c.* Cf. 1 S 18<sup>19</sup> (= *when she should have been given*); 2 K 2<sup>1</sup>, Ho 7<sup>1</sup>.

**r** Rem. 1. The constructions of the infinitive with a preposition, described above under *d*, are almost always continued in the further course of the narrative by means of the *finite verb*, i. e. by an independent sentence, not by a co-ordinate infinitive. Such a finite verb *we* regard as governed by a conjunction, which corresponds to the preposition standing before the infinitive. Thus the infinitival construction (frequently even with a change of subject) is continued by a perfect (with לָ), Jer 9<sup>12</sup> *because they have forsaken* (עָלְעוּבָם) *my law* . . . וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ and *have not obeyed my voice*; Gn 39<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>12</sup>, Am 1<sup>2</sup>; without לָ Jb 28<sup>25</sup> (perf. after לָ and infin.); by a perfect with וְ (cf. § 112 i and v) Am 1<sup>11</sup> וְגַלְעָדָרְפוּ because *he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off continually all pity* (a frequentative perfect; for examples of the perfect consecutive proper see Gn 27<sup>45</sup>, Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 18<sup>32</sup> [Is 36<sup>17</sup>], always after עַד-בֹּאִי until *I come*); by a simple imperfect, e.g. Pr 1<sup>27</sup> (after בְּ); Is 30<sup>26</sup> (after בַּיּוֹם in *the day*, a temporal phrase which has here become equivalent to a preposition); Is 5<sup>24</sup> (after בְּ), 10<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, 14<sup>25</sup>, 45<sup>1</sup>, 49<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, Pr 2<sup>8</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>21</sup> (always after לָ)<sup>1</sup>; by an imperfect consecutive, e.g. Gn 39<sup>18</sup> *and it came to pass*, וַאֲקֹרָא בְּהִרְיִמִי קוֹלִי as *I lifted up my voice and cried, that* . . .; 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Jb 38<sup>13</sup> (after לָ); 1 K 18<sup>18</sup>, Is 38<sup>9</sup>, Jb 38<sup>7.9</sup> π. (after בְּ); Is 30<sup>12</sup>, Jer 7<sup>13</sup>, Ez 34<sup>8</sup> (after וְ).

**s** 2. The negation of an infinitive construct, on account of the predominance of the noun-element in its character, is effected not by the verbal negative לֹא (except in the compound בְּלֹא, which has come to be used as a preposition, without, Nu 35<sup>23</sup>, Pr 15<sup>2</sup>), but by בְּלֹאִי, originally a substantive (see the *Lexicon*), with לָ prefixed (but also Nu 14<sup>16</sup> מִבְּלֹאִי), e.g. Gn 3<sup>11</sup> אֲכַל-כִּמְוֶנֶה לְבִלְתִּי *not to eat of it*; in a final sense, 4<sup>15</sup> *lest any finding him should smite him*; only in 2 K 23<sup>10</sup> is לָ repeated before the infinitive. In ψ 32<sup>9</sup> (if the text be right) בְּלֹא negatives, not the infinitive, but the predicate which is understood.

### § 115. Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object.

**a** 1. Like the infinitive absolute (see § 113 a), the character of the infinitive construct as a *verbal noun* is shown by its power of taking the case proper to its verb, and hence in transitive verbs<sup>2</sup> *the accusative of the object*, e.g. Nu 9<sup>15</sup> אֶת-הַמִּשְׁכָּן בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *on the day the*

<sup>1</sup> The great frequency of examples of this kind, especially in the poetical books, is due to a striving after what is called *chiasmus* in the arrangement of the parallel members in the two halves of the verse, i. e. in the instances given, the finite verb at the end of the second (co-ordinate) clause is parallel with the infinitive at the beginning of the first. In this way the verbal form necessarily became separated from the לָ, and consequently the imperfect had to be used instead of the perfect consecutive. Such a parallelism of the external and internal members of a verse is frequent also in other cases, and was evidently felt to be an elegance of elevated—poetic or prophetic—style.

<sup>2</sup> For examples of the accus. of the object with a pass. infin., see § 121 c.

tabernacle was reared up; 1 S 19<sup>1</sup> לְהָמִית אֶת־דָּוִד that they should slay David; Gn 14<sup>17</sup>, 19<sup>29</sup>, Ex 38<sup>27</sup>, 1 K 12<sup>15</sup>, 15<sup>4</sup>; with a negative, e.g. Lv 26<sup>15</sup> לֹבְלֹתִי עֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי so that ye will not do all my commandments; with the accusative of the personal pronoun, e.g. Dt 29<sup>12</sup> לְמַעַן לְהָקִים־אֹתְךָ that he may establish thee; Gn 25<sup>26</sup>, Jer 24<sup>7</sup>; with a verbal suffix, e.g. Ex 2<sup>14</sup> לְהָרְגֵנִי to kill me; Jer 38<sup>26</sup> לְבָלִיתִי הוֹשִׁיבֵנִי that he would not cause me to return (on the suffix, cf. c). In Is 49<sup>6</sup> the object even precedes the infinitive with ל; on this order cf. the note on § 114 r.—If the verb governs a double accusative, the infinitive may also take the same, e.g. Gn 41<sup>39</sup> אֶת־כָּל־זֹאת הוֹדִיעַ אֱלֹהִים אֹתְךָ forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this; Dt 21<sup>16</sup>.

Rem. 1. The object after the infinitive construct must also always be *b* regarded as in the accusative, even when it is not expressly introduced (as in all the above examples) by the *nota accusativi* אֶת, and when therefore the substantive in question might easily be taken as the *genitive of the object* governed by the infinitive (the usual construction in Arabic), e.g. Pr 21<sup>15</sup> מִשְׁפָּט עֲשׂוֹת to do judgement. Against regarding it as a genitive, which is in itself possible (the doing, the executing of judgement), is the fact (a) that elsewhere the *nota accusativi* is so frequently added; (b) that in such a case the secondary forms of the infinitive, such as רָאָה for רָאָה (פָּנִיךָ) Gn 48<sup>11</sup> (cf. ψ 101<sup>3</sup>, Pr 16<sup>16</sup>), would be unintelligible; (c) that certain infinitive forms, if they were to be regarded as in the construct state, could hardly retain the pretonic Qames without exception, whereas, when connected with suffixes (i.e. with real genitives; cf. § 33 c), this Qames necessarily becomes *Ṣewā*; e.g. Gn 18<sup>25</sup> לְהָמִית צָדִיק to slay the righteous (never as לְהָמִית; cf., on the other hand, above, הִשְׁמִינִי); 2 K 21<sup>8</sup>, Ez 44<sup>30</sup>. Similarly in such cases as Is 3<sup>13</sup> (ψ 50<sup>4</sup>) instead of עֲמִים לְרִין we should rather expect לְרִין, if the infinitive were regarded as in the construct state, and עֲמִים as the genitive. Hence also in cases like Is 58<sup>9</sup> (שָׁלַח for שָׁלַח) we must assume, with Sellin, op. cit., p. 78, a merely 'external phonetic connexion' and not the genitive construction.

2. The verbal suffixes added to the infinitive are (with the exception of *c* לְהוֹצִיאָה Jer 39<sup>14</sup>) only the suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (besides the above examples cf. also 1 S 5<sup>10</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, 28<sup>9</sup>, Ru 2<sup>10</sup>, 1 Ch 12<sup>17</sup>, &c.) and plural; e.g. לְהַשְׁמִינֵנוּ to destroy us, Dt 1<sup>27</sup> (immediately after אֲנִי, so that אֲנִי is doubtless a verbal not a noun-suffix, although in form it might be either); לְהַמְתִּינֵנוּ Nu 16<sup>13</sup>, Ju 13<sup>23</sup> (after הִפִּיץ). Elsewhere the pronominal object is appended either by means of the accusative sign (e.g. Gn 25<sup>26</sup> אֹתָם בְּלֹדָתָם prop. in the bearing them; לְדַעַת אֹתִי to know me, Jer 24<sup>7</sup>) or in the form of a noun-suffix (as genitive of the object). The latter occurs almost always, whenever the context excludes the possibility of a misunderstanding; e.g. 1 S 20<sup>33</sup> לְהַכּוֹתוֹ (prop. for his smiting) to smite him, not, as the form might also mean, in order that he might smite; cf. 1 K 20<sup>35</sup>; with the suffix of the 3rd sing. fem. Nu 22<sup>25</sup>; of the 3rd plur. Jos 10<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>2</sup>, &c. Hence also the suffixes of the 2nd sing. with the infinitive, as לְהַבְתֶּךָ Jer 40<sup>14</sup>, cf. Mi 6<sup>13</sup>, and even נִגְדְּלֶךָ to magnify thee, Jos 3<sup>7</sup>, must certainly be regarded as *nominal* not *verbal* suffixes. The connexion of the noun-suffix, as genitive of the object, with the infinitive,

was so fully established, that it could be used not only in such strange cases. as Gn 37<sup>4</sup> **לֹא יִכְלוּ דַבְּרוֹ לְשָׁלֹם** *they could not speak to him peaceably*, cf. Zc 3<sup>1</sup> **לִשְׂמֹנִי** *to be an adversary to him*, but ultimately even in the 1st sing., as in Nu 22<sup>13</sup> **לְתַתִּי** *to give me leave* [Dt 25<sup>7</sup> **לֹא אֶכֶּה יְבִמִי** *he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me*; 1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup> **לְבַלְתִּי עֲצֹבִי** *that it may not grieve me!*]

- d** 3. The power of governing like a verb is also retained in those verbal nouns which, although originally secondary forms of the infinitive, have fully acquired the value of nouns, e. g. Is 11<sup>9</sup> **דַּעַה אֶת־יְהוָה** (prop. to know the Lord) *the knowledge of the Lord*; **לִירְאָה אֹתִי** *to fear me*, Dt 4<sup>10</sup>, 5<sup>26</sup>, 10<sup>12</sup>; an accusative follows **לְאַהֲבָה** Dt 10<sup>12,15</sup>, Is 56<sup>8</sup> (cf. also 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Ho 3<sup>1</sup>); **לְהִנָּפֵחַ** Is 30<sup>2e</sup>; **בְּשִׂנְאֵת יְהוָה אֹתָנוּ** Dt 12<sup>7</sup>; after verbal nouns formed with the prefix **מ** (cf. § 45 e), Nu 10<sup>2</sup>, Is 13<sup>19</sup>, Am 4<sup>11</sup>, Ez 17<sup>9</sup>. The accusative of the object likewise remains after infinitives (or their secondary forms) which have the article. e. g. Gn 2<sup>9</sup>, Jer 22<sup>16</sup>, or a suffix, e. g. Gn 5<sup>4</sup>, &c., 28<sup>4,6</sup>, 29<sup>19 f</sup>, 30<sup>15</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>11</sup>, Is 29<sup>13</sup>.

- e** 2. The subject of the action represented by the infinitive is mostly placed immediately<sup>1</sup> after it, either in the *genitive* or *nominative*. The subject is in the genitive (§ 33 c) whenever it has the form of a noun-suffix, and also when the infinitive has the termination of the constr. st. fem. sing. (see *f*); probably also in many other cases, where the infinitive in form and meaning is used more like a substantive, and accordingly governs like a noun. On the other hand, the subject of the infinitive is certainly to be regarded as a nominative, when it is separated from the infinitive by any insertion, and according to certain indications (see *g*) very probably in many other instances.

- f** Rem. 1. Examples of genitives of the subject after infinitives in the connective form are Dt 12<sup>7</sup> **בְּשִׂנְאֵת יְהוָה אֹתָנוּ** prop. *in the Lord's hating us*; cf. 7<sup>8</sup>, Gn 10<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Is 13<sup>19</sup>, 41<sup>9</sup>, Ho 3<sup>1</sup>, Am 4<sup>11</sup>. The subject of the infinitive is probably also to be regarded as genitive in such cases as Ex 17<sup>1</sup> *and there was no water* **לְשִׁתַּת הָעָם** *for the people to drink* (prop. for the drinking of the people), and in cases like Gn 16<sup>16</sup> (**בְּלֶדְתַּת הָנֶגֶר**); Gn 16<sup>3</sup>, Ex 19<sup>1</sup>, Nu 20<sup>3,4</sup>, 33<sup>28</sup>, 1 K 6<sup>1</sup>, ψ 133<sup>1</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>8</sup>, &c.

- g** 2. Examples in which the subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion, and hence must certainly be regarded as a nominative, are Jb 34<sup>22</sup> **לְהִתְחַבֵּר שָׁם פְּעָלֵי אֵוֹן** *that the workers of iniquity may hide themselves there* (prop. for the hiding themselves there the workers of iniquity); cf. Gn 34<sup>15</sup>, Nu 35<sup>6</sup>, Dt 19<sup>3</sup>, Ju 9<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>13</sup>, ψ 76<sup>10</sup>, and below, *i*. The subject is likewise to be regarded as a *nominative*, whenever the *Lamedh* is prefixed to the infinitive by means of a pretonic Qameṣ (cf. *b* above), e. g. 2 S 19<sup>20</sup> **לְשׂוֹם הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־לְבֹ**

<sup>1</sup> In Gn 24<sup>30</sup> the subject of **כָּרָאֵחַ** is wanting (but **כְּשִׂמְעֹו** follows); the original reading was undoubtedly **כָּרָאֵחִי**, and the text is now in a state of confusion; verse 30a should come before verse 29b. In Gn 19<sup>29</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup>, Ex 9<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>19</sup>, Jer 41<sup>6</sup>, ψ 42<sup>4</sup> the subject, although not indicated, is easily supplied from the context. The infinitive in such cases is best rendered in English by a passive.

since, if the infinitive were used as a *nomen regens*, we should rather expect לִשְׁנוֹם according to § 102 f. That the subject of the infinitive is regarded elsewhere also as nominative is again (see above, b) probable, since in such forms as הָנִיחַ Dt 25<sup>19</sup>, Is 14<sup>3</sup>, הָמִיר ψ 46<sup>3</sup>, &c., the pretonic Qameṣ is retained without exception, whereas on the analogy of הָנִיחַ Ez 24<sup>13</sup>, הָקִימוֹ Jer 23<sup>20</sup>, &c., we should expect הָמִיר, &c., if the infinitive were regarded as a *nomen regens*. Or was the retention of the Qameṣ (assuming the thorough correctness of the Masoretic punctuation) rendered possible even before a following genitive, because that vowel was characteristic of the form? It is at all events certain that owing to the lack of case-endings,<sup>1</sup> a distinction between the genitival and nominative constructions could not have been consciously made in the case of most infinitives, e.g. in unchangeable forms like קָטַל, קִים, &c.

3. When both a *subject* and an *object* are connected with the *h* infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should immediately follow the infinitive, and then the object. The latter, in such a case, is necessarily in the accusative, but the subject (as in *e*) may be either in the genitive or in the nominative. The noun-suffixes again are, of course, to be regarded as genitives, e.g. Gn 39<sup>18</sup> בְּהִרְמִי קוֹלִי as *I lifted up my voice* (cf. 1 K 13<sup>21</sup>, and the examples, Gn 5<sup>4</sup>, &c., enumerated above, under *d*), and so also substantives which follow a connective form, Dt 1<sup>27</sup>, &c.; see above, *d* and *f*.

On the other hand, the subject appears necessarily to be in the *i* nominative in such cases as Is 10<sup>15</sup> אֶת־מִרְמִי נִשְׁבֵּט בְּהִנִּיף as *if a rod should shake them that lift it up* (for the plur. מִרְמִי cf. § 124 *k*), not בְּהִנִּיף, as would be expected (see *g* above), if נִשְׁבֵּט were in the genitive; cf. 2 S 14<sup>13</sup>, Jb 33<sup>17</sup>. And so probably also in other cases, as Gn 5<sup>1</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>, Jos 14<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>10</sup>, Is 32<sup>7</sup>. The subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion (and consequently must necessarily be in the nominative; see *g* above), e.g. in Jer 21<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. Less frequently the object is placed immediately after the infinitive, *k* and then the nominative of the subject, as a subsequent complement, e.g. Is 20<sup>1</sup> קָרַגְנָן אֹתוֹ בְּשַׁלַּח when *Sargon sent him*; Gn 4<sup>15</sup>, Jos 14<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>29</sup>, Is 5<sup>24</sup>, ψ 56<sup>1</sup>, Pr 25<sup>8</sup>. In Nu 24<sup>23</sup> the subject follows an infinitive which has a noun-suffix in place of the object.

## § 116. *The Participles.*

Cf. Sellin (see above at the head of § 113), p. 6 ff., and Kahan, p. 11 ff.

1. Like the two infinitives, the participles also occupy a middle *a* place between the noun and the verb. In form they are simple nouns,

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic, where the case-endings leave no doubt as to the construction, it is equally possible to say either *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) '*Amran* (acc.), literally *Zaid's killing 'Amr*, or *qatlu 'Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), or even *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) '*Amran* (acc. of obj.).

and most nearly related to the adjective; consequently they cannot in themselves be employed to represent definite relations of tense or mood. On the other hand, their verbal character is shown by their not representing, like the adjectives, a fixed and permanent quality (or state), but one which is in some way connected with an *action* or *activity*. The *participle active* indicates a person or thing conceived as being in the continual uninterrupted *exercise* of an activity. The *participle passive*, on the other hand, indicates the person or thing in a state which has been brought about by external *actions*.

- b Rem. That the language was fully conscious of the difference between a state implying action (or effected by external action) and mere passivity, is seen from the fact, that participles proper cannot be formed from the purely stative Qal, but only verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭel* (מָלֵךְ, מַכֵּה, &c.) or *qāṭōl* (מַכֵּה, &c.), whereas the *transitive* Qal שָׂנֵא *to hate*, although it coincides in form with the intransitive Qal (as a verb middle *e*), nevertheless forms a participle active שֹׂנֵא, and participle passive שְׂנוּא (cf. the feminine שְׂנוּאָה).—In cases where the participle proper and the verbal adjective both occur, they are by no means synonymous. When the Assyrians are called in Is 28<sup>11</sup> לְעִנֵּי שִׁפָּה *men of stammering lips*, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with their personality. On the other hand לְעֵנִי בָלָה Jer 20<sup>7</sup>, describes those about the prophet as continually engaged in casting ridicule upon him. Cf. also שְׂכַחְתִּי 9<sup>18</sup> with שָׁכַח 50<sup>22</sup>.

- c On the difference between the participle as expressing *simple* duration and the imperfect as expressing *progressive* duration, cf. what has been stated above in § 107 d. Nevertheless the participle is sometimes used—especially in the later books, cf. e.g. Neh 6<sup>17</sup>, 2 Ch 17<sup>13</sup>—where we should expect the action to be divided up into its several parts, and consequently should expect the finite verb. But the substitution of the participle for the *tempus historicum*, which becomes customary in Aramaic (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 76. 2, d and e), is nevertheless quite foreign to Hebrew.

- d 2. The period of time indicated by (a) a participle active, either as an attribute or predicate, must be inferred from the particular context. Thus מָת may mean either *moriens* (Zc 11<sup>9</sup>), or *mortuus* (so commonly; with the article הַמָּת regularly=*the dead man*), or *moriturus* (Dt 4<sup>22</sup>); בָּרֵךְ *coming, come* Gn 18<sup>11</sup>, &c., *venturus* 1 S 23<sup>1</sup>, &c.; נָפַל *falling*, but also *fallen*, Ju 3<sup>25</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>3</sup>, and *ready to fall* (threatening ruin, Is 30<sup>13</sup>, Am 9<sup>11</sup>). For other examples of perfect participles see Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 43<sup>18</sup> הָשֹׁב *that was returned*; cf. Ezr 6<sup>21</sup>, &c., הַשָּׁבִים *which were come again* from the captivity); Gn 35<sup>3</sup>, Ex 11<sup>5</sup>, Zc 12<sup>1</sup>, ψ 137<sup>7</sup>, Pr 8<sup>9</sup>, Jb 12<sup>4</sup> (קָרָא), and see *m* below. For future participles see Gn 41<sup>25</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>9</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup>, Jon 1<sup>3</sup>, &c., probably also לְקָהִי Gn 19<sup>14</sup>. On the *futurum instans* (esp. after הִנֵּה) see *p* below.

- e (b) Of the passive participles, that of Qal (e.g. פְּתוּב scriptus) always corresponds to a Latin or Greek perfect participle passive, those of the other conjugations, especially *Niph'al*, sometimes to

a Latin gerundive (or to an adjective in *-bilis*), e. g. נֹרָא *metuendus*, to be feared, ψ 76<sup>8</sup>, &c.; נַחֲמָד *desiderandus* (*desiderabilis*) Gn 3<sup>6</sup>, ψ 19<sup>11</sup>, &c.; נִבְרָא *creandus* ψ 102<sup>19</sup>; נוֹלָד, usually *natus*, but also (like הַיּוֹלֵד Ju 13<sup>8</sup>) *procreandus*, *nasciturus* 1 K 13<sup>2</sup>, ψ 22<sup>32</sup>; נִעְרָץ *terribilis* ψ 89<sup>8</sup>; נִהְעָב *abominable* Jb 15<sup>16</sup>; נִחְשָׁב *aestimandus* Is 22<sup>2</sup>; הַנֶּאֱכָלָת *that may be eaten* (an animal) Lv 11<sup>47</sup>. In P<sup>u</sup>al מְהֻלָּל *laudandus*, worthy to be praised ψ 18<sup>4</sup>. In Hoph'al, 2 S 20<sup>21</sup> מְשֻׁלָּח; 2 K 11<sup>2</sup> הַמּוֹרָתִים; Is 12<sup>5</sup> מוֹרֵעַת *Q<sup>re</sup>*.<sup>1</sup>

3. The participles active, in virtue of their partly verbal character, *f* possess the power of governing like verbs, and consequently, when used in the absolute state, may take after them an object either in the accusative, or with the preposition with which the verb in question is elsewhere usually construed, e. g. 1 S 18<sup>29</sup> אֹיֵב אֶת־דָּוִד *hating David*; Gn 42<sup>29</sup>; with the suffix of the accusative, e. g. עָשֵׂנִי *that made me* Jb 31<sup>15</sup>; רֹאֵנִי מִי *who seeth us?* Is 29<sup>15</sup> (in Is 47<sup>10</sup> רֹאֵנִי is abnormal); רֹדֵם *ruling them* ψ 68<sup>28</sup>, sometimes also with the article, e. g. ψ 18<sup>33</sup> הַמֵּאֲרֵנִי *that girdeth me* (LXX ὁ καταδὼν με); Dt 8<sup>14-16</sup>, 13<sup>6,11</sup>, 20<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>24</sup>, Is 9<sup>12</sup> (where, however, Cheyne omits the article), 63<sup>11</sup>, ψ 81<sup>11</sup>, 103<sup>4</sup>, Dn 11<sup>6</sup>; followed by a preposition, e. g. 1 K 9<sup>23</sup> בָּעָם הַרְדִּים *which bare rule over the people*; 2 K 20<sup>5</sup> לִךְ רֹפֵא הִנְנִי *behold, I will heal thee*.<sup>2</sup>

By an exhaustive examination of the statistics, Sellin (see the title at the head of § 113), p. 40 ff., shows that the participle when construed as a *verb* expresses a single and comparatively transitory act, or relates to particular cases, historical facts, and the like, while the participle construed as a *noun* (see *g*) indicates repeated, enduring, or commonly occurring acts, occupations, and thoughts.

So also the verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭēl* may take an accusative of the person or thing, if the finite verb from which they are derived governs an accusative, e. g. Dt 34<sup>9</sup> מְלֵא רֵיחַ הַכֶּכֶּה *full of the spirit of wisdom*; ψ 5<sup>5</sup> חָפֵץ רֵשָׁע *that hath pleasure in wickedness*.

As a sort of noun the participle may, however, also exercise the *g* same government as a noun, being in the construct state, and followed by the object of the action in the genitive (see § 89 *a*; and cf. § 128 *x*), e. g. ψ 5<sup>12</sup> אֲהִבִּי שְׁמֶךָ *that love thy name*; cf. ψ 19<sup>84</sup>; also when a verbal adjective, e. g. Gn 22<sup>12</sup> and often יֹרֵא אֱלֹהִים *one fearing*

<sup>1</sup> Such examples as נֹרָא, נַחֲמָד, מְהֻלָּל show plainly the origin of this gerundive use of the participle passive. A person or thing *feared, desired, or praised* at all times is shown thereby to be *terrible, desirable, or praiseworthy*, and therefore also to be *feared, &c.*

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, in Is. 11<sup>9</sup> as the waters לִגְמֵי מַכְסִּים *covering the sea*, the ל serves only to introduce the object preceding the participle [cf. the Arabic parallels cited by Driver, *Tenses*, § 135, 7 *Obs.*]. Cf. Hab. 2<sup>14</sup>.

God; Hb 2<sup>15</sup>; with an infinitive,  $\psi$  127<sup>2</sup>; with a noun-suffix (which, according to § 33 c, also represents a genitive), e. g. Gn 4<sup>14</sup>  $\text{כָּל־מֵצֵאִי}$  *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; cf.  $\text{עֹשֵׂי}$  *my maker*); 12<sup>3</sup>  $\text{מְבַרְכֶּיךָ}$  *that bless thee*,  $\text{מְקַלְלֶיךָ}$  *that curseth thee* (but read either  $\text{מְשַׁלְּחֶיךָ}$ , or  $\text{מְבַרְכֶּיךָ}$  in the preceding clause); 27<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>30</sup>, Is 63<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  18<sup>49</sup>. In Jer 33<sup>22</sup> read  $\text{מְשִׁרְתִּים אֶתִּי}$ .<sup>1</sup>

h Rem. To the class of objective genitives belong also specifications of place after the participles  $\text{בָּא}$  *iniens* and  $\text{יֵצֵא}$  *egrediens*, since the verbs  $\text{בָּא}$  and  $\text{יֵצֵא}$ , in the sense of *ingredi*, *egredi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e. g. Gn 23<sup>10,18</sup>  $\text{בָּאִי שְׁעַר עִירוֹ}$  *that went in at the gate of his city*; La 1<sup>4</sup>; after  $\text{יֵצֵא}$  Gn 9<sup>10</sup>, 34<sup>24</sup>, 46<sup>26</sup>, &c.—In poetic language the participle in the construct state may be connected not only with a genitive of the object, but also with any other specifications (especially of space) which otherwise can only be made to depend on the verb in question by means of a preposition; cf. Is 38<sup>18</sup>, and frequently,  $\text{יֹרְדֵי־בֹר}$  *they that go down into the pit (the grave)*;  $\psi$  88<sup>6</sup>  $\text{שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר}$  *that lie in the grave*; Dt 32<sup>24</sup> (Mi 7<sup>17</sup>); 1 K 2<sup>7</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>5,7,9</sup> *those that came in (or went out) on the sabbath*, Pr 2<sup>7</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>13</sup>, &c.; instead of the construction with  $\text{מִן}$ , e. g. Is 59<sup>20</sup> *(those who turn from transgression)*, Mi 2<sup>8</sup> (cf. § 72 p).

i These genitives of nearer definition appear also in the form of a noun-suffix, e. g.  $\psi$  18<sup>40,49</sup>  $\text{קָמִי}$  (for  $\text{קָמִים עָלַי}$ ) *that rise up against me*; cf. Ex 15<sup>7</sup>, Dt 33<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  44<sup>6</sup>, Ex 32<sup>25</sup>, Is 12<sup>7</sup>  $\text{שׁוֹבֵיהָ}$  *her converts*;  $\psi$  53<sup>6</sup> (חֲנֹף)  $\text{כָּל־בָּאֶיהָ}$  *all that go unto her*; the construction is especially bold in Is 29<sup>7</sup>  $\text{כָּל־צִבְיָהָ וּמִצְדֹתָהָ}$  *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for  $\text{עָלֶיהָ וְעַל־מִ'$   $\text{כָּל־הַצִּבְיָאִים עָלֶיהָ וְעַל־מִ'}$ );  $\psi$  102<sup>9</sup> even with a participle Po'al,  $\text{מְהוֹלְלֵי}$  *they that are mad against me* (?), but read perhaps with Olshausen  $\text{מְהוֹלְלֵי}$  *who pierce me*.—In Is 1<sup>30</sup> as a terebinth  $\text{עֹלֶה עָלֶיהָ}$  *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether  $\text{נִבְלַת}$  is in the absolute state, and consequently  $\text{עֹלֶה}$  in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and  $\text{עָלֶיהָ}$  as the genitive. In the latter case it would be analogous to Pr 14<sup>2</sup> (see k).

k 4. The passive participles also may either be in the absolute state, and take the determining word in the accusative,<sup>2</sup> or may be connected

<sup>1</sup> When, as in Jb 40<sup>19</sup>, the participle with the noun-suffix  $\text{הַעֲשֵׂוֹ}$  *he that made him*, also has the article (cf. § 127 i), the anomaly is difficult to understand, since a word determined by a genitive does not admit of being determined by the article.—No less remarkable is the use of the constr. st. of the participle before the accusative in Jer 33<sup>22</sup>  $\text{מְשִׁרְתִּי אֶתִּי}$  *that minister unto me* (for which there is  $\text{מְשִׁרְתִּי}$  in verse 21). In Am 4<sup>13</sup> an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object,  $\text{עֹשֶׂה שַׁחַר עֵיפָה}$  *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer 2<sup>17</sup>  $\text{בָּעֵת כּוֹלְכֶךָ}$  is supposed to mean *at the time when he led thee*; perhaps the perfect (הוֹלֵךְ) should be read as in 6<sup>15</sup>. In Ez 27<sup>34</sup>, the ancient versions read  $\text{נִשְׁבַּרְתָּהּ}$  *now thou art broken*, instead of the difficult  $\text{הָיָה וְהָיָה עֹשֶׂה}$  *before*  $\text{נִשְׁבַּרְתָּהּ}$ .

<sup>2</sup> On the proper force of this accusative when retained in the passive con-

with it in the construct state, e.g. Ju 18<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>18</sup>, Ez 9<sup>2</sup> לְבוּשׁ בְּדִים קָרוֹעַ *clothed in linen*, cf. verse 3 הַלְבַּשׁ הַבְּדִים; (even with a suffix קָרוֹעַ בְּתִנְתּוֹ *rent as regards his coat* 2 S 15<sup>32</sup>; with the participle following Ju 1<sup>7</sup>); but Ez 9<sup>11</sup> לְבוּשׁ הַבְּדִים *the one clothed with linen*; 2 S 13<sup>31</sup> קָרַעִי בְּגָדִים *rent in respect of clothes*, equivalent to *with their clothes rent* (cf. Jer 41<sup>5</sup>); Nu 24<sup>4</sup>, Dt 25<sup>10</sup>, Is 3<sup>3</sup>, 33<sup>24</sup>, Jo 1<sup>8</sup>, ψ 32<sup>1</sup> נְשִׁי-פֶשַׁע *forgiven in respect of transgression*, כָּסִי מַטָּא *covered in respect of sin*); with a suffix to the noun, Pr 14<sup>2</sup> נָלֹו דְרָכָיו *he that is perverse in his ways*.

Rem. The passive participle occurs in the construct state before a genitive *l* of the cause, e.g. in Is 1<sup>7</sup> אֵשׁ שָׂרְפֹת אֶשׁ *burnt with fire*; cf. Gn 41<sup>6</sup>, Ex 28<sup>11</sup>, Dt 32<sup>24</sup>; before a genitive denoting the author, e.g. Gn 24<sup>31</sup> יְהוָה בְּרוּךְ *blessed of the Lord* (but ψ 115<sup>15</sup> לַיהוָה בְּרוּכִים, see § 121 f); cf. Is 53<sup>4</sup>, ψ 22<sup>7</sup>, Jb 14<sup>1</sup> (15<sup>14</sup>, 25<sup>4</sup>); hence also with noun-suffixes (which are accordingly genitive) Pr 9<sup>18</sup> קָרְאֶיהָ *her invited ones*, i.e. those invited by her; cf. 7<sup>28</sup>, ψ 37<sup>22</sup>.

5. The use of the participle as predicate is very frequent in noun- *m* clauses (which, according to § 140 e, describe established facts and states), in which the period of time intended by the description must again (see above, d) be inferred from the context. Thus:

(a) As *present*, in speaking of truths which hold good at all times, e.g. Ec 1<sup>4</sup> n בָּא דֹור הַלֵּךְ וְדֹור בָּא *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh*; and the earth abideth (עֹמֶדֶת) *for ever*; cf. verse 7; also to represent incidental (continuous) occurrences which are just happening, Gn 3<sup>5</sup>, 16<sup>8</sup> (I am fleeing); 32<sup>12</sup>, Ex 9<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>15</sup>, 23<sup>1</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>9</sup>, Is 1<sup>7</sup>; when the subject is introduced by the emphatic demonstrative הִנֵּה *behold!* (§ 100 o and § 105 b), e.g. Gn 16<sup>11</sup> הִנֵּה הָרָה *behold, thou art with child*, &c.; 27<sup>42</sup>; frequently also in circumstantial clauses (connected with Wāw), cf. § 141 e, e.g. Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, &c.

(b) To represent *past* actions or states, sometimes in independent noun- *o* clauses, e.g. Ex 20<sup>18</sup> וְכָל-הָעָם רָאוּ אֶת-הַקּוֹלֹת *and all the people saw the thunders*, &c.; 1 K 1<sup>5</sup>; in negative statements, e.g. Gn 39<sup>23 a</sup>; sometimes in relative clauses, e.g. Gn 39<sup>23 b</sup>, Dt 3<sup>2</sup> (cf. also the frequent combination of the participle with the article as the equivalent of a relative clause, e.g. Gn 32<sup>10</sup> הָאִמֶּר *which saidst*; 12<sup>7</sup>, 16<sup>13</sup>, 35<sup>13</sup>, 36<sup>35</sup>, 48<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>31</sup>, &c.); sometimes again (see n) in circumstantial clauses, especially those representing actions or states which occurred simultaneously with other past actions, &c., e.g. Gn 19<sup>1</sup> *and the two angels came to Sodom* יֵשֶׁב וְלוֹט *and* (i.e. while) Lot sat, &c.; 18<sup>1.8.16.22</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup>, Ju 13<sup>9</sup>, 2 Ch 22<sup>9</sup>; also with the subject introduced by הִנֵּה 37<sup>7</sup>, 41<sup>17</sup>. (On הִלֵּךְ with a following adjective or participle to express an action constantly or occasionally recurring, cf. § 113 u.)

(c) To announce *future* actions or events, e.g. 1 K 2<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>16</sup> *at this season* p *when the time cometh round*, בֵּן אָתָּה הִכְתָּת בֵּן *thou shalt embrace a son*; so after a specification of time, Gn 7<sup>4</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 17<sup>19</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>, Hag 2<sup>6</sup> (but in Is 23<sup>15</sup>, where, after וְהָיָה we should rather expect a perfect consecutive, it is better to explain

struction cf. below, § 117 cc, &c., and § 121 c, d. So also Neh 4<sup>12</sup> is to be understood, *and the builders were girded every one with his sword on his side, and building*.

וְנִשְׁכַּחַת, with *Qimhi*, as the 3rd sing. fem. of the perfect; on the form, cf. § 44 f); or in relative clauses, Gn 41<sup>25</sup>, Is 5<sup>6</sup> *what I am doing*, i.e. am in the act of doing; in a deliberative question, Gn 37<sup>30</sup>; but especially often when the subject is introduced by הִנֵּה (especially also if the subject be attached as a suffix to הִנֵּה as הִנֵּה הֵנִי, הִנֵּה, &c.), if it is intended to announce the event as imminent, or at least near at hand (and sure to happen), when it is called *futurum instans*, e.g. Gn 6<sup>17</sup>, 15<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>3</sup>, 24<sup>13f.</sup>, 48<sup>21</sup>, 50<sup>5</sup>, Ex 3<sup>13</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 9<sup>3</sup>, 34<sup>10</sup>, Jos 2<sup>18</sup>, Ju 17<sup>7</sup>, 9<sup>33</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>2</sup>, Is 3<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>14</sup>, 17<sup>1</sup>, Jer 30<sup>10</sup>, Ze 2<sup>13</sup>, 3<sup>8</sup>; with a participle passive, 2 S 20<sup>21</sup>: cf. also § 112 t.

q Rem. 1. As the above examples show, a noun-clause with a participle as predicate may have for its subject either a substantive or a personal pronoun; in both cases the participle, especially if there be a certain emphasis upon it, may precede the subject. Also in noun-clauses introduced by הִנֵּה the subject may be either a substantive, or (e.g. Gn 37<sup>7</sup>) a separate personal pronoun, or a suffix attached to הִנֵּה. In the same way, the subject may also be introduced by יֵשׁ (*est*, see the Lexicon) with a suffix, and in negative sentences by אֵין (*non est*) with a suffix, e.g. Ju 6<sup>36</sup> אִם-יִשְׁעַךְ מִשְׁיַע *if thou wilt save*; Gn 43<sup>5</sup> אִם-אֵינְךָ מִשְׁלַח *if thou wilt not send*; 1 S 19<sup>11</sup>.—In such cases as Is 14<sup>27</sup> הַנְּטוּיָה יָדוֹ *the stretched out hand is his*, הַנְּטוּיָה is not, like נְטוּיָה in 9<sup>11-16</sup>, &c., the predicate (in which case the participle could not take the article), but the subject; cf. Gn 2<sup>11</sup>, 45<sup>12</sup>, Is 66<sup>9</sup>, Ez 20<sup>29</sup>, Ze 7<sup>8</sup> (cf. § 126 k), where the participle with the article likewise refers to the present, also Nu 7<sup>2</sup>, Dt 3<sup>21</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, &c., 1 S 4<sup>16</sup>, where it refers to the past. In 1 K 12<sup>8</sup> and 21<sup>11</sup> even in relative clauses after אֲשֶׁר.

r 2. To give express emphasis to an action continuing in the *past*, the perfect הָיָה in the corresponding person is sometimes added to the participle, and similarly the imperfect הָיָה (or the jussive יִהְיֶה, or the imperfect consecutive) is used to emphasize an action continuing in the *future*, e.g. Jb 14<sup>14</sup> הַבָּקָר הָיָה הֹרֶשֶׁת *the oxen (cows) were plowing*; Gn 37<sup>2</sup>, 39<sup>22</sup>, Ex 3<sup>1</sup>, Dt 9<sup>24</sup>, Ju 1<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>8</sup>; the same occurs with a passive participle, e.g. Jos 5<sup>5</sup>, Ze 3<sup>3</sup>; הָיָה with a participle is found e.g. in Is 2<sup>2</sup>; the jussive in Gn 1<sup>6</sup>, ψ 109<sup>12</sup>; <sup>1</sup> and וְהָיָה with a participle in Ju 16<sup>21</sup>, Neh 1<sup>4</sup>.

s 3. The *personal pronoun* which would be expected as the subject of a participial clause is frequently omitted, or at least (as elsewhere in noun-clauses, cf. Is 26<sup>3</sup>, ψ 16<sup>8</sup>, Jb 9<sup>32</sup>) the pronoun of the 3rd pers. הוּא, e.g. Gn 24<sup>30</sup>, 37<sup>15</sup>, 38<sup>24</sup>, 41<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>12</sup>, Is 29<sup>8</sup> (the participle always after הִנֵּה); cf., moreover, Gn 32<sup>7</sup>, Dt 33<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>1</sup>, Is 33<sup>5</sup>, 40<sup>19</sup>, ψ 22<sup>29</sup>, 33<sup>5</sup>, 55<sup>20</sup>, Jb 12<sup>17-19</sup> π., 25<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>7</sup>.—הִיא is omitted in Lv 18<sup>28</sup>; הֵיכָלָה in Is 32<sup>12</sup>, Ez 8<sup>12</sup>, Neh 9<sup>3</sup>; in a relative clause, Gn 39<sup>22</sup>, Is 24<sup>2</sup>.—The personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. masc. (אַתָּה) is omitted in Hb 2<sup>10</sup>; the 2nd fem. (אַתְּ) in Gn 20<sup>16</sup> (where, however, for the participle וְנִכְחַת the 2nd fem. perf. וְנִכְחַתִּי is to be read); the pronoun of the 1st sing. in Hb 1<sup>5</sup> (?), Ze 9<sup>12</sup>, Mal 2<sup>16</sup>; the 2nd plur. (אַתֶּם) 1 S 2<sup>24</sup> (if the text be right), 6<sup>3</sup>, Ez 13<sup>7</sup> (?). But these passages are all more or less doubtful.

t Of a different kind are the cases in which some undefined subject is to be supplied with the participle; e.g. Is 21<sup>11</sup> אֵלַי קָרָא *there is one calling unto me* (= one calleth; § 144 d); cf. Is 30<sup>24</sup>, 33<sup>4</sup>.—So with participles in the plur., e.g. Ex 5<sup>16</sup> אֶמְרִים sc. the taskmasters; Jer 38<sup>23</sup> (in 33<sup>5</sup> the text is corrupt), Ez 13<sup>7</sup> (?), 36<sup>13</sup>, 37<sup>11</sup> (equivalent to *sunt qui dicant*).

<sup>1</sup> A jussive is practically to be supplied also in the formulae of blessing and cursing, בְּרוּךְ *blessed be* . . . Gn 9<sup>26</sup>, &c.; אָרוּר *cursed art thou* . . . 3<sup>14</sup>, &c.

4. We must mention as a special class those noun-clauses which occur at the beginning of a period, and are intended to lay stress upon the fact that the first action still continues on the occurrence of the second (always introduced by וְ); e.g. Jb 1<sup>16</sup> *כֹּה עוֹד וְהָ מְדַבֵּר וְהָ בָא* *he was yet speaking, and (= when) another came, &c.*<sup>1</sup>; cf. Gn 29<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>11,27</sup>, 2c<sup>36</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>17</sup> *she was entering the threshold of the house, when the child died*; 2 K 2<sup>23</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>, Dn 9<sup>20</sup>; also in Ju 19<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>14</sup>, 17<sup>23</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>42</sup>, Jb 1<sup>18</sup>, in all which passages the apodosis is introduced by וְהִנֵּה. — On the other hand, in 1 K 1<sup>14</sup> the noun-clause itself is introduced by הִנֵּה (as in verse 22 by וְהִנֵּה), and denotes an action only just impending.<sup>2</sup> Finally, when the whole sentence is introduced by means of וְהִנֵּה (cf. § 111 *g*), and the apodosis by וְהִנֵּה, Gn 42<sup>35</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>21</sup>; without הִנֵּה in the apodosis, 1 S 7<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 19<sup>37</sup> (Is 37<sup>38</sup>).

*Participles active*, which are used in the sense of the perfect participle, and *ו* also *participles passive*, in accordance with their meaning, express in such noun-clauses a state still continuing on the occurrence of the principal action, e.g. Gn 38<sup>26</sup> *וְהִיא מוֹצֵאת וְהִיא שְׂלָחָה* *she was being brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; cf. Gn 50<sup>24</sup>. [See further in Driver, *Tenses*, §§ 166–169.]  
5. Different from the examples treated in *u* and *v* are the instances in *w* which a participle (either alone or as the attribute of a noun) stands at the beginning of the sentence as a *casus pendens* (or as the subject of a *compound noun-clause*, see § 143 *c*) to indicate a condition, the contingent occurrence of which involves a further consequence; e.g. Gn 9<sup>6</sup> *שִׁפָּךְ דַּם הָאָדָם בָּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשָּׁפַךְ* *shedding man's blood, i. e. if any one sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; Ex 21<sup>12</sup>, ψ 75<sup>4</sup>, Pr 17<sup>14</sup>, Jb 41<sup>18</sup>; so especially if כֹּל precedes the participle, Gn 4<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>11</sup> (2 K 21<sup>12</sup>), 2 S 5<sup>8</sup> (*whosoever smiteth*), 1 Ch 11<sup>6</sup>. The apodosis is very often introduced by וְ (wāw apodosis), e.g. Ex 12<sup>15</sup> (with a following perfect consecutive), Nu 35<sup>30</sup>; 1 S 2<sup>13</sup> *כִּי יָבֹא וְיָבֹא* *when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, &c.*; 2 S 14<sup>10</sup> (participle with article); 22<sup>41</sup> (where, however, the text is to be emended in accordance with ψ 15<sup>41</sup>); 2 S 23<sup>3</sup>, Pr 23<sup>24</sup> *Keth.*; 29<sup>9</sup>. — As in the instances discussed under *u*, such sentences are sometimes preceded by וְהִנֵּה, cf. 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>23</sup> *וְהִנֵּה כָל-הָבָא וְהִנֵּה* *and it came to pass, that as many as came, &c. [or by וְהִנֵּה, frequentative, Ju 19<sup>30</sup>].* — On the other hand, וְהַנֶּשֶׁבֶרְתָּ Dn 8<sup>22</sup> is a mere catchword (equivalent to *and as for that which was broken*) to call to mind the contents of verse 8.

6. On the use of the participle after the infinitive absolute הלֹוֹף cf. § 113 *u*.

7. Almost as a rule the participial construction beginning a sentence (like *x* the infinitival constructions according to § 114 *r*) is continued by means of a finite verb with or without וְ, before which the English construction requires us to supply the relative pronoun implied in the participle; thus,

<sup>1</sup> The independent noun-clause here lays stress upon the simultaneous occurrence (and consequently the overlapping) of the events far more forcibly than could be done by a subordinate expression of time (as e.g. בְּדַבְּרוֹ). In English it may be represented by *scarcely had he finished speaking when. . .* As the above examples show, the apodosis also frequently consists of a noun-clause.

<sup>2</sup> At the same time the preceding עוֹד *still* shows that what is announced is not merely a future event, but a future event *contemporaneous* with something else; the case thus entirely differs from the examples given in § 112 *t*, where הִנֵּה refers to the following participle, while here it belongs properly to the apodosis, before which it is therefore generally placed; see the examples.

continued by means of a perfect, Is 14<sup>17</sup> הָרַם וְעָרָיו בְּמַדְבָּר שֵׁם תֵּבֵל *that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrew the cities thereof*<sup>1</sup>; 43<sup>7</sup>, Ez 22<sup>3</sup>, ψ 136<sup>13 π</sup>, Pr 2<sup>17</sup>; by a perfect without *Wāw*, Gn 49<sup>11</sup>; by a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae* in the present), Is 23<sup>23</sup>, 46<sup>6</sup>, Pr 7<sup>8</sup>, Jb 12<sup>17, 19 π</sup>, 24<sup>21</sup>; by an imperfect without *Wāw*, e. g. 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, Is 5<sup>8</sup>, Pr 2<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>26</sup>; by an imperfect consecutive, Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 35<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>6</sup>, Jer 13<sup>10</sup> (after several participles, , ψ 18<sup>33</sup>, 136<sup>10 f</sup>).

### C. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VERB.

#### § 117. The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative.

L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im alttest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906.

- a 1. The simplest way in which a noun is subordinated to a verbal form is by the addition of an accusative of the object to a transitive verb.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of case-endings,<sup>3</sup> this accusative can now be recognized only from the context, or by the particle אֶת (את), before suffixes also אֹת (אות)<sup>4</sup> prefixed to it. The use of this *nota accusativi*

<sup>1</sup> On the parallelism between the *external* and *internal* members, which appears here and in many other examples of this kind, see the note on § 114 r.

<sup>2</sup> The verb in question may either have been originally transitive, or only have become transitive by a modification of its original meaning. Thus the vocalization shows that הִפִּיץ (to have pleasure, usually with בְּ) to desire, מָלֵא (to be full of something, also transitive) to fill, were originally intransitive. Cf. also such cases as בָּכָה to weep (generally with עַל, אֶל, or לְ), but also to besail with an accusative; יָשַׁב to dwell (usually with בְּ), but also to inhabit with an accusative (cf. further, under u).—The examples are different in which verbs of motion such as בּוֹא intrare, also aggredi, יָצָא egredi (cf. § 116 h above), שׁוּב redire, Is 52<sup>8</sup>, take an accusative of the aim of the motion, while בּוֹא according to the Old Semitic usage, even takes an accusative of the person (at least in poetry, equivalent to בּוֹא אֶל in prose).

<sup>3</sup> On traces of these endings, especially the remains of a former accusative ending in a, cf. § 90 c.

<sup>4</sup> אֶת (toneless owing to the following Maqqeph), and אֹת (with a tone-long ē, אֹת only in Jb 41<sup>20</sup>), אֹת or אֹת before the light suffixes (on all these forms cf. § 103 b: the underlying form *āth* was obscured in Hebrew to *ōth*, shortened to *āth* before suffixes beginning with a consonant and then modified to אֶת, whence finally the secondary form אֹת with the tone), Phoenician אִית i. e. probably *īyyāth* (for the Phoenician form, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Einige phönik. Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 39 f.), Punic *yth* or (according to Euting) pronounced even as a mere prefixed t, Arabic, before suffixes, 'īyyā, Aram. יֵת, יֵת. It was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence, substance, self* (like the Syriac *yāth*; on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אֹת, Syriac 'ātā, Arabic 'āyat, a sign, must, with Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. 738, be rejected), but now united in the construct state with a following noun or suffix stands for the pronoun *ipse, αὐτός*. In common use, however (cf. Wilson, 'The particle אֹת in Hebrew,' *Hebraica*, vi. 2, 3, and the precise statistics of the use

is, however, somewhat rare in poetry, and even in prose it is not invariably necessary but is restricted to those cases in which the accusative of the object is more closely determined by being a proper name, or by having the article, or by a following determinate genitive (hence also by the suffixes), or in some other way (see below, c), e. g. Gn 4<sup>1</sup> and she bare אֶת־חַיָּה Cain; 6<sup>10</sup>, 1<sup>1</sup> God created אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם the heaven and the earth (but 2<sup>4</sup> אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְהַשָּׁמַיִם); 1<sup>25</sup> and God made אֶת־חַיָּה הַבְּהֵמָה the beast of the earth; 2<sup>24</sup>.

Rem. 1. The rare occurrence of the *nota accusativi* in poetic style (e. g. it never occurs in Ex 15<sup>2-18</sup>, Dt 32, Ju 5, 1 S 2, &c., though it is frequent in the late Psalms) may be explained from the fact that in this as in other respects (cf. § 2 q) poetry represents a somewhat more archaic stage of the language than prose. The need of some external means of indicating the accusative could only have been felt after the case-endings had become wholly extinct. Even then the אֶת would probably have been used at first to indicate only an object placed before the verb (when it followed, it was already sufficiently characterized by its position as depending on the verb), or proper names.<sup>1</sup> Finally, however, the *nota accusativi* became so customary everywhere in prose, that even the pronominal object was expressed rather by אֶת with suffixes than by verbal suffixes, even when none of the reasons mentioned under e can be assigned for it; cf. Giesebrecht in ZAW. 1881, p. 258 ff., and the statistics of H. Petri, cited above at the head of § 58. Such examples as בָּכַל אֶשְׂרֶצְיָהוּ יְהוָה Gn 6<sup>22</sup> in the *Priestly Code*, beside אֶת־אֱלֹהִים בָּכַל אֶשְׂרֶצְיָהוּ אֱלֹהִים Gn 6<sup>22</sup> in the *Jahvist*, are especially instructive.

2. As accusatives determined in other ways, we have in the first place to consider the collectives introduced by בָּל *entirety*, without a following article or determinate genitive, inasmuch as the meaning of בָּל includes a determinative sense, cf. e. g. Gn 1<sup>21-30</sup>, 6<sup>21</sup>, Dt 2<sup>34</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>9</sup>. בָּל אֶת־כָּל is used absolutely in Gn 9<sup>3</sup>, cf. 39<sup>23</sup>; similarly, מִי is determinate of itself, since it always denotes a person, hence אֶת־מִי *quem*? e. g. Is 6<sup>8</sup>, 37<sup>23</sup>, &c., but never אֶת־מִי *quid*? So also the relative אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *eum qui* or *quem*, &c., e. g. 1 S 16<sup>3</sup>, or *id quod*, Gn 9<sup>24</sup>, &c. Cf. also such examples as Jos 2<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>19</sup>, where אֶת אֲשֶׁר is equivalent to *the circumstance, that*, &c.—Elsewhere אֶת stands before nouns which are determinate in sense, although the article is omitted, which according to § 126 h is very frequently the case in poetic or otherwise elevated style; thus Lv 26<sup>6</sup>, Jos 24<sup>14-15</sup>, Is 41<sup>7</sup> (to distinguish the object from the subject); 50<sup>4</sup> (with the first of two accusatives, also for the sake of clearness); Ez 13<sup>20</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup>, Pr 13<sup>21</sup> (where the צִדִּיקִים are to be regarded as a distinct class); Jb 13<sup>25</sup>

of אֶת on p. 140 ff.), it has so little force (like the oblique cases αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶ, αὐτόν, sometimes also *ipsius*, *ipsum*, and the Germ. *desselben*, &c.) that it merely serves to introduce a determinate object; אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν (cf. αὐτῇ Χρυσήδᾳ, Iliad i. 143) is no stronger than the simple הַשָּׁמַיִם τὸν οὐρανόν. Cf., further, P. Haupt on Pr 18<sup>24</sup> in his *Rainbow Bible*, and also in the *Notes on Esther*, p. 191.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, in Dt 33, אֶת occurs only in verse 9 (twice, with an object preceding the verb), in Gn 49 in the blessing of Jacob only in verse 15 with a co-ordinate second object (consequently farther removed from the verb). Of the thirteen instances of אֶת in the Mēša' inscription, seven stand directly and four indirectly before proper names.

(unless, with Beer and others, we read וְאִם for וְאִתּ); also Ec 7<sup>7</sup> may be a quotation of an ancient maxim.

**d** On the other hand אִם occurs very seldom in prose before a noun actually or apparently undetermined. In 1 S 24<sup>6</sup> כָּנָה is more closely defined by means of the following relative clause; in 2 S 4<sup>11</sup> אִישׁ צָדִיק refers to Ishbosheth (as if it were *him, who was an innocent man*); in 1 K 6<sup>15</sup> אֲמִהָהּ refers to the particular twenty cubits. In Ex 21<sup>28</sup> (otherwise in verse 29) perhaps the אִתּ is used in order to avoid the combination אִשׁ שׁוֹר אִישׁ (as in Nu 21<sup>9</sup> to avoid the cacophony אִשׁ הַנָּחֵשׁ אִישׁ הַנָּחֵשׁ ?); in Lv 7<sup>8</sup> and 20<sup>10</sup> the accusatives are at any rate defined by the context.—In Nu 16<sup>15</sup> אֶת-אֶחָד מֵהֶם probably means *even a single one* (and then *ipso facto* a definite one) of them, as also in 1 S 9<sup>3</sup> מִהַנְּעָרִים אֶת-אֶחָד may refer to some definite one of the men-servants. In Gn 21<sup>30</sup> we should read אֶת-שִׁבְעַת הַבָּבִשִׁת with the Samaritan, since the seven lambs have been already mentioned; in Ex 2<sup>1</sup> translate with Meyer. *Die Israeliten*, p. 79, אֶת-בֶּת-לֵוִי the daughter of Levi; in Ex 28<sup>9</sup> read הַשֵּׁהָם with the Samaritan; in Lv 20<sup>14</sup> אֶת-אִשָּׁהּ is probably a scribal error due to וְאֶת-אִמָּהּ; in 1 S 26<sup>20</sup> read נִפְשִׁי with the LXX for אֶחָד; in 2 S 5<sup>24</sup> read הַצְעֵרָה as in 1 Ch 14<sup>15</sup>; in 2 S 15<sup>16</sup> the אִתּ is incorrectly inserted from 2c<sup>3</sup>, where it refers to the women already mentioned; in 2 S 18<sup>18</sup> read הַמִּצִּיבֹת, or omit both אִתּ and אִשָּׁר with the LXX and Lucian; in 1 K 12<sup>31</sup> omit אִתּ; in 2 K 23<sup>20</sup> probably אֶת-עַמּוּתָם is to be read; in 2 K 25<sup>9</sup> the text is corrupt. In Ez 16<sup>32</sup> אֶת-זָרִים might refer to *the strangers in question*; but see Smend on the passage.

**e** 3. The pronominal object must be represented by אִתּ with a suffix (instead of a verbal suffix), when (a) it precedes the verb, e.g. Nu 22<sup>33</sup> אֶתְּכָה הָרָתִי וְאוֹתָהּ הַחַיִּיתִי *I had slain thee and saved her alive*; Gn 7<sup>1</sup>, Lv 22<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 8<sup>7</sup>, Is 43<sup>22</sup>, 57<sup>11</sup>, Jer 4<sup>17,22</sup>, 7<sup>19</sup>; (b) when a suffix is already attached to the verb, and as a rule when a second accusative with י follows, e.g. 2 S 15<sup>25</sup> וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ *and he will show me it*; Ex 17<sup>3</sup> לְהָמִית אֹתֵנוּ וְאֶת-בְּנֵינוּ *to kill us and our children*; Nu 16<sup>32</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>16</sup> (but cf. also Dt 11<sup>6</sup>, 15<sup>16</sup>, &c., and Driver on 1 S 5<sup>10</sup>); (c) after an infinitive absolute, see above § 113 a note; (d) after an infinitive construct, when it is immediately followed by the subject, e.g. Gn 41<sup>39</sup>, or when the combination of a suffix with the infinitive might lead to a misunderstanding, e.g. Gn 4<sup>15</sup> לְבַלְתִּי הַבּוֹת-אֹתוֹ *lest one should smite him, &c.*, where לְבַלְתִּי הַבּוֹתִי might also mean *lest he should smite*.

**f** 4. The pronominal object is very frequently omitted, when it can be easily supplied from the context; so especially the neuter accusative referring to something previously mentioned (the English *it*) after *verba sentiendi* (שָׁמַע) and *dicendi*, e.g. Gn 9<sup>22</sup>, &c., וַיֹּדֶעַ *and he told (it)*; also after נָתַן *to give*, Gn 16<sup>7</sup>, 24<sup>41</sup>, &c., לָקַח *to take*, הָבִיא *to bring*, שָׁיָם *to lay*, Gn 9<sup>23</sup>, &c., מָצָא *to find*, Gn 31<sup>33</sup>, &c. A personal object is omitted, e.g. in Gn 12<sup>19</sup>, 24<sup>51</sup> (after לָקַח).—The omission of the plural object is remarkable, because it leaves an opportunity for a misunderstanding, in Gn 37<sup>17</sup> שָׁמַעְתִּי אֲמָרִים <sup>1</sup> *I heard them saying*; perhaps, however, we should read שָׁמַעְתִּים with the Samaritan.

**g** 5. In common formulae the substantival object is also sometimes omitted

<sup>1</sup> According to the ordinary rules of syntax (cf. § 116 t) we should translate, *I heard men who said, &c.*

(an elliptical expression); thus e.g. כָּרַת 1 S 20<sup>16</sup>, &c. (see the Lexicon) stands for כָּרַת בְּרִית like the English to close (sc. a bargain) with any one; נָמַר to keep (sc. אַף anger) equivalent to to be resentful, ψ 103<sup>9</sup>, &c.; so also נִשְׁמַר Jer 3<sup>5</sup> (beside נָמַר; נִשְׂאָה קוֹל for נִשְׂאָה לְ to lift up the voice, Is 3<sup>7</sup>; לְ נִשְׂאָה לְ to take away any one's sin (to forgive), Gn 18<sup>24, 26</sup>, Is 2<sup>9</sup>; נָשְׂלַח to put forth (sc. יָד the hand) equivalent to to reach after something, 2 S 6<sup>6</sup>, ψ 18<sup>17</sup>.

6. *Verba sentiendi* may take a second object, generally in the form of a participle or adjective and necessarily indeterminate, to define more exactly the action or state in which the object is perceived, e.g. Nu 11<sup>10</sup> וַיִּשְׁמַע מִשְׁעָה וַיִּבְכּוּ אֶת־הָעָם and Moses heard the people weeping; Gn 7<sup>1</sup> אָתָּה רָאִיתִי צְדִיקִים thee have I seen righteous. Frequently, however, the second object is expressed by a separate clause. This is especially frequent with רָאָה to see, e.g. Gn 1<sup>4</sup> and God saw the light, that it was good; Gn 6<sup>2</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>, 49<sup>15</sup>, Ex 2<sup>2</sup>, ψ 25<sup>19</sup>, Pr 23<sup>31</sup>, Jb 22<sup>12</sup>, Ec 2<sup>24</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>; so with יָדַע to know, Ex 32<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>26</sup>, 17<sup>8</sup> (with two objects); 1 K 5<sup>17</sup>.

7. In certain instances אֵת serves apparently to introduce or to emphasize a nominative. This cannot be regarded as a reappearance of the original substantival meaning of the אֵת, since all unquestionable examples of the kind belong to the later Books of the Old Testament. They are rather (apart from textual errors or other explanations) cases of virtual dependence on an implied *verbum regens* understood. The constant use of אֵת to indicate a clause governed by the verb, necessarily led at length to the use of אֵת generally as a defining particle irrespective of a governing verb. So in the Hebrew of the Mishna<sup>1</sup> (see above, § 3 a) אֵתוֹ and אֵתָּה are prefixed even to a nominative without any special emphasis.

Naturally the above does not apply to any of the places in which אֵת is not the *nota accusativi*, but a preposition (on אֵת with, cf. § 103 b), e.g. Is 57<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>34</sup> וְאֵת־הַדִּבּוֹב and that, with a bear; אֵת־ here, however, has probably been interpolated from verse 36, where it is wanting); nor the places in which the accusative is subordinate to a passive (according to § 121 c) or to a verb of wanting as in Jos 22<sup>17</sup> and Neh 9<sup>32</sup>, see below, z. In Ez 43<sup>17</sup> קָבִיב אֹתָהּ about governs like a verb, being followed by אֹתָהּ.

Other cases are clearly due to attraction to a following relative pronoun in the accusative (Ez 14<sup>22</sup>, Zc 8<sup>17</sup>; but Hag 2<sup>5a</sup>, to מְמַצְרִים, must be omitted, with the LXX, as a later addition), or the accusative depends on a verbal idea, virtually contained in what has gone before, and consequently present to the speaker's mind as governing the accusative. Thus Nu 3<sup>26</sup> (the verbal idea contained in וַיִּשְׁמַרְתָּ verse 25 is they had to take charge of); in Jos 17<sup>11</sup> לְ וַיְהִי implies it was given up or they gave him; 1 S 26<sup>16</sup> see where is equivalent to search now for; in 2 S 11<sup>25</sup> אֶל־יָדַע בַּעֲנִיךָ is used in the sense of noli aegre ferre<sup>2</sup>; Jer 36<sup>33</sup> and he had the brazier before him; in Ec 4<sup>3</sup> a verb like I esteem is mentally supplied before אֵת אֲשֶׁר. On Jos 22<sup>17</sup>, Neh 9<sup>32</sup>, see below, aa.—Aposiopesis occurs in Dt 11<sup>2</sup> for not your children (do I mean); still more boldly in Zc 7<sup>7</sup>, where either וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ or וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ (הַעֲשֹׂה) is to be supplied.

Setting aside a few undoubtedly corrupt passages<sup>3</sup> there still remain the m

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weiss, *משפט לשון המשנה* (Vienna, 1867), p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> So also in 1 S 20<sup>13</sup> the Qal (יִיטֵב) is, with Wellhausen, to be read instead of the Hiph'il.

<sup>3</sup> Thus 1 S 26<sup>16</sup>, where וַיְהִי is to be read for וַיִּשְׁמַע; 1 K 11<sup>25</sup>, where at present the predicate of the relative clause is wanting; in 2 K 6<sup>5</sup> the אֵת is probably

following examples, in which אַתָּה in the later Hebrew manner (almost in the sense of the Latin *quod attinet ad*) introduces a noun with more or less emphasis, Nu 3<sup>46</sup>, 5<sup>10</sup>, 35<sup>6</sup>, Ju 20<sup>44,46</sup>, Ez 17<sup>21</sup>, 20<sup>16</sup>, 35<sup>10</sup>, 44<sup>3</sup>, Neh 9<sup>13,34</sup>, Dn 9<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 31<sup>17</sup>.—In Ez 47<sup>17-19</sup> (cf. also 43<sup>7</sup>) it is simplest to emend אַתָּה for אַתָּה, according to verse 20. However, even the LXX, who have *raûra* only in verse 18, can hardly have known any other reading than אַתָּה; consequently in all these passages אַתָּה must be regarded as virtually dependent on some governing word, such as *ecce* (LXX 43<sup>7</sup> ἐώρακας), and 47<sup>17ff.</sup> as equivalent to *thou shalt have* as a border, &c.

2. Another solecism of the later period is finally the introduction of the object by the preposition לְ (prop. *in relation to, in the direction of*), as sometimes in Ethiopic<sup>1</sup> and very commonly in Aramaic.<sup>2</sup> Less remarkable is this looser connexion of the object with a participle, as with אֶכֶל La 4<sup>5</sup>, אָפַף Nu 10<sup>25</sup>, וְקָפַץ ψ 145<sup>14</sup> (but cf. 146<sup>8</sup>), צָרַר Nu 25<sup>18</sup>, הִשְׁנִיָּא and שָׁמַח Jb 12<sup>23</sup>; before the participle Is 11<sup>9</sup>.—To introduce an object *preceding* the finite verb לְ is employed in Jb 5<sup>2</sup> (cf. also Dn 11<sup>31</sup>); also *after* אָהַב Lv 19<sup>18,34</sup>; הָאֲרִיָּה ψ 129<sup>3</sup>; הַבְּדִילִי Ezr 8<sup>24</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>10</sup>; הָבִין Jb 9<sup>11</sup>; בָּרַךְ 1 Ch 29<sup>20</sup> (immediately before with an accusative); הִנֵּלָה 1 Ch 5<sup>26</sup>; דָּרַשׁ Ezr 6<sup>21</sup>, 1 Ch 22<sup>19</sup>, 2 Ch 17<sup>13</sup>; הִנֵּלָה Gn 45<sup>7</sup>, where, however, read פָּלִיטָה with the LXX for לְפָלִיטָה and take לָכֶם as a *dativus commodi*; הָלַל 1 Ch 16<sup>36</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>13</sup>; הָרַג 2 S 3<sup>30</sup>, ψ 135<sup>11</sup> (verse 10 with accusative), 136<sup>19f.</sup>; חָבַשׁ (to bind up) Is 61<sup>1</sup> (Ez 34<sup>4</sup> before the verb); יָרַע ψ 69<sup>6</sup>; כָּבַד ψ 86<sup>9</sup>; לָקַח Jer 40<sup>2</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>1</sup>; הִמְלִיךָ and מָשַׁח 1 Ch 29<sup>22</sup>; נִהַל 2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>; קָמַד ψ 145<sup>14</sup>; עֹבַד 1 Ch 16<sup>37</sup>; הָעֵלָה Ez 26<sup>8</sup>; פָּתַח ψ 116<sup>16</sup>; רָדַף Jb 19<sup>28</sup>; הִצְרִיק Is 53<sup>11</sup>; שָׁכַר 2 Ch 24<sup>12</sup> (previously accusatives); שָׁם 1 S 22<sup>7</sup> (but probably וּבְלָכֶם is to be read); הִשְׁיִב (in the connexion, לְ הִשְׁיִב דָּבָר, 2 Ch 10<sup>6</sup> (but verse 9 and 1 K 12<sup>9</sup> with an accusative); שָׁחַת Nu 32<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>10</sup>; שִׁית ψ 73<sup>18</sup>; שָׁלַח Ezr 8<sup>16</sup>, 2 Ch 21<sup>2</sup>, 17<sup>7</sup>; שָׁמַר 1 Ch 29<sup>18</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup>.

3. Sometimes the verb, on which an accusative of the object really depends, is contained only in sense in the verb which apparently governs, e.g. Is 14<sup>17</sup> אֶסְכְּרוּ לֹא-פָתַח בֵּיתָהּ *his prisoners he let not loose nor send them back to their home*. On this *constructio praeagnans* in general, see § 119*ff.*

4. With the proper accusatives of the object may also be classed what is called the *internal* or *absolute object* (also named *schema etymologicum* or *figura etymologica*), i.e. the addition of an object in the form

derived from a text which read the Hiph'il instead of נָפַל. In Jer 23<sup>35</sup> instead of the artificial explanation *what a burden* (is, do ye ask?) we should read with the LXX and Vulg. אַתֶּם הַמִּשָּׂא *ye are the burden*. In Ez 10<sup>22</sup> מְרִאֵיהֶם וְאוֹתָם is unintelligible; in 37<sup>19</sup> read with Hitzig אֶל- for אַתָּה; in Hag 2<sup>17</sup> for אַתְּכֶם read with the LXX שְׁבָכֶם [or אֵינְכֶם; for the אֶל cf. 2 K 6<sup>11</sup>, Jer 15<sup>1</sup>, Ez 36<sup>9</sup>].

<sup>1</sup> Dillmann, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to Biblical Aramaic, see Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 151 f. In other ways, also, a tendency may be observed in later Hebrew to make use of the looser connexion by means of prepositions instead of the closer subordination of the noun in the accusative.

of a noun derived from the same stem,<sup>1</sup> e.g.  $\psi$  14<sup>5</sup>  $\text{פָּחַדוּ בְּחַיִּי} they feared a fear$  (i.e. they were in great fear), Pr 15<sup>27</sup>; also with the object preceding, e.g. La 1<sup>8</sup>  $\text{יִרְשָׁלַם הָטָא חַטָּאתָה Jerusalem hath sinned a sin}$ ; with a double accusative (see below, cc), e.g. 1 K 1<sup>12</sup>  $\text{אֵינִי צֶדֶק נָתַתָּה עָצָה let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel}$ ; 1 K 1<sup>12</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. (a) Strictly speaking the only cases of this kind are those in which the verbal idea is supplemented by means of an *indeterminate* substantive (see the examples above). Such a substantive, except in the case of the addition of the internal object to denominative verbs (see below), is, like the infinitive absolute, never altogether without force, but rather serves like it to strengthen the verbal idea. This strengthening is implied in the indeterminateness of the internal object, analogous to such exclamations as, *this was a man!*<sup>3</sup> Hence it is intelligible that some intensifying attribute is very frequently (as in Greek usually) added to the internal object, e.g. Gn 27<sup>34</sup>  $\text{וַיַּעַק צַעֲקָה בְּלֵלָה וַיִּמָּאֵר he cried (with) an exceeding great and bitter cry}$ ; cf. the Greek  $\nuοσείν νόσον κακήν, ἐχάρεσαν χαρὰν μεγάλην$  (Matt. 2<sup>10</sup>); *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere, &c.*

Examples of an internal object *after* the verb, and without further addition, are Ex 22<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>16</sup>, Is 24<sup>22</sup>, 35<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>17</sup>, Ez 25<sup>15</sup>, 26<sup>15</sup>, 27<sup>35</sup>, Mic 4<sup>9</sup>, Zc 1<sup>2</sup>, Pr 21<sup>26</sup>; with an intensifying attribute, Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, Ex 32<sup>31</sup>, Ju 15<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>36</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>40</sup> (cf. Jon 4<sup>6</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>9</sup>); Is 21<sup>7</sup>, 45<sup>17</sup>, Jon 1<sup>10</sup>, Zc 1<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>2a</sup>, Dn 11<sup>3</sup>; along with an object proper the internal object occurs with an attribute in Gn 12<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>15</sup>; cf. also Is 14<sup>9</sup>, Jon 4<sup>1</sup>.—An internal object without an attribute *before* the verb: Is 24<sup>16</sup>, Jer 46<sup>5</sup>, Hb 3<sup>9</sup>, Jb 27<sup>12</sup>; with an attribute *before* the verb: Jer 14<sup>17</sup>, Zc 1<sup>15</sup> (cf. also Gn 30<sup>8</sup>, Jer 22<sup>19</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup>,  $\psi$  139<sup>22</sup>). Instead of the substantive which would naturally be expected, another of kindred meaning is used in Zc 8<sup>2</sup>.

(b) Only in a wider sense can the *schema etymologicum* be made to include <sup>7</sup> cases in which the denominative verb is used in connexion with the noun from which it is derived, e.g. Gn 1<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>14</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, Ez 18<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  144<sup>6</sup>, probably also Mi 2<sup>4</sup>, or where this substantive, made determinate in some way, follows its verb, e.g. Gn 30<sup>37</sup>, Nu 25<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>13</sup>, 13<sup>14</sup>, Is 45<sup>17</sup>, La 3<sup>68</sup>, <sup>4</sup> and, determinate at least in sense, Jer 22<sup>16</sup>; or precedes it, as in 2 K 2<sup>10</sup>, Is 8<sup>12</sup>, 62<sup>5</sup>, Zc 3<sup>7</sup>; cf. also Ex 3<sup>9</sup>. In both cases the substantive is used, without any special emphasis, merely for clearness or as a more convenient way of connecting the verb with other members of the sentence.

3. Verbs which denote *speaking* (*crying out, weeping*), or any s external act, frequently take a direct accusative of the organ or means by which the action is performed. In this case, however, the accusative must be more closely determined by an attributive adjective or a noun in the genitive. This fact shows the close relation between these accusatives and the *internal objects* treated under p, which also,

<sup>1</sup> On a kindred use of the infinitive absolute as an *internal object*, see above, § 113 w.

<sup>2</sup> Cf.  $\beta ουλάς βουλεύειν$ , Iliad x. 147.

<sup>3</sup> The Arab grammarians assign to the indeterminate cases generally an intensive sense in many instances; hence the commentators on the Qorān usually explain such cases by adding *and what . . . !* see § 125 b.

<sup>4</sup> Also in  $\psi$  13<sup>4</sup> *lest I sleep the sleep of death*,  $\text{הַמָּוֶת}$  is only used pregnantly for  $\text{שְׁנַת הַמָּוֶת}$  (cf. Jer 51<sup>39</sup>), as  $\text{צָדִיקוֹת}$  Is 33<sup>15</sup> for  $\text{צָדִיקוֹת הַיְּהוָה}$ . On the similar use of  $\text{הַלֵּךְ הַתָּמִים}$  in  $\psi$  15<sup>2</sup>, see § 118 n.

according to *q*, mostly take an intensifying attribute. On the other hand, they must not be regarded as adverbial (instrumental) accusatives, nor are they to be classed with the second (neuter) subjects treated below in § 144 l.

t Examples of the accusative following the verb are וַיִּזְעַק קוֹל-גָּדוֹל and I cried a loud voice, i. e. with a loud voice, Ez 11<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>23</sup> (after the proper object, Dt 5<sup>19</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>65</sup>); ψ 109<sup>2</sup> they have spoken unto me לְשׁוֹן שָׁקֶר a tongue of deceit, i. e. with a lying tongue; Pr 10<sup>4</sup> he becometh poor כַּף-רַמְיָה עֵשָׂה dealing a slack hand, i. e. who dealeth with a slack hand; cf. the German eine schöne Stimme singen, to sing a fine voice, eine tüchtige Klinge schlagen, to smite a trusty sword, Schlittschuhe laufen, to run skates (i. e. to skate), and our to write a good hand, to play ball, &c.—Examples of the accusative preceding are שִׁפְתֵי רִנָּנוֹת יְהִלְלֵבַי my mouth shall praise with joyful lips, ψ 63<sup>6</sup>; cf. ψ 12<sup>3</sup>, where a *casus instrumenti* with בְּ follows the accusative.

u 4. Many verbs originally intransitive (sometimes even in form; see a, note 2) may be used also as transitives, in consequence of a certain modification of their original meaning, which has gradually become established by usage; cf. e. g. רִיב to strive, but also with an accusative *causam alicuius agere* (so even in Is 1<sup>17</sup>, &c.; elsewhere with לְ of the person for whom one strives); יָבֵל absolutely to be able, with an accusative to prevail over any one; תַּפִּץ to be inclined and רָצָה to have pleasure (usually with בְּ), with an accusative to wish for some one or something; שָׁכַב cubare, then in the sense of concumbere, originally joined with עִם cum, but quite early also with the accusative, equivalent to *comprimere* (*feminam*), &c. So in 2 S 13<sup>14</sup>, &c., unless in all or some of the passages the preposition אֶת is intended, e. g. אֶתְהָא for אֶתָּה; in the earlier passages עִם is the more usual.

v Rem. 1. It is certainly difficult to decide whether some verbs, which were afterwards used absolutely or joined with prepositions, were not nevertheless originally transitive, and consequently it is only the supposed original meaning, usually assigned to them in English, which causes them to appear intransitive.<sup>1</sup> In that case there is of course no syntactical peculiarity to be considered, and a list of such verbs would at the most be requisite only for practical purposes. Moreover, it is also possible that certain verbs were originally in use at the same time both as transitive and intransitive, e. g. perhaps לָבַשׁ to be clothed along with לָבַשׁ to put on (a garment). Finally the analogy of certain transitives in constant use may have led to intransitives of kindred meaning being also united directly with the accusative, so that, in other words, whole classes of verbs came to be regarded in a particular aspect as transitives. See below, y.

<sup>1</sup> Thus e. g. עָנָה to reply to (ἀμείβεσθαι τινα), to answer any one; צִוָּה to command (iubere aliquem); זָכַר to remember; קָנָה (also with לְ) to wait for any one (to expect any one); בָּשַׂר to bring glad tidings to any one (see the Lexicon); נֶאֱדָף and נֶאֱדָף to commit adultery (adulterare matronam); עָבַר to serpe (colere); עָרַב to become surety for . . . , and many others.

2. The modification of the original meaning becomes especially evident <sup>20</sup> when even reflexive conjugations (*Niph'al*, *Hithpa'al*, &c.) take an accusative (cf. § 57, note 2); e.g. נָבֵא to prophesy, Jer 25<sup>13</sup>; נָסַב (prop. to put oneself round) to surround, Ju 19<sup>22</sup>; נָלַחַם to fight, ψ 109<sup>3</sup> (where, however, the *Qal* יוֹלַחְמִי should be read; cf. ψ 35<sup>1</sup>); also הִתְנַלַּח to shave (something) for oneself, Num 6<sup>19</sup>; הִתְנַחֵל to take some one for oneself as a possession, Is 14<sup>2</sup>; הִתְנַבֵּל to make some one an object of craft, Gn 37<sup>18</sup>; הִתְנַצַּל to strip a thing off oneself, Ex 33<sup>6</sup>; הִתְעַבֵּר to bring on oneself the anger of any one, to anger him; הִתְבּוֹנֵן to consider something, Jb 37<sup>14</sup>; הִתְפַּרֵּק to break something off from oneself, Ex 32<sup>5</sup>. In Gn 34<sup>9</sup> after הִתְחַתְּנוּ make ye marriages, read אֲתָנּוּ instead of אֲהֲנּוּ. Cf. § 54 f.

3. So also it is only owing to a modification of the original meaning of *α* a verb (except where the expression is incorrect, and perhaps derived from the popular language), when sometimes the remoter object (otherwise introduced by ל) is directly subordinated in the form of an accusative suffix, e.g. זָעָה אֵינִי צִמְתִּי אֵינִי *did ye fast at all unto me, even to me?* as though to say, have ye be-fasted me? have ye reached me with your fasting? Still more strange is Jb 31<sup>18</sup> גָּדַלְתִּי כָאֵב he (the orphan) grew up to me as to a father; cf. Is 27<sup>4</sup>, 65<sup>5</sup>, Jer 31<sup>3</sup>, and in Aramaic Dn 5<sup>6</sup>; but אָרַץ הַגִּבּוֹר נִתְּתִי Jos 15<sup>19</sup> is to be regarded as a double accusative after a verb of giving, see *f*. In 1 S 2<sup>25</sup> read וּפְלָלוּ for וּפָלְלוּ; in Is 44<sup>21</sup>, instead of the *Niph'al*, read הִתְנַשֵּׁי; in Ez 29<sup>3</sup> either עֲשִׂיתִיו is to be read with Olshausen or עֲשִׂיתִים (and previously יֵאָדִי) with Smend; in ψ 42<sup>5</sup> אֶדְדָּה or אֶדְדֶּם; in ψ 55<sup>23</sup> (where König takes יָהֵב as he has given it to thee) we must certainly assume a substantive יָהֵב (= fate?).

4. Whole classes of verbs, which, according to *v* above, are regarded as transitive, either on account of their original meaning or (for the sake of analogy) by a modification of that meaning, are—

(a) Verba induendi and exuendi, as לָבַשׁ to put on, פָּשַׁט to put off a garment, עָדָה to put on ornaments, to adorn oneself with (cf. also מְשַׁבְּצִים enclosed in gold, Ex 28<sup>20</sup>). Also in poetic expressions such as ψ 65<sup>14</sup> לָבְשׁוּ כְרִים הַצֹּאן the pastures are clothed with flocks, cf. ψ 109<sup>29</sup>; 104<sup>2</sup> (עֲטָה); 65<sup>14b</sup> (עֲטָה), &c.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Verba copiae and inopiae (also called verba abundandi and deficienti), as מָלֵא, to be full of something, Ex 8<sup>17</sup>; here, and also frequently elsewhere, construed with אֶת, and hence evidently with an accusative; Gn 6<sup>13</sup>; with a personal object, Ex 15<sup>9</sup> my lust shall be satisfied upon them; with an accusative preceding the verb for the sake of emphasis, e.g. Is 1<sup>15</sup> your hands מָלֵאוּ דָּמִים are full of blood, cf. Is 22<sup>2</sup>; so also the *Niph.* מִלֵּא to fill oneself with something, e.g. Gn 6<sup>11</sup>, Ex 1<sup>7</sup> (where the object is connected by אֶת); Is 2<sup>16</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup>, Pr 3<sup>10</sup>; נוֹרַע to be fructified with, Nu 5<sup>28</sup>; שָׂרַץ to swarm with, Gn 1<sup>20.21</sup> Ex 7<sup>28</sup>; שָׂבַע (שָׂבַע) to be full of, Is 1<sup>11</sup>, Jo 2<sup>10</sup>, Pr 12<sup>11</sup>; גָּבַר to become strong, to wax mighty in something, Jb 21<sup>7</sup>; פָּרַץ to overflow with something, Pr 3<sup>10</sup> (with the object preceding); יָרַד prop. to descend, poetically also to pour down, to overflow with something (cf. in Greek πορεύειν ὑδωρ, ἀάκρυα στάζειν), e.g. La 3<sup>48</sup> מִיַּי תָּרַד מַיִם mine eye runneth

<sup>1</sup> From the idea of covering oneself with something, we might also, if necessary, explain Ex 30<sup>20</sup> יִרְחֲצוּ מֵיִם they shall wash themselves with water; but the reading is simply to be emended to the ordinary בַּמֵּיִם.

down (with) rivers of water; 1<sup>16</sup>, Jer 9<sup>17</sup>, 13<sup>17</sup>, ψ 119<sup>136</sup>; so also הָלַךְ to run over with, to flow with, Jo 4<sup>18</sup>; נָזַל to gush out with, Jer 9<sup>17</sup>; נָטַף to drop, to overflow with, Ju 5<sup>4</sup>, Jo 4<sup>18a</sup>; פָּרַח to break forth, Ex 9<sup>5</sup>; שָׁטַף to overflow, but also (transitively) to overflow with, probably in Is 10<sup>22</sup>; נָזַב to bud with, Pr 10<sup>31</sup>; so perhaps also עָבַר to pass over, to overflow with, Jer 5<sup>28</sup>; יָצָא to go forth with, Am 5<sup>3</sup>.—Especially bold, but still on the analogy of the above examples, is Is 5<sup>6</sup>, where it is said of a vineyard וְעֵלָה שְׁמִיר וְיִשִּׁית but it shall come up (it shall be overgrown) with briars and thorns; cf. Pr 24<sup>31</sup>, and still more boldly, Is 34<sup>13</sup>.

aa With the opposite idea, חָסַר to be in want of, to lack, Gn 15<sup>28</sup>; שָׁבַל to be bereaved of (as though it were to lose), Gn 27<sup>45</sup>.—In Jos 22<sup>17</sup> even הָמַעַט-לָנוּ (prop. was there too little for us of . . . ?) as being equivalent to a verbum inopiae (= had we too little of . . . ?) is construed with an accusative; cf. Neh 9<sup>32</sup>.

bb (c) Several verbs of dwelling; the accusative in this case expresses either the place or the thing at which or with which any one tarries; thus Gn 4<sup>20</sup>, ψ 22<sup>4</sup> after יָשַׁב, cf. § 118 g; Ju 5<sup>17</sup>, Is 33<sup>14</sup> after גָּוַר; ψ 57<sup>5</sup> after שָׁכַב; ψ 68<sup>7</sup>, Pr 8<sup>12</sup>, Is 33<sup>16</sup> with שָׁכַן; or even the person (the people) with whom any one dwells or is a guest, as ψ 5<sup>6</sup>, 120<sup>6</sup> after גָּוַר, Gn 30<sup>20</sup> after נָזַב, ψ 68<sup>19</sup> with שָׁכַן.

cc 5. Two accusatives (usually one of the person and one of the thing) are governed by—

(a) The causative conjugations (*Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*, sometimes also *Pilpel*, e.g. פָּלַל Gn 47<sup>12</sup>, &c.) of verbs which are simply transitive in *Qal*, and hence also of *verba induendi* and *exuendi*, &c. (cf. above a and u, and also y, z), e.g. Ex 33<sup>18</sup> הִרְאֵנִי נָא אֶת-קְבוֹדְךָ show me, I pray thee, thy glory. Thus very frequently הוֹדִיעַ to cause some one to know something; לָמַד docere aliquem aliquid, &c.; cf. further, Gn 41<sup>42</sup> וַיְלַבֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ and he caused him to put on vestures of fine linen (he arrayed him in vestures, &c.); cf. in the opposite sense, Gn 37<sup>23</sup> (both accusatives after הַפְּשִׁיט introduced by אֵת); so with מָלֵא to fill, to fill up with something, Gn 21<sup>19</sup>, 26<sup>15</sup>, Ex 28<sup>3</sup>; אָזַר to gird some one with something, ψ 18<sup>33</sup>; עָטַר to crown, ψ 8<sup>6</sup>, &c.; חָסַר to cause some one to lack something, ψ 8<sup>6</sup>; הֵאָכִיל to feed some one with something, Ex 16<sup>32</sup>; הִשְׁקָה to make some one drink something, Gn 19<sup>32π</sup>.

dd (b) Many verbs (even in *Qal*) which express an influence upon the object through some external means. The latter, in this case, is attached as a second object. They are especially—

ce (a) Verbs which express covering, clothing, overlaying, חָיַר Ex 29<sup>9</sup>, צָפָה Ex 26<sup>29</sup>, &c., טָוַח Ez 13<sup>10π</sup>, עָטַר ψ 5<sup>13</sup>; cf. also אָבֵן Jos 7<sup>25</sup>, &c.; hence also verbs which express sowing (זָרַע Jud 9<sup>45</sup>, Is 17<sup>10</sup>, 30<sup>23</sup>), planting (Is 5<sup>2</sup>), anointing (ψ 45<sup>8</sup>) with anything.

ff (β) Expressions of giving, thus נָתַן Jos 15<sup>19</sup> where the accusative of the thing precedes; endowing, זָבַר Gn 30<sup>20</sup>; and its opposite taking away, as קָבַע Pr 22<sup>23</sup>; בֵּרַךְ to bless some one with something, Gn 49<sup>25</sup>, Dt 15<sup>14</sup>; to give graciously, חָנַן Gn 33<sup>5</sup>; to sustain (i.e. to support, to maintain, to furnish) with anything,

e.g. Gn 27<sup>37</sup>, ψ 51<sup>14</sup> (סָמַךְ); Ju 19<sup>5</sup> (סָעַר); to do something to one, נָמַל Gn 50<sup>15,17</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>18</sup>; cf. also קָרַם to come to meet any one with something, ψ 21<sup>4</sup>, שָׁלַח to repay some one with something (with two accusatives, ψ 35<sup>12</sup>, Pr 13<sup>21</sup>), and for the accusative of the person cf. εὖ, κακῶς πᾶττειν τινα. In a wider sense we may also include such phrases as they hunt every man his brother with a net, Mi 7<sup>2</sup>; to shoot at one with arrows, ψ 64<sup>8</sup> (though this is against the accents); Pr 13<sup>24</sup> seeks him early (with) discipline, i.e. chastises him betimes, &c.

(γ) Expressions of asking some one for something, desiring something from *gg* some one (שָׁאַל Dt 14<sup>26</sup>, ψ 137<sup>3</sup>); answering any one anything (עָנָה Mi 6<sup>5</sup>, &c.; cf. in the other conjugations הָשִׁיב הָבֵר prop. verbum reddere, with an accusative of the person, 1 K 12<sup>6</sup>, &c., also in the sense of announcing; sometimes also הָגִיד to declare something to some one, Jb 26<sup>4</sup>, &c., for הָגִיד לְ; צִוָּה to enjoin a person something, Ex 34<sup>32</sup>, Dt 1<sup>18</sup>, 32<sup>46</sup>, Jer 7<sup>23</sup>).

(δ) Expressions which mean to make, to form, to build something out of something; in such cases, besides the accusative of the object proper, another accusative is used for the material of which the thing is made, e.g. Gn 2<sup>7</sup> וַיַּעַר יְהוָה אֶת-הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן-הָאָדָמָה and the Lord formed man of the dust of the ground; so with יָצַר also in 1 K 7<sup>13</sup>; further Ex 38<sup>3</sup> כָּל-כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת כְּנֶשֶׁת כָּל-כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת [into brass], linguistically possible but excluded by the context, see below, ii with *kk*); cf. Ex 25<sup>18,28</sup>, 26<sup>1,14 f,29</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, 36<sup>8</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>27</sup>; with a preceding accusative of the material, Ex 25<sup>29</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup>, Dt 27<sup>6</sup> וְאֲבָנִים שֶׁלֹּמוֹת תִּבְנֶנָּה אֶת-מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה of unhewn stones shalt thou build the altar of the Lord.

(e) Verbs which express making, preparing, forming into anything, *ii* along with the object proper, take a second accusative of the product, e.g. Gn 27<sup>9</sup> וְאֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם מִטְעָמִים I will make them (the kids) into savoury meat; cf. Gn 6<sup>14,16</sup>, Ex 26<sup>16</sup>, 30<sup>25</sup>, 32<sup>4</sup>, Is 44<sup>15</sup>, Ho 8<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>32</sup> וַיִּבְנֶה אֶת-הָאֲבָנִים מִזֵּבֶחַ and he built the stones (into) an altar; cf. 10<sup>12</sup>. So also אָפָה, with two accusatives, to bake something into something, Ex 12<sup>39</sup>, Lv 24<sup>5</sup>; שָׂם (prop. to set up for something, cf. Gn 27<sup>37</sup>, 28<sup>18</sup>, ψ 39<sup>9</sup>, and similarly הָרִים Gn 31<sup>45</sup>) to change into something, Jos 8<sup>28</sup>, Is 50<sup>2</sup>, 51<sup>10</sup>, Mi 1<sup>7</sup>, 4<sup>13</sup>; with two accusatives of the person (to appoint, promote any one to the position of a . . .), Is 3<sup>7</sup>; נָתַן is also used in the same sense with two accusatives, Gn 17<sup>5</sup>, and שָׂת 1 K 11<sup>34</sup>; as a rule, however, the description of the office, and also frequently of the product, is introduced by לְ to, § 119 *t*; also שָׂת to make a thing so and so (Is 5<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>1</sup>; with a personal object, ψ 21<sup>7</sup>, 91<sup>9</sup>); הִחֲשִׁךְ to make dark, Am 5<sup>8</sup>. Of the same class also are instances like Jb 28<sup>2</sup> וַיִּקְרָעוּהָ שְׁנֵי עֶשֶׂר אֲבָנִים וַיָּצוּק בְּחֹנֶשֶׁת a stone they smelt into brass; 1 K 11<sup>30</sup> וַיִּקְרָעוּהָ שְׁנֵי עֶשֶׂר קְרָעִים and rent it (the garment) into twelve pieces; cf. Is 37<sup>26</sup>, accusative of the product before the object proper, after לְהַשְׁאִיחַ to lay waste.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a very pregnant expression of this kind in ψ 21<sup>13</sup> כִּי תִשְׁלַחְמוּ שִׁכְמָם לְךָ thou shalt make them (as) a neck, i.e. thou shalt cause them to turn their necks (backs) to me; similarly ψ 184<sup>1</sup> (2 S 22<sup>41</sup>, Ex 23<sup>27</sup>); וְאֶבִּי נָתַתָּה לִּי עֶרְפָּה thou hast given mine enemies unto me as a back; cf. Jer 18<sup>17</sup>.

On a second object with *verba sentiendi* (as יָדַע *to know* something *to be* something, Ec 7<sup>25</sup>; רָאָה *to see, find to be*, Gn 7<sup>1</sup>; שָׁבַח *to esteem* one *to be* something, Is 53<sup>4</sup>, elsewhere always construed with לְ or בְ), cf. *h*.

*kk* Rem. At first sight some of the examples given above appear to be identical in character with those treated under *hh*; thus it is possible, e.g. in 1 K 18<sup>32</sup>, by a translation which equally suits the sense, *he built from the stones an altar*, to explain מִבְּנֵי אֲבָנִים as the nearer object and אֲבָנִים as an accusative of the material, and the construction would then be exactly the same as in Dt 27<sup>6</sup>. In reality, however, the fundamental idea is by no means the same. Not that in the living language an accusative of the material in the one case, and in the other an accusative of the product were consciously distinguished. As Driver (*Tenses*, § 195) rightly observes, the remoter accusative in both cases is, strictly speaking, in apposition to the nearer. This is especially evident in such examples as Ex 20<sup>25</sup> *thou shalt not build them* (the stones of the altar) מִבְּנֵי אֲבָנִים as *hewn stones*, cf. also Gn 1<sup>27</sup>. The main point is, which of the two accusatives, as being primarily affected (or aimed at) by the action, is to be made the more prominent; and on this point neither the position of the words (the nearer object, mostly determinate, as a rule follows immediately after the verb), nor even the context admits of much doubt. Thus in 1 K 18<sup>32</sup> the treatment of the stones is the primary object in view, the erection of the altar for which they were intended is the secondary; in Dt 27<sup>6</sup> the case is reversed.

11 (d) Finally, the second accusative sometimes more closely determines the nearer object by indicating the part or member specially affected by the action,<sup>1</sup> e.g. פָּשַׁח *for thou hast smitten all mine enemies* יָדָיו (as to) *the cheek bone*, equivalent to *upon the cheek bone*; cf. Gn 37<sup>21</sup> *let us not smite him* מִבְּנֵי אֲבָנִים *in the life*, i.e. *let us not kill him*; Dt 22<sup>26</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>27</sup>; also with שָׁחַת Gn 3<sup>15</sup>; with רָעַח Jer 2<sup>16</sup>; in poetry the object specially concerned is, by a bold construction, even placed first, Dt 33<sup>11</sup> (with יָדָיו).

## § 118. The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb.

*a* 1. The various forms of the looser subordination of a noun to the verb are distinguished from the different kinds of the accusative of the object (§ 117) by their specifying not the persons or things directly affected by the action, but some *more immediate circumstance* under which an action or an event takes place. Of such circumstances the most common are those of *place, time, measure, cause*, and finally the *manner* of performing the action. These nearer definitions are, as a rule, placed *after* the verb; they may, however, also precede it.

*b* Rem. That the cases thus loosely subordinated to the verb are to be regarded as *accusatives* is seen first from the fact that in certain instances the *nota accusativi* (תָּא) is prefixed; secondly from the fact that in one form of

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this is the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος in Greek epic poetry, e.g. ποῦν σε ἔπος φύγε ἕρκος ὀδόντων.

the *casus loci* a termination (הַ—) is employed, in which (according to § 90 c) the old accusative ending is preserved; and finally from the consistency with which classical Arabic puts these nearer definitions in the accusative (which may be recognized by its form) even under circumstances in which one would be rather inclined to expect a nominative in apposition.

The relation subsisting between the circumstantial accusative and the accusative of the object is especially apparent when the former (as e.g. in a statement of the goal after a verb of motion) is immediately connected with its verb. But even the more loosely connected circumstantial definitions are certainly to be regarded as originally objects of a governing word habitually omitted, only that the consciousness of this closer government was at length lost, and the accusative more and more acquired an independent value as a *casus adverbialis*.

2. The accusative serves to define more precisely the *place* (*accus. d loci*), either (a) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion,<sup>1</sup> or (b) in answer to the question *where?* after verbs of *being, dwelling, resting, &c.* (but also after transitive verbs, see the examples), or finally (c) to define more precisely the *extent* in space, in answer to the question *how far? how high? how much?* &c.

Instead of the simple accusative, the locative (see above, § 90 c)<sup>2</sup> is frequently found in the cases mentioned under *f* (sometimes also in those under *g*) or the preposition אֶל,<sup>3</sup> especially before persons as the aim of the movement, or ב, usually, to express being at a place.

Examples of (a): הֵצֵא הָעָרָהּ let us go out into the field, 1 S 20<sup>11</sup>; cf. Gn 27<sup>9</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup>, Jb 29<sup>7</sup>; לָלֶכֶת תִּרְשִׁישׁ to go to Tarshish, 2 Ch 20<sup>36</sup>; cf. Gn 10<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, 24<sup>27</sup>, 26<sup>23</sup>, 31<sup>21</sup>, Ex 4<sup>9</sup>, 17<sup>10</sup>, Ju 1<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>19</sup>, Na 1<sup>8</sup> (?), ψ 134<sup>2</sup>; with לָקַח Nu 23<sup>14</sup>; with נָתַן Jos 6<sup>24</sup>; with the *accus. loci* emphatically preceding (cf. Driver on 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>), 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, Is 23<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>10</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, 32<sup>6</sup>; with בּוֹא (in the sense of *aggređi*, equivalent to בּוֹא עַל, cf. § 117 a, note 2) the *personal* aim also is poetically added in the accusative, Ez 32<sup>11</sup>, 38<sup>11</sup>, Pr 10<sup>24</sup>, 28<sup>22</sup>, Jb 15<sup>21</sup>, 20<sup>22</sup>; but in the last passage it is better taken as an accusative of the object (cf. the German *einen ankommen, überkommen*). See also Nu 10<sup>36</sup> (where שָׁנֹב can hardly be transitive); Ju 11<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>20</sup> (where, however, אֶל has probably fallen out after יִשְׂרָאֵל; so Strack).—Finally, cf. also the use of אֲשֶׁר for שָׁמָּה . . . אֲשֶׁר whither, Nu 13<sup>27</sup>.—The *accus. loci* occurs after a passive, e.g. Gn 12<sup>15</sup>.

Examples of (b): Gn 38<sup>11</sup> remain a widow בֵּית אָבִיךָ in thy father's house; cf. g Gn 24<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>32</sup>, Is 3<sup>6</sup>, Hos 12<sup>5</sup>, Mi 6<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 33<sup>20</sup>; פָּתַח הָאֹהֶל in the tent door, Gn 18<sup>1.10</sup>, 10<sup>11</sup>, and frequently. As observed by Driver on 1 S 2<sup>29</sup>, accusatives of this kind are almost without exception (but cf. 1 K 8<sup>32</sup>, Is 16<sup>2</sup>, 28<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 33<sup>20</sup>) connected with a noun in the genitive. In all the above examples, however, the accusative may have been preferred to the natural construction with ב (which is not rare even with בֵּית and פָּתַח) for euphonic reasons, in order to avoid the combination of such sounds as בָּב' and בָּפ'; cf., moreover, Gn 2<sup>14</sup>, 4<sup>16</sup>, Ex 18<sup>5</sup>, Lv 6<sup>8</sup> הַמִּזְבֵּחַ instead of the usual הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַזֶּה.

<sup>1</sup> So commonly in Sanskrit; in Greek only poetically, e.g. Iliad i. 317 ἀνίστη δ' οὐρανὸν ἔκβη: in Latin, e.g. *rus ire, Romam proficisci*.

<sup>2</sup> Hence e.g. in 1 S 9<sup>26</sup> the Masora requires הָרָגָה instead of the *K<sup>th</sup>*. הָרַג.

<sup>3</sup> So in Ju 19<sup>18</sup> for אֶת-בֵּית ' the better reading is אֶל-ב'.

Ex 29<sup>13</sup>, &c.); Dt 1<sup>2,19</sup>, 1 2 S 17<sup>28</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>8</sup>, Pr 8<sup>3</sup>, 9<sup>14</sup>. On Is 1<sup>30</sup> see § 116 i; on יָשַׁב, with the *accus. loci*, see § 117 bb. On the other hand, in Dt 6<sup>3</sup>, according to the LXX, a verb of *giving* has dropped out before אֶרֶץ.

- h Examples of (c): Gn 7<sup>20</sup> *fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail*; Gn 31<sup>23</sup>, 41<sup>40</sup> מִן־הַכִּסֵּא אֶנְדֹּל מִמֶּנִּי only in the throne will I be greater than thou; Dt 1<sup>19</sup> *we went (through) all that great and terrible wilderness*; cf. Jb 29<sup>3</sup>. Of the same kind also are such cases as Ex 16<sup>18</sup> (*according to the number of your persons, for which elsewhere לְמִסְפָּר is used*); 1 S 6<sup>4</sup> (with the *accus. preceding*); 6<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>20</sup>, Jb 1<sup>5</sup>.—A statement of weight is put in the accusative in 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>.

i 3. The accusative is employed to determine more precisely the *time* (*accus. temporis*), (a) in answer to the question *when?* e.g. הַיּוֹם the day, i.e. *on the day* (in question), *at that time*, but also *on this day*, i.e. *to-day*, or finally *by day*, equivalent to יוֹמָם, like עֶרֶב at evening, לַיְלָה noctu, בֹּקֶר in the morning, early, ψ 5<sup>4</sup>, &c., וְצַהֲרָיִם at noonday, ψ 91<sup>6</sup>; יוֹם אֶחָד on one and the same day, Gn 27<sup>45</sup>; שָׁנָא in sleep, ψ 127<sup>2</sup>; הַחֶלֶת קִצִּיר שְׁעָרִים (Qerê 'בת') at the beginning of barley harvest, 2 S 21<sup>9</sup>; in stating a date, Gn 11<sup>10</sup>, 14<sup>4</sup> in the thirteenth year.

- k (b) In answer to the question *how long?* e.g. Gn 31<sup>4</sup>, &c., כָּל-יְמֵי all the days of thy life; 7<sup>4</sup> forty days and forty nights; 7<sup>24</sup>, 14<sup>4</sup>, 15<sup>13</sup>, 21<sup>34</sup>, 29<sup>18</sup>, Ex 20<sup>9</sup> (for six days); 23<sup>15</sup>, 31<sup>17</sup>; עוֹלָמִים for ever, 1 K 8<sup>13</sup>; also with the accusative made determinate, Ex 13<sup>7</sup> אֵת שִׁבְעַת throughout the seven days in question, mentioned immediately before; cf. Ju 14<sup>17</sup>, Dt 9<sup>25</sup>.

l 4. The accusative is sometimes used of abstract ideas to state the reason (*accus. causae*), e.g. Is 7<sup>25</sup> thou shalt not come thither יִרְאֵת שָׁמִיר for fear of briars.

- m 5. Finally the accusative is used very variously (as an *accus. adverbialis* in the narrower sense), in order to describe more precisely the *manner* in which an action or state takes place. In English such accusatives are mostly rendered by *in*, *with*, *as*, *in the form or manner of* . . ., *according to*, *in relation to*, *with regard to*. For more convenient classification we may distinguish them as—

- n (a) Adjectives expressing *state*, placed *after* the verb to describe more accurately some bodily or other external condition, e.g. Is 20<sup>2</sup> walking עָרֹם וְיָחָף naked and barefoot; cf. verse 3, 8<sup>21</sup>, Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, 33<sup>18</sup> (שָׁלֵם), Ju 8<sup>4</sup>, Mi 1<sup>8</sup>, ψ 107<sup>5</sup> (but in 15<sup>2</sup> תָּמִים is rather a substantive directly dependent on הוֹלֵךְ = *he that walketh in uprightness*; cf. § 117 r, note); Jb 30<sup>28</sup>. After an accusative, e.g. Dt 15<sup>18</sup>; to specify some mental state, e.g. Gn 37<sup>35</sup> (אֲבֵל).—Before the verb (and then with a certain emphasis), Am 2<sup>16</sup>, Jb 1<sup>21</sup>, Ec 5<sup>14</sup>; Lv 20<sup>20</sup>, Jb 19<sup>25</sup>, 27<sup>19</sup>, 31<sup>26</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In ψ 21<sup>3</sup> דֶּרֶךְ is not to be taken as an *accus. loci* (*on the way*), but as an *accus. of respect* (*with regard to the way*); see below, m.

(unless יָקָר be a substantive); Ru 1<sup>21</sup> מִלְאָה parallel with the adverb רִיקָם). In Mi 2<sup>7</sup> the text is clearly corrupt.

Those examples are especially instructive in which the adjective expressing a state, although referring to several, is nevertheless used in the singular, e.g. Jb 24<sup>10</sup> עָרוֹם הֵלְכוּ naked, i.e. in the condition of one naked, they go about; cf. verse 7 and 12<sup>17</sup>. In Is 20<sup>4</sup> the singular occurs after a plural object, and in Is 47<sup>5</sup> the masc. after the 2nd sing. fem. imperative, which clearly proves that the term expressing the state is not conceived as being in apposition, but as an indeclinable adverb.

(b) Participles, again either after the verb, Nu 16<sup>27</sup>, Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, 43<sup>2</sup>, ψ 7<sup>3</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup>, p Ct 2<sup>8</sup>, or before it, Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, Is 57<sup>19</sup>, Ez 36<sup>35</sup>, ψ 56<sup>2</sup>, 92<sup>14</sup>, Pr 20<sup>14</sup>; cf. also the substantival use of the participles Niph'al נִזְרָאוֹת in a fearful manner (ψ 139<sup>14</sup>) and נִפְלְאוֹת in a wonderful manner, Jb 37<sup>5</sup>, Dn 8<sup>24</sup>.—Also participles in connexion with genitives, as מִתְהַלֵּךְ Gn 3<sup>8</sup> (cf. also בָּאָה 1 K 14<sup>6</sup>), are to be regarded as expressing a state and not as being in apposition, since in the latter case they would have to take the article.—In 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>7</sup> and Hb 2<sup>10</sup> the explicative Wāw (equivalent to *and that too*) is also prefixed to the participle. In ψ 69<sup>4</sup> for מִיָּחַל read מִיָּחַל.—On 1 K 11<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>6</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>, Hag 1<sup>4</sup>, cf. the note on § 131 h.

(c) Substantives<sup>1</sup> in the most varied relations: thus, as describing an external state, e.g. Mi 2<sup>3</sup> וְלֹא תִלְכוּ רוּמָה neither shall ye walk haughtily (as opposed to שָׁחוֹחַ Is 60<sup>14</sup>); Lv 6<sup>9</sup> (accus. before the verb = as unleavened cakes), Dt 2<sup>9</sup>, 4<sup>11</sup>, Ju 5<sup>21</sup>, Is 57<sup>2</sup>, Pr 7<sup>10</sup>, Jb 31<sup>26</sup>, La 1<sup>9</sup>; as stating the position of a disease, 1 K 15<sup>23</sup> he was diseased אֶחָד־בְּרִגְלָיו in his feet (2 Ch 16<sup>12</sup> בְּרִגְלָיו), analogous to the cases discussed in § 117 ũ and § 121 d (d); as describing a spiritual, mental, or moral state, e.g. Nu 32<sup>14</sup>, Jos 9<sup>2</sup> בָּה אֶחָד with one accord, 1 K 22<sup>13</sup>; cf. Ex 24<sup>3</sup>, Zp 3<sup>9</sup>), 1 S 15<sup>32</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>3</sup>, Is 41<sup>3</sup> (unless שָׁלוֹם is adjectival, and the passage is to be explained as in n); Jer 31<sup>7</sup>, Ho 12<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup>, ψ 56<sup>3</sup>, 58<sup>2</sup>, 75<sup>3</sup>, Pr 31<sup>9</sup>, Jb 16<sup>9</sup>, La 1<sup>9</sup>; Lv 19<sup>16</sup>, &c., in the expression הָלַךְ רָכִיל to go up and down as a tale-bearer; also בִּטְחָה unaware, Gn 34<sup>25</sup>, Ez 30<sup>3</sup>; מִישָׁרִים uprightly, ψ 58<sup>2</sup>, 75<sup>3</sup> (in both places before the verb); as stating the age, e.g. 1 S 2<sup>33</sup> (if the text be right) יָמוֹתָם אֲנָשִׁים they shall die as men, i.e. in the prime of life; cf. 1 S 2<sup>18</sup> (נָעַר), Is 65<sup>20</sup>, and Gn 15<sup>16</sup>; as specifying a number more accurately, Dt 4<sup>27</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>2</sup>, Jer 31<sup>8</sup> [in Jer 13<sup>19</sup> שְׁלוֹמִים wholly (?) is corrupt; read נִגְלֹתָ שְׁלֹמָה with LXX for 'ש' הִגְלֹתָ]; as stating the consequence of the action, Lv 15<sup>13</sup>, &c.

The description of the external or internal state may follow, in poetry, in the form of a comparison with some well-known class, e.g. Is 21<sup>8</sup> וַיִּקְרָא אֲרִיָּה and he cried as a lion; cf. ψ 22<sup>14</sup>, Is 22<sup>18</sup> כְּדוֹר (כְּדוֹר like a ball); Is 24<sup>22</sup>, Zc 2<sup>8</sup>, ψ 11<sup>1</sup> (unless צִפּוֹר be vocative); 58<sup>6b</sup> (unless the force of the preceding ב is carried on, as in ψ 90<sup>4</sup>); ψ 144<sup>12</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup> פְּרָאִים, before the verb); 41<sup>7</sup> shut up together as with a close seal.<sup>2</sup>

6. To the expressions describing a state belong finally those nouns *s* which are introduced by the comparative particle ב, since the ב is to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 100 c, on certain substantives which have completely become adverbs; and § 113 h and k on the adverbial use of the infinitive absolute.

<sup>2</sup> It is, as a matter of fact, permissible to speak of the above examples as *comparatio decurtata*, but it must not be assumed that the comparative particle ב, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see s), has actually dropped out.

<sup>3</sup> On the use of ב as a prefix, cf. § 102 c.

be regarded as originally a substantive<sup>1</sup> in the sense of *amount, kind (instar)*, standing in the accusative (so that  $\text{כִּי}$  is equivalent to *as a kind of, after the manner of, according to*), while the following noun represents a genitive governed by the  $\text{כִּי}$ . From this, which is the proper meaning of the  $\text{כִּי}$ , may be explained its power of representing a great many pregnant relations, which in English can only be rendered by the help of prepositions.<sup>2</sup> Thus the comparison may refer to—

- t (a) The place, e.g. Is. 5<sup>17</sup>  $\text{כִּדְבָרָם}$  after the manner of, i.e. as in their pasture; 23<sup>15</sup> as (it is said) in the song of the harlot; 28<sup>21</sup>, 29<sup>7</sup>  $\text{כִּחְלוֹם}$  as in a dream.
- u (b) The time, especially in the combination  $\text{כִּיּוֹם}$  after the manner of the day, equivalent to *as in the day*, Is 9<sup>3</sup>, Ho 2<sup>5</sup>;  $\text{כִּיּוֹמִי}$  as in the days of . . ., Is 51<sup>9</sup>, Ho 2<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>10</sup>, Am 9<sup>11</sup>; cf. moreover, Lv 22<sup>13</sup>, Ju 20<sup>39</sup>, Is 17<sup>6</sup>, Jb 5<sup>14</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup>, and the expressions  $\text{כִּיּוֹם כִּיּוֹם}$  as day by day = as in the former days, 1 S 18<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{כִּפְעֵם כִּפְעֵם}$  as at other times, 1 S 3<sup>10</sup>, &c.;  $\text{כִּשְׁנָה כִּשְׁנָה}$  as in former years, 2 K 17<sup>4</sup>; cf. § 123 c. Of a different character is the use of  $\text{כִּי}$  as a simple particle of time, e.g. Gn 18<sup>10</sup>  $\text{כִּעֵת הַזֶּה}$  at this time (not about the time), when it lives again, i.e. at the end of a year;  $\text{כִּעֵת מָחָר}$  to-morrow at this time; cf. Is 23<sup>5</sup>, and the frequent connexion of  $\text{כִּי}$  with the infinitive construct to express a definite time (in the sense of a pluperfect), Gn 12<sup>14</sup>, 27<sup>34</sup>, Ex 9<sup>29</sup>, &c.
- u (c) The person, e.g. Gn 34<sup>31</sup> should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?
- w (d) The thing, e.g. Is 10<sup>14</sup>,  $\psi$  33<sup>7</sup>, Jb 28<sup>5</sup>  $\text{כִּמֹּן-אֵשׁ}$  as a fire, i.e. as it were by fire (cf. Is 1<sup>25</sup>  $\text{כִּבְר}$  as with lye); Jb 29<sup>23</sup>  $\text{כִּמָּטָר}$  as for the rain (they waited for me); Jb 38<sup>14</sup> (as in a garment); 38<sup>30</sup>  $\text{כִּבְאֶבֶן}$  as to stone (the waters are solidified in freezing).
- x Rem. According to the earlier grammarians,  $\text{כִּי}$  is sometimes used pleonastically, i.e. not to indicate a similarity (as in Lv 14<sup>35</sup> as it were, i.e. something like), but simply to introduce the predicate (*Kaph veritatis*), e.g. Neh 7<sup>2</sup> for he was  $\text{כִּי אִישׁ אֱמֶת}$  a faithful man; cf. 1 S 20<sup>3</sup>  $\text{כִּפְשָׁע}$ , La 1<sup>20</sup>  $\text{כִּפְמֶת}$ . Such a pleonasm is of course out of the question. At the most a *Kaph veritatis* can only be admitted in the sense that the comparison is sometimes introduced by  $\text{כִּי}$  with a certain emphasis (equivalent to *in every respect like*); thus  $\text{כִּי אִישׁ אֱמֶת}$  in Neh 7<sup>2</sup> means simply of the nature of a faithful man, i.e. as only a faithful man can be; cf. Nu 11<sup>1</sup>, Is 1<sup>7</sup>, 13<sup>6</sup>, Ho 4<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>10</sup>, Ob 1<sup>1</sup>, Jb 24<sup>14</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>, La 1<sup>20</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>; also  $\text{כִּמְעַט}$  in such passages as  $\psi$  105<sup>12</sup> yea, very few; but e.g. in Is 1<sup>9</sup> only just, a very small . . .

<sup>1</sup> Schwabe ( $\text{כִּי}$  nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauch im alttestam. Kanon gewürdigt, Halle, 1883) contests this explanation (which is defended especially by Fleischer and is certainly indisputable). He, with Gesenius and Ewald, places  $\text{כִּי}$  as a preposition on the same footing as  $\text{כֶּן}$  and  $\text{כֵּן}$ , and believes it to be probably connected with the stem  $\text{כִּנַּן}$  as well as with  $\text{כִּי}$  and  $\text{כֵּן}$ . The above view of  $\text{כִּי}$  as a substantive of course does not imply that the language as we have it is still in every case conscious of the substantival meaning.—On  $\text{כִּי}$  in numerical statements, in the sense of *about, nearly*, see the Lexicon.

<sup>2</sup> It would be altogether unsuitable here also (see above, note 2 on r) to assume a loss of the preposition. Such examples as Is 1<sup>26</sup> ( $\text{כִּבְרָאשָׁנָה}$  and  $\text{כִּבְהֶחֱלָה}$ ), Lv 26<sup>37</sup> ( $\text{כִּמְעַט}$ ) are to be explained from the fact that here the

§ 119. *The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of Prepositions.*

1. In general. As is the case with regard to the looser subordination of nouns to the verbal idea (§ 118), so also their subordination by means of prepositions is used to represent the more immediate circumstances (of place, time, cause, purpose, measure, association, or separation) under which an action or event is accomplished. In the case of most prepositions some idea of a relation of *space* underlies the construction, which then, in a wider sense, is extended to the ideas of time, motive, or other relations conceived by the mind.

On the origin of the prepositions and the original case-relation in which they stand to the nouns governed by them, cf. § 101, where a list of the prepositions is given with their original meanings. Cf. also § 102 on the prefixes, and § 103 on the union of prepositions with suffixes.

2. A not unimportant part is played in Hebrew by the *compounding* *b* of prepositions to represent more accurately the relations of place, which either precede or follow the action. In the former case מִן, and in the latter (which is not so frequent) מֵ- occurs before other prepositions of place; cf. e.g. Am 7<sup>15</sup> the Lord took me מֵאַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאן from behind the flock; 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> turn thee מֵאַחֲרַי to behind me, i.e. turn thee behind me; מֵעִם, מֵאֵת from being with . . . , as in French *de chez, d'après quelqu'un.*<sup>1</sup> For further examples, see *c*.

Rem. 1. We must not regard as combined prepositions in the above sense *c* either those substantives which have become prepositions only by their union with prefixes, as לְפָנַי before, מִפְּנֵי, לְמַעַן on account of (but e.g. מִלְּפָנַי from before, Gn 4<sup>16</sup>, &c., is such a compound); nor adverbs, which are also formed by combining words which were originally substantives (also used as prepositions) with prepositions, as מִחוּץ without, מִתַּחַת in the sense of below,<sup>2</sup> מֵעַל

preposition and substantive had already become simply one word before the ךְ was prefixed. We find also מֵעַל Is 59<sup>18</sup>, 63<sup>7</sup>, ψ 119<sup>14</sup>, and 2 Ch 32<sup>19</sup>; cf. Driver on 1 S 14<sup>14</sup> (פֶּבֶר־חֲצִי), where the text is wholly corrupt.

<sup>1</sup> In other cases French, as well as English and German, can only emphasize one of the two combined ideas; thus, such expressions as *il prend le chapeau sur la table*, German *er nimmt den Hut vom Tisch*, he takes his hat from the table, all regard the action from one point of view only; the Hebrew here brings out both aspects of it by means of מֵעַל from upon, cf. e.g. Is 6<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Hence not to be confounded with מִתַּחַת from under, in such examples as Pr 22<sup>27</sup>, which is a real compound preposition. In the above-mentioned adverbs also the מִן was originally by no means pleonastic; מִתַּחַת denotes properly the locality, regarded primarily as a place from beneath which something proceeds, and so on. This original sense of the מִן, however, has become so much obscured by its regular combination with words of place to form independent adverbs, that it is even prefixed (evidently only on the analogy of such common adverbs as מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת) in cases where it is really inadmissible, owing to the meaning of the adverb, e.g. in מְבִלְעָי, מְבִלְדִּי

above (so also in Gn 27<sup>89</sup>, 49<sup>25</sup>, not from above). These adverbs of place, however, may become prepositions by the addition of לְ, e.g. לְמִחוּץ *outside as regards* . . . , i.e. *outside of something*, in 1 K 21<sup>13</sup> even after a transitive verb of motion; לְמִתַּח *below as regards* . . . , i.e. *under something* (cf. לְעַד־מִתַּח *until they came under* . . . , 1 S 7<sup>11</sup>), לְמַעַל *over something*, &c.; לְבַד *prop. in separation*; לְבַד־מִן *in separation from*, i.e. *apart from, besides*. Only rarely in such a case is the לְ omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g. Jb 26<sup>5</sup> מִתַּח מֵיִם *beneath the waters*; Neh 3<sup>28</sup> (מַעַל־).

d 2. Real combinations of prepositions (each retaining its full force) occur—  
(a) With מִן, in מֵאַחֲרֵי, מֵאַחֲרֵי (see above) *from behind something*; מֵאֵת *and from with* (see above); מִבֵּין or מִבֵּינֹת *from between something* (with motion in either direction, see e.g. Gn 49<sup>10</sup>); מִלְּפָנֵי *from before* (see above); sometimes also מִמּוֹל *Lv 5<sup>8</sup>, &c.*; מֵעַל *from upon*, i.e. *off from*; מִתַּח *away from under* (see footnote 2 on p. 377).

e (b) With אֶל־, in אֶל־אַחֲרֵי *to behind*, אֶל־בֵּינֹת *to between*; אֶל־מִבֵּית *forth between* 2 K 11<sup>15</sup>; אֶל־מִחוּץ *forth without*, i.e. *out in front of*, Nu 5<sup>3</sup>; אֶל־תַּח *down under*.<sup>1</sup>—In Jb 5<sup>5</sup> the two prepositions of motion are combined in a peculiarly pregnant construction, אֶל־מִצְנִים (he goes thither and takes it) *out of the thorns*, i.e. *he taketh it even out of the thorns*, but the text is hardly correct.

f 3. A general view of the union of certain verbs, or whole classes of verbs, with particular prepositions, especially in explanation of certain idioms and pregnant expressions.<sup>2</sup>

g (a) אֶל־ (אֵלַי) <sup>3</sup> *towards*, properly an expression of *motion* or at least *direction* towards something (either in the sense of *up to* = עַד, or *into* = אֶל־תּוֹךְ), is used after verbs not only in answer to the question *whither?* but by a specially pregnant construction, in answer to the question *where?* e.g. Jer 41<sup>12</sup> *they*

*without*, cf. also such examples as מִבֵּלִי, מִמּוֹל, מִפְּנֵי, מִשָּׁם (*there*), &c. Since a מִן is not usually repeated after מִלְּבַד, it appears as if מִלְּבַד by a transposition of the מִן stood for the usual לְבַד־מִן. In reality, however, the preposition which forms the adverb into a preposition is omitted here, as in מֵעַל, מִתַּח, without a following לְ (see above). Properly מִלְּבַד has a purely adverbial meaning = *taken by itself*, like מִלְּמַעְלָה מִפֶּעַל (Syriac *men le'el*) *above* (adv.), as distinguished from מֵעַל־לְ or מֵעַל־לְ (Syriac *le'el men*), *over, upon something*.—Also לְמִן *from . . . onward* is not for מִן־לְ, but the לְ serves merely (just like the Latin *usque in usque a, usque ad, usque ex*) to indicate expressly the starting-point, as an exact *terminus a quo* (of place or time).

<sup>1</sup> Also in 1 S 21<sup>6</sup> אֶל־תַּח *by* a pregnant construction is virtually dependent on the idea of *coming into*, contained in the preceding אֵין.

<sup>2</sup> A summary of all the relations and senses in which a preposition may be used, belongs not to the Grammar but to the Lexicon.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mitchell, 'The preposition *el*,' in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1888, p. 143 ff., and especially A. Noordtzij, *Het hebreuwsche voorzetsel אל*, Leiden, 1896, a thorough examination of its uses, and especially of the relation between אֶל־ and עַל־.

found him אֶל־מַיִם רַבִּים *by the great waters*; cf. Dt 16<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>20</sup>, and a still more remarkable instance in 8<sup>30</sup> אֶל־מָקוֹם שֶׁבָחָהּ אֱלֹהֵשׁמִים. This combination of two different ideas, of motion to a place and being or acting in the place (very plainly seen in Dt 16<sup>6</sup> *but to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose...* shalt thou bring thine offering and there shalt thou sacrifice, &c.), is the same as the Greek use of *eis*, *ἐς* for *ἐν*, the Latin *in potestatem, in amicitiam ditionemque esse, manere* (Cic. Verr. 5, 38; Div. 2, 14, &c.); cf. also the common German expressions *zu Hause, zu Leipzig sein, zu Bette liegen, &c.*

(b) <sup>1</sup> Underlying the very various uses of this preposition is either the *h* idea of being or moving within some definite region, or some sphere of space or time (with the infinitive, a simultaneous action, &c.), or else the idea of fastening on something, close connexion with something (also in a metaphorical sense, following some kind of pattern, e.g. the advice or command of some one אֶל־דְּבַר רַב, אֶל־פְּעֻצָּה, or in a comparison, as in Gn 1<sup>26</sup> בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כְּדְמוּתֵנוּ *in our image, after our likeness*; cf. 1<sup>27</sup>, 5<sup>1,3</sup>), or finally the idea of relying or depending upon . . ., or even of merely striking or touching something.

Thus the use of אֶל is explained—

(1) In the sense of *among* (in the domain of), e.g. Mi 7<sup>2</sup> לֹא־יָשָׁר בְּאֶדָם אִין *there is none upright among men*; in the sense of *consisting of*, in specifying the constituents of a collective idea, e.g. Gn 7<sup>21</sup> *and all flesh died . . . in* (=consisting of) fowl, &c. 8<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>, Ho 4<sup>3</sup>. Also after ideas of *appearing, manifesting oneself, representing, being*, in the sense of *as*, in the capacity of (prop. in the sphere, after the manner of, see above), *consisting of . . ., tanquam*, the אֶל *essentiae* of the earlier grammarians, corresponding to the Greek *ἐν*, the Latin *in*,<sup>2</sup> and the French *en*, e.g. Ex 6<sup>3</sup> *I appeared unto Abraham . . .* אֶל־שְׂרַי *as El Shaddai*; Jb 23<sup>13</sup> וְהוּא בְּאֶחָד *but he is (manifests himself as) one, i.e. he remains always the same*; Dt 26<sup>6</sup>, 28<sup>62</sup> בְּמִטַּי *in the condition of being few*, cf. 10<sup>22</sup> *to the number of seventy*; Is 40<sup>10</sup>, ψ 39<sup>7</sup>.—Cf. also such examples as Ex 18<sup>4</sup> (ψ 35<sup>2</sup>, 146<sup>6</sup>) אֶל־יָדַי *as my help*; Dt 26<sup>14</sup> *being unclean*; Is 28<sup>16</sup> *in Sion (i.e. I make Sion a foundation)*; Ez 20<sup>41</sup> *as a sweet savour*; Pr 3<sup>26</sup>, perhaps also Ex 3<sup>2</sup> *in (i.e. as) a flame of fire*; Is 66<sup>15</sup> *with (i.e. like) fire*; ψ 31<sup>22</sup>, 37<sup>20</sup> (102<sup>4</sup>). For the origin of all these forms of expression ψ 54<sup>6</sup> is especially instructive, since אֶדְרִי בְּכַמְרִי נִפְשִׁי *is not meant to refer to the Lord as belonging to the כַּמְרִים, but only to ascribe to him a similar character, i.e. the Lord is one who upholds my soul*; so also ψ 99<sup>6</sup>, 118<sup>7</sup>, Ju 11<sup>35</sup> [the plur. as in § 124 *g-i*].<sup>3</sup>—Cf. Gesenius, *Thes. Linguae Hebr.*, i. 174 f., and Delitzsch on ψ 35<sup>2</sup>.

(2) To introduce the object after transitive verbs, which denote touching, *h* striking, reaching to (thus to some extent a fastening on, see above) something, in English sometimes rendered by *at*, *on*, &c., and in German generally by compounds with *an*, e.g. *anfassen* = אֶחָז, *anrühren* = אֶנַּח, &c. To the same category belongs also the constriction of verbs denoting authority (מָלַךְ, מִשַׁל, נָגִישׁ, רָדָה, the last prop. to tread on . . .) with אֶל, inasmuch as the exercise of the authority is regarded as a laying hold of the person ruled; so also, the introduction of the object by אֶל after certain *verba dicendi*, or when the mental action is to be represented as extending to some one or something: e.g.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wandel, *De particulae Hebr. אֶל indole, vi, usu*, Jena, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *res in praeda captae*, i.e. things taken as spoil; see Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*, § 123<sup>4</sup>. On the Hebrew אֶל *essentiae*, see Hauschild in the *Festschrift zur Einweihung des Goethegymn.* Frankf. a. M. 1897, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Other instances formerly cited here (Is 26<sup>4</sup>, ψ 55<sup>19</sup>, where אֶל is used before the subject) as well as ψ 68<sup>5</sup> בִּיהָ שְׁמוֹ *Jah is his name*, are textually very uncertain. Cf. Cheyne, *SBOT. Isaiah*, p. 173, on Is 26<sup>4</sup>.

בָּ קָרָא to call on some one, בָּ נִשְׁבַּע *iurare per aliquem*, בָּ שָׁאַל to enquire of some one. Again; בָּ רָאָה to look upon, בָּ שָׁמַע to hearken to (but cf. also *m*), generally with the secondary idea of participation, or of the pleasure with which one sees or hears anything, especially pleasure at the misfortunes of others, hence בָּ רָאָה to see his desire on any one or anything; cf. however, Gn 21<sup>16</sup> let me not look upon the death of the child; 1 S 6<sup>19</sup> because they had looked [irreverently] at the ark of the Lord.

Closely related to this is the use of בָּ:

- l** (3) To introduce the person or thing, which is the object of a *mental* act, e. g. בָּ הֶאֱמִין to trust in (to cleave trustingly to) somebody or something; בָּ בָּמַח to have confidence in . . . ; בָּ שָׂמַח to rejoice in or at something, &c.; בָּ דִּבֶּר to speak of (about) some one or something, Dt 6<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>8 f.</sup>, &c.
- m** (4) The idea of an action as extending to something, with at the same time the secondary idea of participation in something, underlies finally the *partitive* use of בָּ, e. g. בָּ אָכַל to share in eating something, Ex 12<sup>43 f.</sup>, Lv 22<sup>11</sup>; also simply to eat, to taste of something, Ju 13<sup>16</sup>, Jb 21<sup>25</sup>; so also בָּ לָחַם to eat of, and בָּ שָׁתָה<sup>1</sup> to drink of something, Pr 9<sup>5</sup>; בָּ שָׁמַע to hear a whisper of something, Jb 26<sup>14</sup>; בָּ מָצְאוּ they found remaining of her only. . . , 2 K 9<sup>35</sup>; בָּ נָשָׂא to bear a share of something, Nu 11<sup>17</sup>, Ez 18<sup>20</sup>, Jb 7<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also בָּ חָלַק to give a share of something, Jb 39<sup>17</sup>; בָּ בָּנָה to do building to, Neh 4<sup>4</sup>.
- n** (5) With the idea of touching, striking against anything is naturally connected that of proximity and vicinity near, and further that of association with something; cf. Gn 9<sup>4</sup> בָּנִפְשׁוֹ with the life thereof; 15<sup>14</sup>, 32<sup>11</sup> בָּמִקְלִי with my staff. Sometimes בָּ combined with a verb of motion (to come with something), expresses the idea of bringing, e. g. Ju 15<sup>1</sup> Samson visited his wife with a kid, i. e. he brought her a kid; Dt 23<sup>5</sup>, ψ 66<sup>18</sup>, 1 Ch 15<sup>19 f.</sup>, 16<sup>6</sup>.
- o** (6) From the idea of connexion with something, being accompanied by something (see *n*), is developed, finally, the *instrumental* use of בָּ, which represents the means or instrument (or even the personal agent), as something with which one has associated himself in order to perform an action; cf. Mi 4<sup>14</sup> בַּשֵּׁבֶט they smite with the rod; Is 10<sup>24</sup>; ψ 18<sup>30</sup> בְּךָ by thee (so also 44<sup>6</sup>, parallel with בַּשִּׁמְךָ); Is 10<sup>34</sup>, Ho 1<sup>7</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup>; cf. also בָּ עָבַד to labour by means of some one, i. e. to cause him to labour at it, Ex 1<sup>14</sup>, &c. On בָּ with the passive to introduce the means or the author, see § 121 *f*.
- p** A variety of the בָּ instrumenti is בָּ pretii (the price being considered as the means of acquiring a thing), cf. Gn 23<sup>9</sup>, 29<sup>18</sup> (בְּרֶחֶל); 30<sup>16</sup>, 33<sup>19</sup>, 34<sup>18</sup> (בְּזֹאת on this condition); 37<sup>28</sup>; also, in a wider sense, Gn 18<sup>28</sup> בָּ for the sake of; 1 S 3<sup>13</sup>.
- q** Rem. The use of בָּ instrumenti to introduce the object is peculiar in such expressions as ψ 44<sup>20</sup> and thou coveredst over us בְּצִלְמוֹת with the shadow of death; Jb 16<sup>10</sup> בָּפִיָּהֶם they have opened wide their mouth against me (prop. have made an opening with their mouth); cp. ψ 22<sup>8</sup>, Ex 7<sup>20</sup> he lifted up בַּפִּטְוָה the rod; Lv 16<sup>4</sup> חָנָר צָנָה followed by בָּ; Jos 8<sup>18</sup>, La 1<sup>17</sup>. Analogous to some English expressions we find both to gnash the teeth, ψ 35<sup>16</sup>, and to gnash with the teeth, Jb 16<sup>9</sup>; to wink the eye, Pr 10<sup>10</sup>, and to wink with the eye, Pr 6<sup>13</sup>; shake the head, ψ 22<sup>8</sup>, and to shake with the head, Jer 18<sup>16</sup>, Jb 16<sup>4</sup>.—In all these instances

<sup>1</sup> To be distinguished from בָּ שָׁתָה = to drink from (a cup, &c., Gn 44<sup>5</sup>, Am 6<sup>6</sup>), as in Arabic and Aramaic (Dn 5<sup>2</sup>). Cf. also *ἐν ποτηρίῳ* (Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4), *ἐν χρυσώμασι πίνευ* (3 Ezr 3<sup>8</sup>), *venenum in auro bibitur*, Seneca, Thyestes 453, and the French *boire dans une tasse*.

the verb (intransitive) construed with  $\text{בְּ}$  has a greater independence, and consequently more emphasis than the verb construed with a direct accusative; the latter conveys a sort of necessary specification of the action, while the noun introduced by  $\text{בְּ}$  is used rather as a merely adverbial complement.

An instructive example of this is  $\text{בָּתֵּן קוֹל}$  *vocem emittere, to utter a voice*, also to thunder, while in  $\text{בָּתֵּן בְּקוֹלִי}$   $\psi$  46<sup>7</sup> (68<sup>34</sup>, Jer 12<sup>8</sup>),  $\text{בָּתֵּן}$  has an independent sense = *he thundered with his voice* (i.e. mightily).

(c)  $\text{לִּי}$  to, a very general expression of *direction towards* anything, is used to represent the most varied relations of an action or state with regard to a person or thing. On the use of  $\text{לִּי}$  as a periphrasis for the *genetivus possessoris* or *auctoris* (the idea of belonging to), see § 129; on  $\text{לִּי}$  with the passive, to introduce the author or the cause, see § 121 f; on  $\text{לִּי}$  in a purely local sense (e.g.  $\text{לְיְמִינֶךָ}$  *at thy right hand*, prop. *towards thy right hand*), or temporal (e.g.  $\text{לְעֶרֶב}$  *at evening*, &c.) or distributive, see the Lexicon.

The following uses of  $\text{לִּי}$  properly belong to the government of the verb :

- (1) As a *nota dativi*<sup>2</sup> to introduce the remoter object; also 8
- (2) To introduce the *dativus commodi*. This *dativus commodi* (or *incommodi*, e.g. Ez 37<sup>11</sup>) is used—especially in colloquial language and in later style—in the form of a pronoun with  $\text{לִּי}$ , as an apparently pleonastic *dativus ethicus*, with many verbs, in order to give emphasis to the significance of the occurrence in question for a particular subject. In this construction the person of the pronoun must always agree with that of the verbal form.<sup>3</sup> By far the most frequent use of this  $\text{לִּי$  is with the pronoun of the 2nd person after imperatives, e.g.  $\text{לֵךְ לְךָ}$  *go, get thee away*, Gn 12<sup>1</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, Dt 2<sup>13</sup> (also in the feminine, Ct 2<sup>10.13</sup>);  $\text{פְּנוּ לָכֶם}$  *turn thee aside*, 2 S 2<sup>21</sup>;  $\text{קַח לָכֶם}$  *take your journey*, Dt 1<sup>7</sup>;  $\text{עָבְרוּ לָכֶם}$  *pass ye over*;  $\text{פָּרַח לָךְ}$  *flee (to save thyself)*, Gn 27<sup>43</sup>;  $\text{קוּמִי לָךְ}$  *get thee up*, Is 40<sup>8</sup>;  $\text{פְּנוּ לָכֶם}$  *turn you*, Dt 1<sup>40</sup>;  $\text{שׁוּבוּ לָכֶם}$  *return ye*, Dt 5<sup>27</sup>;  $\text{קוּמִי לָךְ}$  *rise up*, Ct 2<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{שָׁבוּ לָכֶם}$  *abide ye*, Gn 22<sup>5</sup>;  $\text{חַדֵּל לָךְ}$  *forbear thee*, 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> (in the plural, Is 2<sup>22</sup>);  $\text{הִבֵּנוּ לָכֶם}$  *take you*, Dt 1<sup>13</sup>, Jos 18<sup>4</sup>, Ju 20<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>20</sup>, and so almost regularly  $\text{הִשְׁמַר לָךְ}$  (see above, § 51 n) *cave tibi!* and  $\text{הִשְׁמְרוּ לָכֶם}$  *take heed to yourselves*;  $\text{רָמָה לָךְ}$  *be thou like*, Ct 2<sup>17</sup> (cf. verse 9), 8<sup>14</sup>, is remarkable; after a perfect consecutive, 1 K 17<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 22<sup>5</sup>; after an imperfect consecutive, e.g. Is 36<sup>9</sup>  $\text{וַהֲבַטְתָּ לָךְ}$  *and puttest thy trust*.—In the 3rd person, e.g.  $\text{וַהֲיָשִׁיב לָהּ}$  *and sat her down*, Gn 21<sup>16</sup>, cf. 22<sup>5</sup>, Ex 18<sup>27</sup>,  $\psi$  120<sup>6</sup>, 123<sup>4</sup>, Jb 6<sup>19</sup>; even after a participle, Ho 8<sup>9</sup>.—In the 1st person plural, Ez 37<sup>11</sup>.
- (3) To introduce the result after verbs of making, forming, changing, *t* appointing to something, esteeming as something; in short, in all those cases in which, according to § 117 ii, a second accusative may also be used.
- (4) In loose connexion with some verbal idea in the sense of *in reference to*, *u* *with regard to* . . . (§ 143 e); so after a *verbum dicendi*, Gn 20<sup>13</sup>; 1 K 10<sup>23</sup>, cf.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Giesebrecht, *Die hebr. Präpos. Lamed*, Halle, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Just as in the Romance languages the Latin preposition *ad* (Italian *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Spanish *a*) and in English *to* are used as a periphrasis for the dative.—On the introduction of the nearer object by  $\text{לִּי}$ , cf. § 117 n.

<sup>3</sup> Such expressions as the analogous English *he plucked me ope his doublet, but me no buts*, and the like, are accordingly inadmissible in Hebrew.

Is 36<sup>9</sup>; even before the verb, Jer 9<sup>2</sup>.—To the same class belongs also the *Lamedh inscriptionis* (untranslatable in English, and hardly more than a mere quotation-mark) which introduces the exact wording of an inscription or title; thus Is 8<sup>1</sup> *write upon it . . .* (the words) מִהֵרָא שְׁלֵל וְנו' (cf. verse 3, where the ל naturally is not used); Ez 37<sup>16</sup>.

υ (*d*) מֵן, originally (according to § 101 *a*) *separation*,<sup>1</sup> represents both the idea of *distance, separation or remoteness from something*, and that of *motion away from something*, hence also *descent, origin from a place*, Am 1<sup>1</sup>.

υ (1) From the idea of *separation* is naturally derived on the one hand the sense of (*taken*) *from among . . . , e numero*, e. g. Gn 5<sup>1</sup> *subtil as none other of the beasts, &c.*; cf. 3<sup>14</sup>, Dt 33<sup>24</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>33</sup>, Ju 5<sup>24</sup> (so especially after the idea of choosing out of<sup>2</sup> a larger class, 1 S 2<sup>28</sup>; cf. Ex 19<sup>5</sup>, &c.), and on the other hand, the sense of *without* (*separated, free from . . .*), e. g. Is 22<sup>3</sup> מִקֶּשֶׁת אֶפְרוֹ without the bow (i. e. without one needing to bend a bow against them) *they were made prisoners*; cf. Jer 48<sup>45</sup> מִכֹּחַ without strength; Ho 6<sup>6</sup>, as the first half-verse shows, *not more than burnt offerings* (as R. V.), but *and not burnt offerings*; Mi 3<sup>6</sup>, ψ 52<sup>5</sup>, Jb 11<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>9</sup>, also such examples as Nu 15<sup>24</sup> *far from the eyes*, i. e. *unobserved by the congregation*; Pr 20<sup>3</sup>.

ω Here also belongs the use of מֵן after the ideas of *restraining, withholding from, refusing to any one*, frequently in pregnant expressions, which we can render only by complete final or consecutive clauses, e. g. 1 S 15<sup>23</sup> *he hath rejected thee* מִמֶּלֶךְ away from (being) king, instead of מִמְּהוּיֹת מ' (as in verse 26 . . . *that thou be no longer king*; cf. 1 K 15<sup>13</sup>, Is 17<sup>1</sup> מֵעִיר so that it is no longer a city: Jer 17<sup>16</sup>, Jb 28<sup>11</sup> *he bindeth the streams* מִבְּכִי that they trickle not; Gn 16<sup>2</sup>, 23<sup>6</sup> מִקְבֵּר that thou shouldst not bury thy dead; Is 24<sup>10</sup>.

γ The מֵן has a still more pregnant force in those examples in which the idea of *precluding from anything* is only indirectly contained in the preceding verb, e. g. Gn 27<sup>1</sup> *his eyes were dim* מִרְאֵת away from seeing, i. e. *so that he could not see*; Is 7<sup>8</sup> *Ephraim shall be broken in pieces* מֵעַם that it be not a people (just as in Is 23<sup>1</sup>, Jer 48<sup>2,42</sup>, ψ 83<sup>5</sup>); Lv 26<sup>13</sup>, Is 5<sup>8</sup>, 49<sup>15</sup>, 54<sup>9</sup>, Ezr 2<sup>62</sup> (for other pregnant constructions with מֵן see below, *f*)<sup>3</sup>; on מִבְּלִי and מֵאֵין without, cf. § 152 *y*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Molin, *Om prepositionen min i Bibelhebreiskan*, Upsala, 1893, and especially N. Zerweck, *Die hebr. Praep. min*, Leipzig, 1893, who, instead of the partitive meaning (formerly accepted by us also), more correctly takes 'separation' as the starting-point of its various uses.

<sup>2</sup> All the partitive uses of מֵן also come most naturally under this idea of separation out of a larger class. Thus מֵן is used in the sense of *some, something*, and even *one*, in such expressions as *and he slew . . . also* מֵשָׂרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (*divers*) of the princes of Israel, 2 Ch 21<sup>4</sup>; מִבֶּלֶ- Lv 4<sup>2</sup>; 1 K 18<sup>5</sup>; מִדַּם הַבֶּקָר some of the blood of the bullock, Ex 29<sup>12</sup>, &c.; Jb 27<sup>6</sup> *my heart doth not reproach me* מִמִּי for any, i. e. for one, of my days; 38<sup>12</sup> מִיָּמֶיךָ one of thy days, i. e. *ever in thy life* (this explanation is confirmed by 1 K 1<sup>6</sup>; cf. also 1 S 14<sup>45</sup>, 25<sup>28</sup>). In this way also, the frequently misunderstood Hebrew (and Arabic) idiom is to be explained, by which מֵן before אֶחָד, אֶחָת is equivalent to *ultus*; e. g. Lv 4<sup>2</sup> and shall do מֵאַחַת מֵהֵנָּה any one of these things; 5<sup>13</sup>, Dt 15<sup>7</sup>, Ez 18<sup>10</sup>; so before a *nomen unitatis* (see § 122 *t*), 1 S 14<sup>45</sup> (2 S 14<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 15<sup>2</sup>) מִשְׁעַרֹת רֹאשׁוֹ not one hair of his head.—מֵן is used in the sense of the Arabic *min el-beyn* or explicative *min* (often to be simply translated by *namely*), e. g. in Gn 7<sup>22</sup> of all that was, i. e. *so far as it was*, probably also Gn 6<sup>2</sup> (= *whomsoever they chose*).

<sup>3</sup> On the use of מֵן to express the comparative, which likewise depends on the idea of *distance from . . .*, cf. below, § 133 *a*; on מֵן as expressing the

(a) On the sense of *motion away from* anything depends the use of מן after  $\approx$  such ideas as *to take away from, to beware, to be afraid of, to flee, to escape, to hide oneself from* (cf. καλύπτω ἀπό, *custodire ab*), sometimes again in pregnant expressions, e.g. Is 33<sup>15</sup>. On the idea of *starting from* anything depends finally the very frequent *causative* use of מן *on account of, in consequence of* (cf. *our that comes from . . .*), *prae*, e.g. מִרֹב for *multitude*, I K 8<sup>5</sup>.

(a) עַל.<sup>1</sup> The two original local meanings of this preposition are *upon* αα (ἐπὶ)<sup>2</sup> and *over* (ἐνέπ, *super*).

(1) From the original meaning *upon* is explained the use of עַל after ideas of *commanding, commissioning* (פָּקַד עַל), &c., inasmuch as the command, obligation, &c., is *laid upon* the object. The construction is self-evident in the case of *to lie, rest, lean, rely, press upon* something; cf. also, for the last, such examples as Is 1<sup>14</sup>, Jb 7<sup>20</sup>, 23<sup>2</sup>, and especially 2 S 18<sup>11</sup> וְעָלַי *prop. upon me* would it have been, it would have been incumbent *upon me*, &c.

(2) From the original meaning *over* is explained the use of עַל after ideas bb of *covering, protecting, guarding* -בָּסָה עַל-, גָּן עַל-; also the combinations רַחַם עַל- *to have compassion upon . . .*, חוּם עַל-, חֲמַל עַל- *to spare some one*, arise from the idea of a compassionate or protective *bending over* something. Cf. also נִלְחַם עַל- Ju 9<sup>17</sup> = *to fight for some one, i. e. in his defence*.

(3) Moreover עַל is used after verbs of *standing and going*, to express cc a *towering over* some one or something, sometimes in phrases, in which the original local idea has altogether fallen into the background, and which are therefore to be rendered in English by means of other prepositions (*by, with, before, near*), e.g. Gn 41<sup>1</sup>, &c., פָּרָאֹחַ . . . עַל-הַיָּאֵר *by the Nile* (above the water level; cf. ψ 1<sup>3</sup>), and so especially עָמַד עַל- in the pregnant sense *to stand serving before* some one (*prop. over one who sits or reclines at table*) Zc 4<sup>14</sup> (cf. Is 6<sup>2</sup>, where מַפְעֵל לְ is used for עַל-); הִתְיַצַּב עַל- *to present oneself by command* before some one, Jb 1<sup>6</sup>, &c. Cf. also עָלִי, עַל-יָד (Jb 1<sup>14</sup>) *near, at (on) the side of* some one or something.

(4) From the original meaning *above* (not, as formerly explained, *on to* dd something, *at* something) there arise finally all the various constructions with עַל in the sense of *towards, against*. The original idea (which in many of these constructions has become wholly unrecognizable) starts from the view that the assailant endeavours to take up his position *over* the person attacked, so as to reach him from above, or to *overpower* him; cf. especially קָם עַל- *to rise up over, i. e. against* some one, then with a transference of

distance of time from a fixed limit, in the sense of *after*, e.g. ψ 73<sup>20</sup> מִתְקִיץ *after awaking* (cf. ἐξ ἀπίστου, *ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e.g. Gn 38<sup>24</sup>, Ho 6<sup>2</sup>, and very frequently מִמָּוֶן *from the end of, i. e. after the lapse of . . .*, see the Lexicon; also for the use of מִן to represent *resting beside* anything, like the Latin *prope abesse ab . . .*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Budie, *Die hebr. Präpos. 'Al* (עַל), Halle, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Since the placing *upon* anything is an addition to it, עַל also implies *in addition to* something, cf. Gn 28<sup>9</sup> (31<sup>50</sup>); 30<sup>40</sup>, 32<sup>12</sup> (probably a proverbial saying = *mother and children*); Dt 22<sup>6</sup>. Also עַל *notwithstanding* is no doubt properly *in addition to*, e.g. Jb 10<sup>7</sup> *although thou knowest, prop. in addition to thy knowing*.—From the original meaning *upon* is also derived that of *on account of* (*prop. upon the ground of*) and *in agreement with, according to*, since the pattern is regarded as the foundation *upon* which a thing stands or rests.

thought applied to any kind of hostile approach, **לְנִלְחָם עָלַי** to fight against . . . , **לְהִנָּח עָלַי** to encamp against . . . , **לְנִאָסֶפָה עָלַי** to be gathered together, to assemble against (Mi 4<sup>11</sup>; cf.  $\psi$  4<sup>2</sup>), &c.; even after verbs which express a mental action, e.g. **לְחַשֵּׁב רָעָה עָלַי** to imagine evil against any one, &c.

ee 4. Sometimes a preposition appears to be under the immediate government of a verb, which, by its meaning, excludes such a union. In reality the preposition is dependent on a verb (generally a verb of motion), which, for the sake of brevity, is not expressed, but in sense is contained in what is apparently the governing verb.

ff Various examples of this *constructio praegnans* have been already noticed above in x and y under **מִן**; for **מִן** cf. also  $\psi$  22<sup>22</sup> **וּמִקְרָנֵי הָרִמִּים עֲנִיתָנִי** and thou hast answered and saved me from the horns of the wild oxen (in Is 38<sup>17</sup>, which Delitzsch translates by *thou hast loved and delivered my soul from the pit*, read **חֲשַׁבְתָּ** with the LXX); Gn 25<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>19</sup>, Jb 28<sup>12</sup>; cf. also  $\psi$  73<sup>27</sup> **וְנָה מִן** to go a whoring from any one i.e. to be unfaithful to him;  $\psi$  18<sup>22</sup> **וְרָשַׁע מִן** to depart wickedly from God;  $\psi$  28<sup>1</sup> **וְחָרַשׁ מִן** to be silent from one (to turn away in silence); cf. Jb 13<sup>13</sup> [; so with **מִעַל** Jb 30<sup>17, 30</sup>].

gg Pregnant constructions with **אַחֲרַי**: Nu 14<sup>24</sup> equivalent to **וַיִּמְלֵא לָלֶכֶת אַחֲרַי** and he made full to walk i.e. walked fully after me; in 1 S 13<sup>7</sup> read with the LXX **וַיִּתְרַדּוּ מֵאַחֲרָיו** they trembled, i.e. went trembling away from him; with **אַל** Gn 43<sup>33</sup> **וְהָמָה אַל** to turn in astonishment to some one (cf. Is 13<sup>8</sup>); **וְהָרַשׁ אַל** Is 11<sup>10</sup>, &c., to turn inquiringly to some one; **וְהָרַשׁ אַל** Is 41<sup>1</sup> to turn in silence to some one; **וְהָרַד אַל** Gn 42<sup>28</sup> to turn trembling to some one (cf. **וְהָרַד לִקְרֹאת** to come trembling to meet, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup> [also with **שָׂאן**, **הָרִיץ**, **שָׂמַח** and other verbs, Ju 14<sup>5</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>3</sup>; see Lexicon]); cf. further Jer 41<sup>7</sup>,  $\psi$  7<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>1</sup>; with **בְּ**  $\psi$  55<sup>19</sup> he hath redeemed and hath put my soul in peace, exactly like  $\psi$  118<sup>5</sup>; with **לְ**  $\psi$  74<sup>7</sup> they have profaned and cast . . . even to the ground; cf. 89<sup>40</sup>.

hh 5. In poetic parallelism the governing power of a preposition is sometimes extended to the corresponding substantive of the second member; <sup>1</sup> e.g. **בְּ** Is 40<sup>19</sup>, 48<sup>14</sup> he shall perform his pleasure **בְּבָבֶל** on Babylon, and his arm shall be **בְּשָׂדִים** (for **בְּבָשָׂדִים**) on the Chaldaeans; Jb 15<sup>3</sup>; **לְ** Is 28<sup>6</sup>, 42<sup>22</sup> (but probably **לְ** has fallen out after another **לְ**), Ez 39<sup>4</sup>, Jb 34<sup>10</sup> (perhaps also Gn 45<sup>8</sup>; **מִשַּׁל** may, however, be taken here as a second accusative according to § 117 ii); **לְמַעַן** Is 48<sup>9</sup>; **מִן** Is 58<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  141<sup>9</sup> (unless **וּמִמְקֹשֹׁת** is to be read); **עַד** Is 15<sup>8</sup>; **תַּחַת** Is 61<sup>7</sup>.

ii 6. Adverbs which have acquired a substantival value are sometimes governed by prepositions, e.g. **אַל-הֵנָּם** in vain, Ez 6<sup>10</sup>; **אַחֲרֵיכֶן** after this; **בְּכֵן** (Ec 8<sup>10</sup>, Est 4<sup>16</sup>) then, on this condition; **לְכֵן** and **עַל-כֵּן** therefore; **עַד-כֵּן** hitherto.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly the force of a negative is sometimes extended to the parallel member; see § 152 z.

§ 120. *Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb.*  
*Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas.*

1. When a *relative* verb (incomplete in itself) receives its necessary *a* complement in the form of a verbal idea, the latter is, as a rule, subordinated in the infinitive construct (with or without ל), less frequently in the infinitive absolute, in a few instances in the form of a participle (or verbal adjective), or finally in the imperfect without the copula. In these combinations the principal idea is very frequently represented by the subordinate member of the sentence, whilst the governing verb rather contains a mere definition of the manner of the action; cf. *d* and *g* below, and § 114 n, note 2.

(a) On the subordination of an infinitive construct as an accusative of the *b* object, and as the complement of relative verbal ideas, see above, § 114 c, and the numerous examples given in § 114 m; on the infinitive absolute as object, see § 113 d.—The complement in the form of a participle (as in Greek, and also frequently in Syriac) occurs in Is 33<sup>1</sup> בְּהִתְמַךְ שׁוֹרֵר (cf. for the form, § 67 v) *when thou hast ceased as a spoiler*, i. e. to spoil; Jer 23<sup>30</sup> לֹא יִצְלַח . . . יֹשֵׁב *he shall never prosper, sitting*, i. e. so as to sit, &c.; Jon 1<sup>6</sup> *what meanest thou, sleeping?* i. e. that thou sleepest; <sup>1</sup> by a verbal adjective, 1 S 3<sup>2</sup> *now his eyes* בְּהוֹת הָחֶלְוּ הָיוּ *had begun being dim*, i. e. to wax dim (unless we read בְּהוֹת=לְבָהוֹת, cf. § 114 m); by a substantive, Gn 9<sup>20</sup> *and Noah began to be an husbandman* (omitting the article before אֲרָמָה).

(b) Examples of the subordination of the complementary verbal idea in the *c* imperfect<sup>2</sup> (in English usually rendered by *to*, *in order to* or *that*) are—(1) with both verbs in the same person: after the perfect, Is 42<sup>21</sup> יִהְיֶה חֲפִץ . . . יִגְדִּיל *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify*, &c.; Jb 30<sup>28</sup>, 32<sup>22</sup> לֹא יִדְעֵתִי אֲכַנָּה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 S 20<sup>19</sup> (where for הָרָר we should read with the LXX תִּפְקֹד); after an imperfect, ψ 88<sup>11</sup>, 102<sup>14</sup>, Jb 19<sup>3</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>; after an imperf. consec., Jb 16<sup>8</sup>; after a participle, Is 5<sup>11a</sup>.—(2) with a difference in the persons: after a perfect, Lv 9<sup>6</sup> *this is the thing* אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה *which the Lord commanded* (that) *ye should do*; a negative imperfect follows צִוָּה in La 1<sup>10</sup>; after the imperfect, Is 47<sup>1</sup> (5) *thou shalt no longer be called*, &c.; Ho 1<sup>6</sup> לֹא אוֹסִיף עוֹד אֲרַחֵם *I will no longer continue* (and) *have mercy*, i. e. *I will no more have mercy*; Is 52<sup>1</sup>, Pr 23<sup>36</sup>.—Nu 22<sup>6</sup> *peradventure I shall prevail* (that) *we may smite them*, and (that) *I may drive them out of the land* אֲוִלִי may, however, be a scribal error for נֻכַּל, due to the preceding אֲוִלִי, and in that case the example would belong to No. 1); after a participle,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 16<sup>16</sup>, which appears to be a case of this kind, two different readings are combined, מִדָּע לִנְיָן and the simple מִנְיָן.

<sup>2</sup> This kind of subordination is frequent in Arabic and in Syriac (cf. e. g. the Peshittā, Luke 18<sup>13</sup>); as a rule, however, a conjunction (corresponding to our *that*) is inserted. Cf. moreover, the Latin *quid vis faciam?* Terence; *rolo hac oratori contingat*, Cicero, Brut. 84; and our *I would it were*; *I thought he would go*.

2 S 21<sup>4</sup>.—A perfect is possibly subordinated in 1a 1<sup>10</sup>; but the explanation of *וַיֵּשֶׁב* as a relative clause is preferable.

*d* 2. Instead of subordination (as in the cases mentioned in *a-c*), the co-ordination of the complementary verbal idea in the finite verb (cf. above, *c*) frequently occurs, either—

(*a*) With the second verb co-ordinated in a form exactly corresponding to the first (but see below, *e*) by means of *וְ* (1, 1).<sup>1</sup> As a rule, here also (see above, *a*) the principal idea is introduced only by the second verb, while the first (especially *וָשׁוּב*, *וָסֵף*,<sup>2</sup> *הוֹסִיף*) contains the definition of the manner of the action, e.g. Gn 26<sup>18</sup> *וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר* and he returned and digged, i. e. he digged again; 2 K 1<sup>11,13</sup>; in the perfect consecutive, Is 6<sup>13</sup>; with *הוֹסִיף*, e.g. Gn 25<sup>1</sup> and Abraham added and took a wife, i. e. again took a wife; Gn 38<sup>5</sup> and frequently; with *הוֹאִיל* in the jussive, Jb 6<sup>9</sup>; in the imperative (cf. § 110 *h*), Ju 1<sup>6</sup> *וְהוֹאִל-נָא* *וְלֵן* be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night (cf. the English *he was persuaded and remained*, for *to remain*); 2 S 7<sup>29</sup>; with *מָהַר* Gn 24<sup>18,20</sup>, &c.; with *הִפִּיךָ* Ct 2<sup>3</sup>.

*e* Rem. 1. Instead of an exact agreement between co-ordinate verbal forms, other combinations sometimes occur, viz. imperfect and perfect consecutive (cf. § 112 *d*), e.g. Dt 31<sup>12</sup> *וְיִלְמְדוּ וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת-יְהוָה* may learn, and fear the Lord, i. e. to fear the Lord; Is 1<sup>9</sup>, Ho 2<sup>11</sup>, Est 8<sup>6</sup>, Dn 9<sup>25b</sup>; perfect and imperfect, Jb 23<sup>3</sup> (*O that I knew how I might find him*); perfect and imperfect consecutive, Jos 7<sup>7</sup>, Ec 4<sup>1,7</sup>; jussive and imperative, Jb 17<sup>10</sup>; cf., finally, Gn 47<sup>6</sup> *וְאִם-יִדְעָה וַיֵּשְׁבֻם* and if thou knowest and there are among them, &c., i. e. that there are among them.

*f* 2. Special mention must be made of the instances in which the natural complement of the first verb is suppressed, or is added immediately after in the form of an historical statement, e.g. Gn 42<sup>25</sup> *then Joseph commanded and they filled*<sup>3</sup> (prop. that they should fill, and they filled . . .; cf. the full form of expression in Gn 50<sup>2</sup>); a further command is then added by means of *וְ* and the infinitive; Ex 36<sup>6</sup>; another instance of the same kind is Gn 30<sup>27</sup> *I have divined and the Lord hath blessed me*, &c., i. e. that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.

*g* (*b*) With the second verb (which, according to the above, represents the principal idea) attached *without the copula*<sup>4</sup> in the same mood, &c. In this construction (cf. § 110 *h*) the imperatives *קִיַּם* (*קִיַּמָה*), *קָמִי*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the English colloquial expression *I will try and do it*.

<sup>2</sup> Of a different kind are the cases in which *וָסֵף* with a negative is co-ordinated with a verb to emphasize the non-recurrence of the action; cf. Nu 11<sup>25</sup> *they prophesied and added not*, sc. *to prophesy*, i. e. *but they did so no more*; Dt 5<sup>19</sup>, Jb 27<sup>19</sup> (*reading וָסֵף* *וְלֹא יִסְמִיחַ*).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the analogous examples in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 102.

<sup>4</sup> To be distinguished, of course, from the cases in which two equally important and independent verbs are used together without the copula in vigorous poetic imagery, e.g. Ex 15<sup>9</sup>, Jb 29<sup>8</sup>, &c.

&c.) and לָּהּ (לָּהּ, לָּהּ, &c.) are exceedingly common with the sense of interjections, before verbs which express a movement or other action, e. g. קוּם הִתְהַלֵּךְ *arise, walk*, Gn 13<sup>17</sup>, 19<sup>15</sup>, 27<sup>43</sup>; in the plural, Gn 19<sup>14</sup>; Ex 19<sup>24</sup> לֵךְ־רֵד *go, get thee down*; 1 S 3<sup>9</sup>; with a following cohortative, 1 S 9<sup>10</sup> לָּכֵה גִלְכָּה *come, let us go*; Gn 31<sup>44</sup> and frequently.—Also with שׁוּב (a periphrasis for *again*) in the perfect, Zc 8<sup>15</sup>; in the imperfect, Mi 7<sup>19</sup>, ψ 7<sup>13</sup>, 59<sup>7</sup>, 71<sup>20</sup>; in the jussive, Jb 10<sup>16</sup>; in the cohortative, Gn 30<sup>31</sup>; in the imperative, Jos 5<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>5</sup> *lie down again*; הוֹאִיל (sometimes to express the idea of *willingly or gladly*) in the perfect, Dt 1<sup>5</sup>, Ho 5<sup>11</sup>; in the imperative, Jb 6<sup>28</sup> הִרְבֵּה = *much*, 1 S 2<sup>3</sup> אֶל־תִּרְבּוּ תִדְבְּרוּ *do not multiply and talk*, i.e. talk not so much *arrogancy*; in the imperative, ψ 51<sup>4</sup>; הִחַל, Dt 2<sup>24</sup> רֵשׁ הִחַל *begin, possess*; יָבֵל, La 4<sup>14</sup> בְּלֹא יָנֻעִי *without men's being able to touch*, &c.; מְהֵרָה = *quickly*, in the perfect, ψ 106<sup>13</sup>; in the imperative, Gn 19<sup>22</sup>, Ju 9<sup>48</sup>, Est 6<sup>10</sup>.—Other examples are: Ho 9<sup>9</sup> הַעֲמִיק = *deeply, radically*; Zp 3<sup>7</sup> הַשְׁבִּימִים = *early* (even in the participle, Ho 6<sup>4</sup>, 13<sup>3</sup>); Is 29<sup>4</sup> נִשְׁפֹּל = *low*, cf. Jer 13<sup>13</sup>; Jos 3<sup>16</sup> כָּמֹם = *wholly*; ψ 112<sup>9</sup> פָּזַר = *plentifully*.

Rem. This co-ordination without the copula belongs (as being more *h* vigorous and bolder) rather to poetic or otherwise elevated style (cf. e. g. Is 52<sup>1</sup>, Ho 1<sup>6</sup>, 9<sup>9</sup> with Gn 25<sup>1</sup>, &c.). Asyndeton, however, is not wanting even in prose; besides the above examples (especially the imperatives of קוּם and הִלָּךְ Gn 30<sup>31</sup>, Dt 1<sup>5</sup>, 2<sup>24</sup>, Jos 3<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>5</sup>) cf. also Neh 3<sup>20</sup>, 1 Ch 13<sup>2</sup>. For special reasons the verb representing the principal idea may even come first; thus Is 53<sup>11</sup> יִרְאֶה יִשְׁבַּע *he shall see, he shall be satisfied* (sc. with the sight), for the satisfaction does not come until after the enjoyment of the sight; Jer 4<sup>5</sup> מִלֵּא קָרָא *cry, fill*, i.e. cry with a full (loud) voice.

## § 121. Construction of Passive Verbs.

Blake, 'The internal passive in Semitic,' JAOS. xxii.

1. Verbs which in the active take *one* accusative (either of the *a* proper object, or of the *internal* object, or of some other nearer definition; cf. § 117 a, p, u) may in the passive, according to our mode of expression, be construed *personally*, the object of the active sentence now becoming the subject, e. g. Gn 35<sup>19</sup> וַתָּמָת רָחֵל וַתִּקָּבֵר *and Rachel died, and was buried*, &c. The passive, however, is also used *impersonally* (in the 3rd sing. masc.), either absolutely, as Dt 21<sup>36</sup>, Is 16<sup>10</sup>, Ez 16<sup>34</sup> (with a dative added, 2 S 17<sup>16</sup>, Is 53<sup>5</sup>, La 5<sup>5</sup>), or, more frequently, with the object of the active construction still subordinated in the accusative,<sup>1</sup> e. g. Gn 27<sup>42</sup> וַיִּנָּד לְרֵבְקָה אֶת־דְּבָרֵי עֵשָׂו *and there were told* (i. e. one told) *to Rebekah the words of Esau*; 2 S 21<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> When this is not recognizable either by the *nota accusativi*, or by its disagreement with the passive form in gender, number, and person, it

b Other examples are: after Niph., Gn 4<sup>18</sup> וַיֵּלֶד לְחֶנֶךְ אֶת־עֵרָר and unto Enoch was born Irad (cf. Nu 26<sup>80</sup>, and after an infinitive, Gn 21<sup>5</sup>); Gn 17<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>8</sup> (after an infinitive); 29<sup>27</sup> (unless וְנִתְּנָה is 1st plur. cohortative); Ex 21<sup>28</sup>, 25<sup>28</sup>, Lv 6<sup>13</sup>, Nu 7<sup>10</sup> (after an infinitive); 26<sup>55</sup> (cf. verse 53); Dt 20<sup>8</sup> (where, however, the Hiph. יָמַס should be read, according to 1<sup>28</sup>); Jos 7<sup>18</sup>, Is 16<sup>10</sup>; with the object preceding, Ex 13<sup>7</sup>, Lv 2<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>, Nu 16<sup>29</sup>, Dan 9<sup>24</sup>.—Also after Pu'al, Jer 50<sup>20</sup>; before Pu'al, Is 14<sup>3</sup> אֲשֶׁר equivalent to the internal object עֲבִרָה = which they have caused to be served by thee; Jb 22<sup>9</sup>; according to the Masoretic text also Gn 46<sup>22</sup>, where, however, the Samaritan and LXX read יֵלְרָה for יֵלֶד; the Samaritan in Gn 35<sup>26</sup> and 46<sup>27</sup> also reads יֵלְרָה, and this (or יֵלֶד) should certainly be read instead of יֵלְרָה in 2 S 21<sup>22</sup>.—After Hoph., Ex 10<sup>8</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>, Lv 10<sup>18</sup>, 16<sup>27</sup>, Nu 32<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>21</sup>, Pr 16<sup>33</sup>, Jb 30<sup>15</sup>; after the infinitive Hoph., Gn 40<sup>20</sup>, Ez 16<sup>41</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>; before Hoph., Is 17<sup>1</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>, Ho 10<sup>6</sup>, Zc 13<sup>8</sup>; after the infinitive Hothpa'el, Lv 13<sup>55</sup>.

c 2. Verbs which in the active take two accusatives (§ 117 cc) retain in the passive construction at least one accusative, namely that of the second or remoter object, whilst the nearer object now becomes the subject. Thus, corresponding to אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶךָ which I will show thee (Gn 12<sup>1</sup>) the passive is אֲשֶׁר אָתָּה מְרָאָה (Ex 25<sup>40</sup>) which thou hast been shown, i.e. which has been shown to thee; cf. Ex 26<sup>30</sup> (but in Lv 13<sup>49</sup> with an accusative of the person); Jb 7<sup>3</sup>. In פֶּה מְדַבֵּק מִלְּקוֹחַי depends on an assumed transitive הִדְבִּיק governing two accusatives (= my tongue is made to cleave to my jaws); also in Is 1<sup>20</sup> תֶּהָרֵב תִּהְיֶה הַחֶרֶב ye shall be devoured with the sword, הַחֶרֶב is not an accus. instrumenti, but most probably an accusative of the object retained from the active construction.<sup>2</sup>

d Rem. 1. Examples of the retention of the second accusative are—(a) with verba induendi and exuendi (§ 117 cc), פָּסוּ הָרִים צֶלֶהָ the mountains were covered with the shadow of it (the vine); Pr 19<sup>23</sup>. So also some of the examples in § 116 k of passive participles of these verbs, Ju 18<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>10</sup>,

naturally cannot be determined whether the construction is really impersonal. The construction itself can only be explained by supposing that while using the passive form the speaker at the same time thinks of some author or authors of the action in question, just as on the theory of the Arab grammarians a concealed agent is included in every passive. This accounts for the possibility (cf. § 144 g) of using the active without a specified subject as a periphrasis for the passive.

<sup>1</sup> In 2 K 18<sup>30</sup> יִנְהֶן is to be read or אֶת is to be omitted, as in the parallel passage Is 36<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In the active, the sentence would be I will cause the sword to devour you; by the rule stated above, under c, this would become in the passive, the sword (nom.) shall be made to devour you (acc.). Instead of this, the remoter object is here made the subject, and the nearer object is retained in the accusative. Otherwise, the only possible explanation would be, according to the Arabic idiom, to cause one to devour the sword (remoter object), i.e. to give him over to it. It would then be simplest to read תִּהְיֶה הַחֶרֶב.

Ez 9<sup>2,3</sup>; <sup>1</sup> with the accusative preceding, Neh 4<sup>12</sup>.—(b) with *verba copiae* and *inopiae*, Ex 17, Is 38<sup>10</sup> (equivalent to *I must forego the residue of my years*); Is 40<sup>20</sup>.—(c) an accusative of the result (§ 117 ii) with the passive, Is 6<sup>11</sup>, Zc 14<sup>4</sup>, Jb 28<sup>2</sup>; with the accusative preceding, Is 24<sup>12</sup>, Mi 3<sup>12</sup> (Jer 26<sup>18</sup>), Jb 15<sup>7</sup>, 22<sup>16,2</sup>. Also in Ez 40<sup>17</sup> and 46<sup>23</sup>, the accusative preceding עָשִׂי (in 41<sup>18</sup> following it) can only be taken as the accusative of the result; some general idea, such as that of *place*, is to be understood as the subject of עָשִׂי.—(d) an accusative of the member or part specially affected by the action (§ 117 u), Gn 17<sup>11</sup>, 14<sup>24</sup>, Ju 17 (accusative *before* part. pass.); 2 S 15<sup>32</sup> (accusative with suffix after the part. pass.).

2. Both accusatives are retained in an unusual manner after the passive of *ē* a *verbum implendi* in Nu 14<sup>21</sup>; instead, however, of the Niph. וְיִמְלֵא the Qal (which is sometimes used transitively elsewhere) should simply be read with the LXX; similarly in ψ 72<sup>19</sup>, although there the LXX also translate the passive.

3. The efficient cause (or personal agent) is, as a rule, attached to *f* the passive by לְ (thus corresponding to the Greek and Latin dative), e. g. Gn 25<sup>21</sup> וַיַּעֲתֶר לוֹ יְהוָה the Lord let himself be intreated by him; cf. Lv 26<sup>23</sup>, ψ 73<sup>10</sup> and the blessing לְיְהוָה הוּא בָּרוּךְ blessed be he of the Lord Ru 2<sup>20</sup>; cf. Gn 14<sup>19</sup>, Ju 17<sup>2b</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>13</sup>; also in the plural, 1 S 23<sup>21</sup> (2 S 2<sup>5</sup>, ψ 115<sup>15</sup>).—Before the verb, Pr 14<sup>20</sup> and frequently; less commonly by מִן (called מִן of origin=*coming from*), e. g. Gn 9<sup>11</sup>; before the verb, ψ 37<sup>23</sup>, Jb 24<sup>1</sup>; by בְּ (*instrumenti*) [rarely, König § 106], Gn 9<sup>6</sup> (בְּאָדָם by man); Nu 36<sup>2</sup>, Is 14<sup>3b</sup> [but ?=*wherewith it was worked*] (§ 52 e) with thee; cf. Dt 21<sup>3</sup>, König § 106; and see עָבַד in the Lexicon], Ho 14<sup>4</sup>, always to introduce a personal agent.—On the connexion of the passive participle with a genitive of the agent, cf. § 116 l.

## II. Syntax of the Noun.

### § 122. Indication of the Gender of the Noun.

Cf. F. Schwabe, *Die Genusbestimmung des Nomens im bibl. Hebr.*, Jena, 1894, and especially the thorough investigation by K. Albrecht, 'Das Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1895, p. 313 ff., and 1896, p. 61 ff. H. Rosenberg, 'Zum Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1905, p. 325 ff. (supplementing Albrecht's work by a treatment of the gender of many nouns in the Mishna); and his 'Notizen aus der tannaitischen Literatur...' *ZAW.* 1908, p. 144 ff.

1. According to § 80 a, Hebrew, like the other Semitic languages, *a* distinguishes only a *masculine* and *feminine* gender. To indicate <sup>the</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to הִלְבִּישׁ הַבְּדִים who was clothed in linen, Ez 9<sup>3</sup>, would be וְהוֹתֵר הָיָה אֶת־הַהֶמְכֹּן 2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup>; but we must certainly read there וְהוֹתֵר with the LXX.—Still less can ψ 87<sup>3</sup> be so explained, נִכְבְּרוֹת being not an accusative, but the subject of a noun-clause. On the other hand, שָׁלוּחַ 1 K 14<sup>6</sup> may be explained with Ewald in the sense of *being charged with something*, so that, like צִיָּה, it may be construed with an accusative.

<sup>2</sup> In reality יָרַם Ex 16<sup>20,26</sup> (*it became putrid*) is equivalent to a passive (*it was changed*), to which הוֹלָעִים is added as an accusative of the result.

latter a special feminine ending is generally used (§ 80 *b* and § 87 *i*) both in the singular and plural (see, however, § 87 *p*), its use being most consistent in adjectives and participles; cf. § 87 *r*. The employment of these special endings is most natural when by means of them the feminine names of persons or animals are distinguished from the masculine of the same stem and the same formation, e.g. *אָח* brother, *אָחיות* sister; *עָלָם* a young man, *עַלְמָה* a young woman, maid; *פֶּר* *iuvencus*, *פֶּרָה* *iuvenca*; *עֵגֶל* *vitulus*, *עֵגְלָה* *vitula*. On the other hand, the feminine plays an important part in denoting the gender of whole classes of ideas (see below, *p*, &c.), which the Hebrew regards as feminine. The language, however, is not obliged to use the feminine ending either for the purpose of distinguishing the *sex* of animate objects (see *b*), or as an indication of the (*figurative*) gender of inanimate things which are regarded as feminine (see *h*).

- b* 2. The distinction of *sex* may be effected even without the feminine ending, (*a*) by the employment of words of different stems for the masculine and feminine; (*b*) by the different construction (either as masculine or feminine) of the same word (*communia*). But the distinction may also, (*c*) in the case of names of animals, be entirely neglected, all examples of a species being included under one particular gender, either masculine or feminine (*epicoena*).

*c* Examples of (*a*) are: *אָב* father, *אִם* mother; *אֵיל* ram, *רֵעִה* ewe; *חֵיִשׁ* he-goat, *עֵז* she-goat; *חֲמֹר* he-ass, *אֲתוֹן* she-ass; *אֲרִיָּה* lion, *לִבְיָא* lioness. Sometimes with the feminine ending as well, e.g. *עֶבֶד* male slave, man-servant, *אִמָּה* or *נְשִׁפָּחָה* female slave, maid; *חָתָן* bridegroom, *כֻּלָּה* bride.

*d* Of (*b*): *גָּמֶל* camel. Plur. *גָּמְלִים* construed as masculine, Gn 24<sup>63</sup>; as feminine, Gn 32<sup>16</sup>; *בָּקָר* collect. *oxen*, Ex 21<sup>37</sup>, construed as masculine, but in Gn 33<sup>13</sup>, Jb 1<sup>14</sup> as feminine. In Jer 2<sup>24</sup> the construction of *פֶּרָה* wild ass, changes directly from the masculine (intended as epicene) to the feminine. Cf. the Greek *ὁ, ἡ παῖς*: *ὁ, ἡ βούς*.

*c* Of (*c*): analogous to the epicene nouns of other languages, many species of animals which are strong and courageous, are regarded in Hebrew as always masculine, while the weak and timid are feminine; cf. *ὁ λύκος, ἡ χελιδών*, and the German *der Löwe, der Adler*, &c., but *die Katze, die Taube*, &c. Similarly in Hebrew, e.g. *אֵלֶּפֶס* ox (ψ 144<sup>14</sup> even referring to cows when pregnant), *דָּב* bear, Ho 13<sup>8</sup> *דָּב שֶׁכּוּל* (a bear that is bereaved of her whelps; cf., however, 2 K 2<sup>24</sup>, Is 11<sup>7</sup>), *יֹאב* wolf, *כָּלָב* dog, all masculine; but *אֲרִנֶּבֶת* hare, *יוֹנָה* dove, *חֲסִידָה* stork, *דְּבוּרָה* bee, *נְמִלָּה* ant, &c., feminine.

*f* Rem. 1. Masculine nouns which either have a separate feminine form or might easily form one, are but seldom used as epicene; such are, *חֲמֹר* ass, 2 S 19<sup>27</sup> for *אֲתוֹן*; *אֵיל* hart, ψ 42<sup>2</sup> for *אֵילָה*. In Gn 23<sup>3a</sup> *מֵת* a dead body, refers more especially to the body of a woman; *אֲמֹן* a master workman, in Pr 8<sup>30</sup> refers to wisdom (*חֲכָמָה* feminine, cf. Plin. 2, 1 *natura omnium artifex*; and our

use of *friend, teacher, servant, neighbour*, either as masculine or feminine; in German, *Gemahl*<sup>1</sup> spouse, also for fem. *Gemahlin*, &c.).

2. Of words denoting persons נָעָר *nā'is*, according to the formerly common *g* opinion, was in early times used as epicene (see, however, above, § 2 n). The use of the plural נָעָרִים in Jb 1<sup>19</sup> and Ru 2<sup>21</sup> in the sense of *young people* (of both genders) does not, however, prove this. In this and in similar cases (cf. e.g. אֲתָם Gn 1<sup>27</sup> and אֲתָהֶם 32<sup>1</sup>) the masculine as *prior gender* includes the feminine.<sup>2</sup>

3. The following classes of ideas are usually regarded as feminine,<sup>3</sup> *h* although the substantives which express them are mostly without the feminine ending:<sup>4</sup>

(a) Names of *countries* and *towns*, since they are regarded as the mothers<sup>5</sup> and nurses of the inhabitants; e.g. אַשּׁוּר *Assyria*, אֲדוּמָא *Idumaea*, צֹר *Tyre*; cf. also such expressions as בַּת בָּבֶל *daughter of Babylon*, בַּת צִיּוֹן *daughter of Zion*, &c. On the other hand appellatives which are originally masculine, remain so when used as place-names, e.g. אֹם 5<sup>6</sup> בֵּית-אֵל, הַנִּלְגָל, &c.

Rem. The same proper nouns, which as names of countries are regarded *h* as feminine, are frequently used also as names of the people, and may then, like national names in other languages, be construed as masculine (the national name almost always being used also as the personal name of the supposed ancestor of the people); thus יְהוּדָה masc. Is 3<sup>8</sup>, &c., *Judaei*; but

<sup>1</sup> So in early Arabic, *ba'l* (lord) and *zawg* (conjug) are used both for *maritus* and *uxor*; '*arūs* for *bridegroom* and *bride*; the later language, however, distinguishes the feminine from the masculine in all these cases generally by the ending *a* (*at*). In early Arabic also the feminine ending is commonly omitted in such participles as *ḥāmil*, *bāṭin* (*gravid*), and the like, which from the nature of the case can only be used of females. Thus also אִמָּן, at least in Nu 11<sup>12</sup> (Is 49<sup>23</sup>?), probably means *nurse* (for אִמָּנִת 2 S 4<sup>4</sup>, &c.), not *nursing-father*.

<sup>2</sup> The Arab grammarians call this use of the masculine plural and dual (e.g. *el-abarāni*, the two fathers, i.e. *parentes*) *taghlīb* or the *making* (the masculine) *prevail* (over the feminine).—Cf. M. Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.*, Vienna, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> The masculine gender is attributed 'by the Hebrews and the Semites generally to whatever is dangerous, savage, courageous, respected, great, strong, powerful . . . ; the feminine to whatever is motherly, productive, sustaining, nourishing, gentle, weak, . . . subject, &c.' (Albrecht, *ZAW.* 1896, p. 120 f.).

<sup>4</sup> When, on the other hand, words with a feminine-ending, such as קֶשֶׁת *a bow* (stem קוּשׁ), עֵת *time* (see the *Lexicon*), are sometimes construed as masculine, this is owing probably in some cases to a misunderstanding of the formation of the word, the ת of the feminine being regarded as a radical.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. a city and a mother (אִמָּ) in *Israel*, 2 S 20<sup>19</sup>. In the same way אִמָּ (like *μήτηρ*, *mater*) on Phœnician coins stands for *mother-city*, *μητρόπολις*. The same figure is used in such expressions as *sons of Zion*, ψ 149<sup>2</sup>; *sons of Babylon*, Ez 23<sup>15</sup>, &c., as also in speaking of the suburbs of a city as its *daughters*, e.g. Jos 15<sup>45</sup>, &c.—The comparison of Jerusalem to a woman is especially frequent in allegorical descriptions, e.g. Ez 16<sup>23</sup>, La 1<sup>1</sup>, &c.

Is 7<sup>6</sup>, fem., *Judaea*; אָרָם masc., *Idumaei*, Nu 20<sup>20</sup>; fem., *Idumaea*, Jer 49<sup>17</sup>. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that by a very common transference of thought (just as we say *Turkey concludes peace*) these names are construed as feminine, even when they denote not the country but the inhabitants; so יהודה La 1<sup>3</sup>; cf. Gn 41<sup>8</sup>, Ex 10<sup>7</sup>, 12<sup>33</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 8<sup>2</sup>, 24<sup>9</sup>, Is 7<sup>2</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>11</sup>, Jer 50<sup>10</sup>, Jb 1<sup>15</sup>. Hence the frequent personification of nations (as well as of countries and towns, see *h*, note 5) as female beings, e.g. Is 50<sup>1</sup>, 54<sup>1</sup>, and the use of the expressions בַּת בָּבֶל Is 47<sup>1</sup>, בַּת צִיּוֹן &c. (see above) as collective poetical personifications of the people.

*k* (b) Appellative nouns, which denote a *circumscribed space*, such as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, תֵּבֵל *world*, שְׂאֵל *the abode of the dead*, כְּכַר *circle* (of the Jordan valley), עִיר *a town*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *the north*, תֵּימָן *the south*.

*l* In the majority of nouns denoting place the gender is variable, e.g. אֶרֶץ and דֶּרֶךְ *a way* (usually feminine; the masculine gender only begins to predominate with Ezekiel; cf. Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 55), נַיָּא (נֵי) *valley*, גַּן *garden* (fem. Gn 2<sup>15</sup>, unless לְעִבְרָה, &c., is to be read), הַיְכָל *palace, temple*, חֲצֵר *court*, פֶּרֶם *vineyard*, שַׁעַר *door*,<sup>1</sup> &c.; also מְקוֹם *place*, at least in Gn 18<sup>24</sup> (referring to Sodom), Jb 20<sup>9</sup>, and 2 S 17<sup>12</sup> *Kethibh*, is construed as feminine. The mountains and hills commanding the surrounding country are almost without exception masculine (see Albrecht, l. c., p. 60 f.).

*m* (c) The names of *instruments, utensils*, and (on the same analogy) *members and parts of the body* in man or beast, since these are all regarded as subservient and subordinate (consequently as feminine).

*n* Thus חֶרֶב *sword*, יָתֵד *tent-peg*, כֶּד *bucket*, כּוֹס *cup*, נָעַל *shoe*, עֶרֶשׁ *bed*, &c.; in other cases, as אָרֹן *chest, ark* (with the article הָאָרֹן), תַּנּוּר *oven*, the gender is variable. ('Instruments for binding or holding, girdles and the like, as constraining and mastering, are masculine,' Albrecht, l. c., p. 89.)—Also אוֹן *ear* (and in general, members occurring in pairs, Albrecht, l. c., p. 73 f.), אֶצְבַּע *finger* (and so probably בָּהֶן *thumb, great toe*), יָד and כַּף *hand*, יְמִין *right hand*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בִּרְךָ *knee*, יֵרֶךְ *thigh*, כַּתֵּף *shoulder*, לְחִי *cheek*, בֶּטֶן *belly*, כִּנֹּף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*; as a rule also זְרוּעַ *arm* (masc. Is 17<sup>5</sup>, &c.), לָשׁוֹן *tongue* (masc. ψ 22<sup>16</sup>, Pr 26<sup>28</sup>, &c.), עֵין *eye* (masc. Zc 3<sup>9</sup>, &c.), שׁוֹק *thigh* (masc. Ex 29<sup>27</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

*o* (d) Certain names of natural forces or substances are feminine, being probably regarded as instruments, while in the names of the heavens, the heavenly bodies and natural phenomena, the masculine generally predominates (cf. Albrecht, l. c., p. 323 ff.); thus feminine are שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (but often also masc., ψ 19<sup>6</sup>, 104<sup>19</sup>); אֵשׁ (*Ethiopic 'ēsāt*)

<sup>1</sup> מַחֲנֶה *camp* is feminine only when it is a collective, denoting the persons in a camp.

<sup>2</sup> אָף *nose*, נִיר *sineu*, זֶנֶב *tail*, חֶה *palate*, כֶּבֶד *liver*, לֵב, לֵבָב *heart*, רֵחִים, מְעִים *bowels*, מִצֵּחַ *forehead*, עוֹר *skin*, עֲרֵךְ *back of the neck*, פֶּה *mouth*, צְוּאָר *neck*, רֹאשׁ *head*, שֶׁכֶם *shoulder*, also רֶחֶם *womb*, except in Jer 20<sup>17</sup>, are invariably construed as masculine.—עָצָם *bone* is common.

fire (rarely masc.);  $\text{נֹרָא}$  brightness,  $\text{אֶבֶן}$  a stone, as a rule also  $\text{רוּחַ}$  wind, spirit;  $\text{נְפֶשׁ}$  breath, soul; also  $\text{אוֹר}$  light in Jer 13<sup>16</sup>, Jb 36<sup>32</sup>, and others.

4. The following classes of ideas, which are also regarded as *p* feminine in Hebrew (see above, *h*), are usually indicated by the feminine form, notwithstanding their occasional transference to masculine persons (see *r* and *s*):

(a) Abstracts<sup>1</sup> (sometimes along with masculine forms from the same stem, as  $\text{נִקְמָה}$  vengeance, as well as  $\text{נָקַם עֲוֹנָה}$  help, as well as  $\text{עָוָר}$ ), e.g.  $\text{אֲמוּנָה}$  firmness, faithfulness,  $\text{גְּבוּרָה}$  strength,  $\text{גְּדֻלָּה}$  greatness,  $\text{מְלֵאכָה}$  fullness,  $\text{מִשְׁלָחָה}$  dominion, &c. Similarly, the feminine (sing. and plur.) of adjectives and participles is used substantively in the sense of the Latin and Greek *neuter*, e.g.  $\text{נְכוּנָה}$  steadfastness,  $\psi$  5<sup>10</sup>,  $\text{טוֹבָה}$  goodness,  $\text{רָעָה}$  evil, Gn 50<sup>20</sup>,  $\text{נִקְלָה}$  a light thing (i.e. a trifling thing), Jer 6<sup>14</sup>; so especially in the plural, e.g.  $\text{גְּדֻלוֹת}$  great things,  $\psi$  12<sup>4</sup>;  $\text{הַנְּהָרְסוֹת}$  the ruined places, Ez 36<sup>36</sup>, along with  $\text{הַנִּשְׁמָמָה}$  that which was desolate,  $\text{טִבּוֹת}$  kindnesses, 2 K 25<sup>28</sup>,  $\text{נִכְחוֹת}$  uprightness, honesty, Is 26<sup>10</sup>,  $\text{נְעִימוֹת}$  amoenae,  $\psi$  16<sup>11</sup> (but in versé 6 in the same sense  $\text{נְעִימִים}$ ),  $\text{נִפְלְאוֹת}$  wonderful things, Ex 34<sup>10</sup> and frequently,  $\text{קָשׁוֹת}$  hard things, roughly, Gn 42<sup>7,30</sup> (but cf. also  $\text{רֵיקִים}$  vain things, Pr 12<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>19</sup>). Cf. moreover, the very frequent use of  $\text{זֹאת}$ ,  $\text{הִיא}$  (as well as  $\text{זֶה}$  and  $\text{הוּא}$ ), Ju 14<sup>4</sup>,  $\psi$  118<sup>23</sup>, &c., in the sense of *hoc, illud* (also  $\text{הֵנָּה}$  equivalent to *illa*, Is 51<sup>19</sup>): also the use of the feminine form of the verb in Is 7<sup>7</sup>  $\text{לֹא תִהְיֶה וְלֹא תָקוּם}$  it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass; cf. Jer 10<sup>7</sup>; so too the suffixes Gn 15<sup>6</sup>, Ex 10<sup>11</sup>, Jb 38<sup>18</sup>, referring back to a whole statement.<sup>2</sup>

(b) Titles and designations of office, properly a subdivision of the abstract *r* ideas treated above, under *g*, and specially noticed here only on account of their peculiar transference to concrete male persons. Thus we have  $\text{קְהָלָת}$  Ec 1<sup>1</sup>, &c. (as a title of Solomon), properly no doubt that which takes part in or speaks in a religious assembly, hence LXX  $\text{\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma}$ , i. e. concionator, preacher; the proper names  $\text{סִפְרָת}$  Ezr 2<sup>56</sup>, Neh 7<sup>57</sup>, and  $\text{פִּכְרָת}$  Ezr 2<sup>57</sup>, Neh 7<sup>59</sup>, and the foreign word  $\text{פָּחָה}$  viceroy; in the plural  $\text{כְּנוֹת}$  prop. *cognomina*, then like-named, colleagues;  $\text{פְּרָעוֹת}$  princes (if this be the true meaning).<sup>3</sup> All these words, in accordance with their meaning, are construed as masculine (in Ec 7<sup>27</sup> instead of  $\text{אִמְרָה ק'}$  the words should rather be divided as  $\text{אִמְרֵי הַק'}$ ; cf. 12<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the list of masculine and feminine abstracts in Albrecht, l.c., 1896, p. 111 ff.

<sup>2</sup> While in all these instances it is simplest to speak of the *feminine* in Hebrew as being used for the *neuter* (which in Latin, Greek, and German is commonly employed for similar purposes), it must yet not be forgotten that since the language is wholly wanting in *neuters*, the Semitic mind regarded the above-mentioned forms primarily as actual *feminines*. Hence the Arab commentators are accustomed to explain the *feminines* of adjectives and participles (which would be *neuter* in Latin, &c.) by supplying a *feminine* substantive.

<sup>3</sup> This use of the feminine form is far more frequent in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaic; cf. e.g. in Arabic *ḥalīfa* (fem. from *ḥalīf*, following after, taking the place of) in the sense of the successor or representative (of Muhammad), and *allāma* (great wisdom) as a title of learned men. Analogous to this is the Latin *magistratus*, magistracy, for magistrate, and our *his Majesty*, *Excellency*, *Highness*, &c.

**S** Abstract ideas include also—

(c) *Collectives* in the fem. form,<sup>1</sup> generally fem. participles used substantively, especially as the comprehensive designation of a number of *persons*, e. g. אֲרֻחָה (fem. of travelling), prop. *the travelling* (company), i. e. travelling persons (a caravan); גִּלְהָד (fem. of גָּלָה *one going into exile*) *the company of exiles* (also frequently used of those who had returned home again); יְהֻשָּׁבֶת (that which inhabits) i. e. *the population*, Is 12<sup>6</sup>, Mi 1<sup>11 f.</sup>; אֹיֶבֶת (prop. *that which is hostile*) *the enemy*, Mi 7<sup>8,10</sup> (cf. Mi 4<sup>6 f.</sup> *the halting, cast off, driven away*, i. e. *those who halt, &c.*); דִּלְהָ (the abject) *the poorest sort*; of living beings which are not persons, cf. חַיָּה (that which lives) in the sense of *cattle, beasts*; דִּינָה *a shoal of fish*, Gn 1<sup>26</sup> (but in Jon 2<sup>2</sup> as a *nomen unitatis*, cf. t, for דִּיג *a fish*, which in verses 1 and 11 is used as the *nomen unitatis*). Cf., moreover, נִבְלָה *dead body*, Is 26<sup>19</sup>, &c. (construed as masculine), for *a heap of dead bodies*.—On the collective poetic personification of a nation, by means of בַּת *daughter*, in בְּבִלַּת, בַּת עַמִּי (equivalent to בְּנֵי עַמִּי) *my countrymen*, see above, i.

**t** (d) Conversely the feminine form of substantives is sometimes used (as in Arabic) as a *nomen unitatis*, i. e. to indicate a *single* example of a class which is denoted by the masculine form; cf. אֲנִי *a fleet* (1 K 9<sup>26</sup>), אֲנִיָּה *a single ship* (Jon 1<sup>3 a.</sup>); צִיד *hunting, game*, צִידָה Gn 27<sup>3</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup> (צִידָה *Qerê*) *a piece of venison*; שֵׁנָה *hair* (coll.), שֵׁנָה *a single hair* (Ju 20<sup>16</sup>; in the plural, ψ 40<sup>13</sup>, 69<sup>5</sup>); שִׁיר *a poem*, frequently collective, שִׁירָה *a single song*; so probably also תֵּימָנָה *a fig* (the corresponding masculine תֵּין is collective in Arabic); שִׁיחָה *a lily* (also שִׁיחָה; לִבְנָה *a brick* (Arab. *libina*, but *libin* collective), &c.

**u** (e) The feminine is also used for things *without life* (as being weaker or less important), which are named from their resemblance to *organic* things expressed by the corresponding masculine form; cf. צֶדֶף *side* (of the body), thigh, יֶרֶכָה or יֶרֶפָה *back part, border* (of a country, house, &c.); מִצְחָה *forehead*, מִצְחָה *greaves*. On a similar distinction between the masculine for natural, and the feminine for artificial objects, see § 87 a.

**v** Rem. The juxtaposition of the masculine and feminine from the same stem serves sometimes to express entirety; e. g. Is 3<sup>1</sup> מַשְׁעֲנֵי וּמַשְׁעָנָה *stay and staff*, i. e. every kind of support (unless we omit verse 1<sup>b</sup> as a gloss and take *staff* as = *staff-bearer, official*; the list of officials begins in verse 2); cf. Is 16<sup>6</sup>, Pr 8<sup>13</sup>. For similar groupings in the case of persons, see Is 43<sup>6</sup>, 49<sup>23</sup>, 60<sup>4</sup> (*sons and daughters*); 49<sup>23</sup>, Ec 2<sup>6</sup>.

### § 123. The Representation of Plural Ideas by Means of Collectives, and by the Repetition of Words.

**a** Besides the plural endings treated in § 87 a-i, the language employs other means to express a plurality of living beings or things:

(a) Certain words employed exclusively in a collective sense, while the individual members of the class are denoted by special words (*nomina unitatis*, but not in the same sense as in § 122 t).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Greek ἡ ἵππος, *the cavalry* (as well as τὸ ἵππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος, Hdt. 1, 80, &c., *the camel corps*.

Thus בָּקָר *cattle, oxen*<sup>1</sup> (even joined with numerals, e.g. Ex 21<sup>37</sup> חֲמִשָּׁה בָּקָר *five head of cattle*), but שׁוֹר *an ox*; צֹאן *small cattle*, i.e. sheep and goats (μῆλα), cf. Jb 1<sup>3</sup> שִׁבְעַת אֲלִפִּירֵצֶאן *seven thousand sheep*; but יָזָה *a single head of small cattle* (a sheep or a goat). Other more or less common collectives are: יָזָו (prop. that which prowls or roams) *wild beasts*, מֵרָץ (perhaps prop. tripping) *a number of little children*; רִשָּׁא *fresh green herb*, i.e. young plants, יָרֵק *green*, i.e. vegetation in general; עוֹף *birds, fowl*; רֶכֶב *chariots or cavalcade*, רֶמָּה *worms*, רֶמֶשׂ *creeping things* (of small creatures), שָׂרָץ *swarming things*.

(b) The collective use of substantives which at the same time serve *b* as *nomina unitatis*; thus, אָדָם (never in plur.) means both *man* (homo) and *men* (homines); אִישׁ *a man* (vir) and *men* (viri); אִשָּׁה *woman* and *women* (Ju 21<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 21<sup>6</sup>); אַרְבֶּה *a locust*, but usually *a swarm of locusts*; נֶפֶשׁ *soul* and *souls* (persons); מַגָּל *staff* and *staves* (Gn 30<sup>37</sup>); עֵיט *a bird of prey* and *birds of prey*; עֵלֶף *a leaf* and *foliage*; עֵשֶׂב *a plant* and *plants, herbs*; עֵץ *a tree* and *trees* (as it were *foliage*); פֵּרִי *fruit* and *fruits*; שִׁיחַ *a shrub* and *shrubs*; in isolated instances also nouns like עֶבֶד *man-servant*, שִׁפְחָה *maid-servant*, חֲמֹר *ass*, שׁוֹר *ox* (cf. Gn 32<sup>6</sup>).—On the singular (especially of gentile names) with the article (which may, however, be omitted in poetry, cf. e.g. ψ 12<sup>2</sup> הַסִּיר, Pr 11<sup>14</sup> יוֹעֵץ) to include all individuals of the same species, cf. § 126 l. On the special meaning of the plurals formed from certain collectives, see § 124 l.

(c) The feminine ending; see § 122 s.

(d) The repetition of single words, and even of whole groups of *c* words, especially to express entirety, or in a distributive sense. The following cases are more particularly to be noticed:

1. The repetition of one or more words to express the idea of *every, all*, as יוֹם יוֹם Gn 39<sup>10</sup>, &c., *day by day, every day*; שָׁנָה שָׁנָה Dt 14<sup>22</sup>; אִישׁ אִישׁ *every man*, Ex 36<sup>4</sup>; with בֵּ before each, as בֹּקֶר בֹּקֶר Ex 16<sup>21</sup> *every morning* (and similarly before a group of words, Lv 24<sup>8</sup>), for which the distributive לְ is also used, לְבֹקֶר לְבֹקֶר 1 Ch 9<sup>27</sup>, and with one plural לְבֹקֶרִים ψ 73<sup>14</sup>, לְבֹקֶרִים Jb 7<sup>18</sup> parallel with לְרִנָּעִים *every moment*. Somewhat different are the instances with בֵּ before the second word only, e.g. יוֹם בְּיוֹם *day by day*, 1 Ch 12<sup>22</sup>; שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *year by year*, Dt 15<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>7</sup> (but in verse 3 יָמִים בְּיָמִים *as at other times*). Also with the two words united by means of *wāw copulative*, אִישׁ וְאִישׁ ψ 87<sup>6</sup>, or אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Est 1<sup>8</sup>; דּוֹר וְדּוֹר *all generations*, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>; יוֹם וְיוֹם Est 3<sup>4</sup>; cf. Est 8<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The plural form בָּקָרִים from בָּקָר is found only in very late Hebrew, Neh 10<sup>37</sup> (where according to the Mantua edition, Ginsburg, &c., even צֹאֲנֵינוּ *our sheep*, is also to be read; Baer, however, has צֹאֲנֵנוּ), and 2 Ch 4<sup>3</sup>. In Am 6<sup>12</sup> read, with Hitzig, בָּבָקָר יָם.

Ezr 10<sup>14</sup>, 1 Ch 26<sup>13</sup> and often (cf. Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, 1889, p. 479, according to whom the use of the 1 copulative with the second word is especially common in Ch and Est, and therefore belongs to the later language; Driver, *Introd.*<sup>6</sup>, p. 538, No. 35); sometimes (but with the exception of ψ 45<sup>18</sup> only in very late passages) with a pleonastic כֹּל preceding, ψ 145<sup>13</sup>, Est 2<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>28</sup>, 2 Ch 11<sup>12</sup>, &c.

- d** 2. Repetition of words in an expressly distributive sense<sup>1</sup> (which may to some extent be noticed in the examples under c) equivalent to *one each*, &c., e. g. Nu 14<sup>34</sup> *forty days* יוֹם לַשָּׁנָה יוֹם לַשָּׁנָה counting for every day a year; cf. Ez 24<sup>6</sup>, Ex 28<sup>34</sup> (three words repeated); also with the addition of לְבַד *apart*, לְבַדּוֹ עָרָר עָרָר every drove by itself, Gn 32<sup>17</sup>; cf. Zc 12<sup>12</sup>. Most frequently with the addition of a numeral (for the simple repetition of numerals for the same purpose, cf. § 134 q), and with the words not only in groups of two (Lv 24<sup>8</sup>, Nu 13<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup>) or three (Nu 7<sup>11</sup>, 17<sup>21</sup>), but even of six (Ex 26<sup>3</sup>) or seven (Ex 25<sup>33</sup>, 26<sup>19, 21, 26</sup>); in Ex 25<sup>35</sup> five words even three times repeated.<sup>2</sup>
- e** 3. Repetition to express an exceptional or at least superfine quality; e. g. 2 K 25<sup>15</sup> *which were of gold, gold, of silver, silver*, i. e. made of pure gold and pure silver; Dt 27<sup>7</sup> בְּרֶדֶךְ בְּרֶדֶךְ only along by the high way; cf. Nu 3<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>16</sup> *they are given, given to him*, i. e. given exclusively for his service, for his very own. Also with a certain hyperbole in such examples as 2 K 3<sup>16</sup> גְּבִים גְּבִים nothing but trenches; Gn 14<sup>10</sup> בְּאֵרֹת חֶמֶר בְּאֵרֹת all asphalt-pits.—Repetition serves to intensify the expression to the highest degree in Ju 5<sup>22</sup> *by reason of the violent praisings of his strong ones*, Ex 8<sup>10</sup> (countless heaps), and Jo 4<sup>14</sup> (countless multitudes); cf. also מְעַט מְעַט Ex 23<sup>30</sup> *by little and little, very gradually*; cf. § 133 k.
- f** 4. Repetition with the copula to express of more than one kind; thus Dt 25<sup>13</sup> (Pr 20<sup>10</sup>) וָאֶבֶן וָאֶבֶן a weight and a weight, i. e. two kinds of weight (hence the addition *great and small*); ψ 12<sup>8</sup> בְּלֵב בְּלֵב with two kinds of heart, i. e. with a double-dealing heart; cf. the opposite לֵב לֵב 1 Ch 12<sup>38</sup>.

### § 124. The Various Uses of the Plural-form.<sup>3</sup>

- a** 1. The plural is by no means used in Hebrew solely to express a number of individuals or separate objects, but may also denote them collectively. This use of the plural expresses either (a) a combination of various external constituent parts (plurals of *local extension*), or (b) a more or less intensive focusing of the characteristics inherent in the idea of the stem (*abstract plurals*, usually rendered in English by forms in *-hood*, *-ness*, *-ship*). A variety of the plurals described under (b), in which the secondary idea of *intensity* or of an *internal*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in the New Testament St. Mark 6<sup>30</sup> τ. συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρασιαί πρασιαί (Weizsäcker, *tischweise*, *beetweise*).

<sup>2</sup> These repetitions of larger groups of words belong entirely to the *Priestly Code* in the Pentateuch, and are unquestionably indications of a late period of the language. Of quite a different kind are such examples as Ez 16<sup>6</sup>, where the repetition of four words serves to give greater solemnity to the promise, unless here, as certainly in 1<sup>20</sup>, it is a mere *ditlography*; the LXX omit the repetition in both passages.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dietrich, 'Über Begriff und Form des hebr. Plurals,' in the *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 2 ff.

*multiplication* of the idea of the stem may be clearly seen, is (c) the *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis*.

Examples of (a): Plurals of *local extension* to denote localities in general, but especially level surfaces (the *surface-plural*), since in them the idea of a whole composed of innumerable separate parts or points is most evident, as שָׁמַיִם (§ 88 d) *heaven* (cf. also מְרוֹמִים *heights of heaven*, Is 33<sup>16</sup>, Jb 16<sup>19</sup>; elsewhere מְרוֹם; מַיִם *water*; יָמִים (the broad surface of the sea) poetically for יָם *sea*; פָּנִים (prop. the side turned towards any one, then) *surface* in general, usually *face*; אַחֲרִים *the back*, Ex 26<sup>12</sup>, 33<sup>23</sup>, &c., צוֹאֲרִים *neck, nape of the neck*<sup>1</sup>; also מְרִאשׁוֹת *the place at the head*, מְרַגְלוֹת *place at the feet*; עֲבָרִים *place on the other side* (of a river); כְּעֻמְקִים *depth*, מְרַחֲקִים (also מִרְחָק *distance*, מִשְׁכְּבִים *bed*, Gn 49<sup>4</sup> (unless, with Dillmann, it is to be explained in the sense of *double bed*, i.e. *torus*), מִשְׁכְּנִים ψ 46<sup>5</sup>, and מִשְׁכְּבוֹת 43<sup>3</sup>, 84<sup>2</sup>, 132<sup>5</sup>, *dwelling* (perhaps also אֶהְיֶה *encampment*, in passages like 1 S 4<sup>10</sup>). The last four belong, however, to poetic style, and are better reckoned amongst the *plurals of amplification* treated under d-f. So perhaps יַצְעִים *bed* (ψ 63<sup>7</sup>, Jb 17<sup>13</sup>; but Gn 49<sup>4</sup>, ψ 132<sup>3</sup>, &c., in the singular); probably, however, יַצְעִים (prop. *strata*) refers to a number of coverings or pillows.

The plural of extension is used to denote a lengthened period of time in עוֹלָמִים *eternity* (everlasting ages).

Rem. The plural of extension includes also a few examples which were formerly explained as simply poetic plurals, e.g. Jb 17<sup>1</sup> לִי קְבָרִים *graves are* (ready) for me, i.e. the place where there are many of them (as it were the *graveyard*) is my portion, Jb 21<sup>32</sup>, 2 Ch 16<sup>14</sup>; cf. 2 K 22<sup>20</sup>.

Of (b): the tolerably numerous abstract plurals, mostly of a particular form (*gʹtūtīm*, *gʹtūtīm*, &c.), may be divided into two classes. They sum up either the *conditions* or *qualities* inherent in the idea of the stem, or else the various single acts of which an action is composed. Cf. for the first class, בְּחוּרִים and בְּחוּרוֹת *youth*, זְקֵנִים *old age*, נְעוּרִים *youth*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, בְּלוּלוֹת *bridal state*; מְגוּרִים *condition of a sojourner*, בִּשְׂרִים *fleshliness* (only in Pr 14<sup>30</sup>), חַיִּים *life* (the abstract idea of the qualities of a living being); יְשׁוּבִלִים *childlessness*, סְנוּרִים *blindness*, עוֹעִים *perverseness*.

There are also a number of plurals, found almost exclusively in poetry (sometimes along with the singular), which are evidently intended to intensify<sup>2</sup> the idea of the stem (plural of amplification), as אֲנִיִּים *might*, Is 40<sup>26</sup>; אֲמוּנִים (as well as אֲמוּנָה) and אֲמוּנוֹת *faithfulness*; אֲשֵׁרִי (according to § 93 l, only in the construct state plural or with suffixes = *the happiness of*), *happy*; בְּאַשְׁרוּת (complete) *prosperity*, ψ 68<sup>7</sup>; בִּינוּת Is 27<sup>11</sup> and חֲבוּנוֹת Is 40<sup>14</sup>, &c. (keen) *understanding*; עֲצוֹת (true) *counsel*, Dt 32<sup>28</sup>; דְּעִים Jb 37<sup>16</sup> and דְּעוֹת

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the same use of the plural in τὰ στέφνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ πρᾶχλα, *praecordia, cervices, fauces*; on plurals of extension in general, cf. the prepositions of place and time in the plur. form, § 103 n. סְפָרִים is not a case in point, in the sense of *letter* (properly a sheet folded into several pages; elsewhere also סְפָר) 1 K 21<sup>8</sup> α, 2 K 10<sup>1</sup>, 19<sup>14</sup> (Is 37<sup>14</sup>; referred to afterwards by the singular suffix); Is 39<sup>1</sup>, Jer 29<sup>25</sup>, 32<sup>14</sup> (*after being folded, previously* סְפָר).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Ember, 'The pluralis intensivus in Hebrew,' *AJSL* 1905, p. 195 ff.

1 S 2<sup>3</sup> (thorough) *knowledge*; בִּטְחוֹת Jb 12<sup>8</sup> and מִבְּטָחִים Is 32<sup>18</sup> (full) *confidence*; בְּרָבוֹת (abundant) *blessing*, ψ 21<sup>7</sup>; גְּבוּרוֹת (exceptional) *strength*, Jb 41<sup>4</sup>; הָנוֹת ψ 5<sup>10</sup> (very) *wickedness*; חֲמוּדוֹת Dn 9<sup>23</sup> (greatly) *beloved*; חֲמוֹת ψ 76<sup>11</sup>, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; חֲרָפוֹת Dn 12<sup>2</sup> (utter) *contempt*; יִשְׁעוֹת (real) *help*, Is 26<sup>18</sup>, &c.; מְרֵאֵת Gn 46<sup>2</sup> (an important) *vision*; מִישְׁרִים uprightness; תַּהֲפֻכוֹת perversity; נִקְמוֹת (complete) *vengeance*, Ju 11<sup>36</sup>, &c.; חֲשֵׁכִים and מְחֲשֵׁכִים (thick) *darkness*; מִסְתָּרִים a (close) *hiding-place*; נְגִידִים nobility; שְׁמֵנִים Is 28<sup>1</sup> *fatness*; צְהָצְחוֹת (complete) *aridity*; מִמְתָּקִים sweetness; מְחֲמָדִים preciousness; שְׂשֻׁעִים delight; עֲנָנִים and הֶעֱנָנִים pleasure; רַחֲמִים compassion; מְנוּחַת ψ 23<sup>2</sup> rest, refreshment; מְרוֹמֹת Am 3<sup>9</sup> tumult. Probably also יְדִידָה (heartfelt) *love*, ψ 45<sup>1</sup>; מְרוֹת (extreme) *bitterness*, Jb 13<sup>28</sup>; מְרֻמוֹת (base) *deceit*, ψ 38<sup>13</sup>; צְדָקוֹת (true) *righteousness*, Is 33<sup>15</sup>, &c.; שְׂמָחוֹת (the highest) *joy*, ψ 16<sup>11</sup>. On the other hand, חֲכָמוֹת wisdom (Pr 1<sup>20</sup>, &c.) can hardly be a plural (=the essence of wisdom, or wisdom personified), but is a singular (see § 86 l).

A further extension of this plural of amplification occurs according to P. Haupt's very probable suggestion (*SBOT. Proverbs*, p. 40, line 50, &c.) in יַאֲרִים the great river (of the Nile, generally יַאֲרִי Is 7<sup>18</sup>, 19<sup>6</sup> (though with the predicate in the plural), Ez 30<sup>12</sup>, ψ 78<sup>44</sup>, but in Is 37<sup>25</sup>, Ez 29<sup>3</sup> the usual explanation, arms or channels of the Nile, can hardly be avoided; also in נְהָרוֹת ψ 24<sup>2</sup> of the ocean, which encircles the earth, 137<sup>1</sup> of the great river, i.e. the Euphrates, but in Is 18<sup>1</sup> נְהָרֵי כּוּשׁ is evidently a numerical plural.—In Pr 16<sup>13</sup> מַלְכִּים (acc. to P. Haupt=the great king) is very doubtful. In נִשְׂאֵי Ez 19<sup>1</sup> the second *yôdh* is evidently due to dittography, since יִשְׂרָאֵל follows.

f The summing up of the several parts of an action is expressed in הִנָּמִים embalming, כִּפְּרִים atonement, מִלְּאִים (prop. filling, sc. of the hand) ordination to the priesthood, שְׁלָחִים dismissal, שְׁלֵמִים retribution, פְּתָחִים engraving (of a seal, &c.); אֲהָבִים fornication, וְנוֹנִים whoredom, נֶאֱפִים adultery; נְהָמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) consolation, תַּחֲנוּנִים supplication, נִדְרִים Jb 7<sup>4</sup> (restless) tossing to and fro, פְּלָאִים wonder La 1<sup>9</sup>, עֲלָלוֹת gleaning; perhaps also נִינּוֹת ψ 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, &c., if it means the playing on stringed instruments, and נִטְלָמִים Is 1<sup>23</sup> bribery, unless it be a plural of number.<sup>1</sup>

g Of (c): the *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis*, as has been remarked above, is properly a variety of the abstract plural, since it sums up the several characteristics<sup>2</sup> belonging to the idea, besides possessing the secondary sense of an intensification of the original idea. It is thus closely related to the plurals of amplification, treated under e, which are mostly found in poetry.

<sup>1</sup> Mayer Lambert in *REJ.* xxiv. 106 ff., enumerates no less than ninety-five words ending in *im*, which in his opinion are to be regarded as *pluralia tantum*.

<sup>2</sup> The Jewish grammarians call such plurals רִבּוּי הַכֹּחַת plur. *virium* or *virtutum*; later grammarians call them plur. *excellenticae*, *magnitudinis*, or plur. *maiestaticus*. This last name may have been suggested by the *we* used by kings when speaking of themselves (cf. already 1 Macc. 10<sup>19</sup>, 11<sup>31</sup>); and the plural used by God in Gn 1<sup>26</sup>, 11<sup>7</sup>, Is 6<sup>8</sup> has been incorrectly explained in this way. It is, however, either *communicative* (including the attendant angels; so at all events in Is 6<sup>8</sup>, cf. also Gn 3<sup>22</sup>), or according to others, an indication of the fullness of power and might implied in אֱלֹהִים (see Dillmann on Gn 1<sup>26</sup>); but it is best explained as a plural of self-deliberation. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address is quite foreign to Hebrew.

So especially אֱלֹהִים *Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural *gods*, Ex 12<sup>12</sup>, &c.). The supposition that אֱלֹהִים is to be regarded as merely a remnant of earlier polytheistic views (i.e. as originally only a numerical plural) is at least highly improbable, and, moreover, would not explain the analogous plurals (see below). That the language has entirely rejected the idea of numerical plurality in אֱלֹהִים (whenever it denotes *one* God), is proved especially by its being almost invariably joined with a singular attribute (cf. § 132 h), e.g. אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק ψ 7<sup>10</sup>, &c. Hence אֱלֹהִים may have been used originally not only as a numerical but also as an abstract plural (corresponding to the Latin *numen*, and our *Godhead*), and, like other abstracts of the same kind, have been transferred to a concrete single god (even of the heathen).

To the same class (and probably formed on the analogy of אֱלֹהִים) belong *h* the plurals קְדֻשִׁים *the Most Holy* (only of Yahweh), Ho 12<sup>1</sup>, Pr 9<sup>10</sup>, 30<sup>3</sup> (cf. אֱלֹהִים קְדֻשִׁים Jos 24<sup>19</sup>, and the Aram. עֲלִיּוֹנִין *the Most High*, Dn 7<sup>18.22.25</sup>); and probably תְּרַפִּים (usually taken in the sense of *penates*) the image of a god, used especially for obtaining oracles. Certainly in 1 S 19<sup>13.16</sup> only *one* image is intended; in most other places a single image may be intended<sup>1</sup>; in Zc 10<sup>2</sup> alone is it most naturally taken as a numerical plural. In Ec 5<sup>7</sup> גְּבוּהִים *supremus* (of God) is doubtful; according to others it is a numerical plural, *superiores*.

Further, אֲדָנִים, as well as the singular אֲדֹן, (lordship) *lord*, e.g. אֲדָנִים קָשָׁה *a cruel lord*, Is 19<sup>4</sup>; אֲדָנִי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land*, Gn 42<sup>30</sup>, cf. Gn 32<sup>19</sup>; so especially with the suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons אֲדָנֶיךָ, אֲדָנֶיהָ, ψ 45<sup>12</sup>, אֲדָנִי, &c., also אֲדָנֵינוּ (except 1 S 16<sup>16</sup>); but in 1st sing. always אֲדָנִי.<sup>2</sup> So also בָּעָלִים (with suffixes) *lord, master* (of slaves, cattle, or inanimate things; but in the sense of *maritus*, always in the singular), e.g. בָּעָלָי Ex 21<sup>29</sup>, Is 1<sup>3</sup>, &c.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, we must regard as doubtful a number of participles in *h* the plural, which, being used as attributes of God, resemble *plurales excellentiae*; thus, עֹשֵׂי עֲשֵׂי, Jb 35<sup>10</sup>; עֹשֵׂיךָ Is 54<sup>5</sup>; עֹשֵׂי ψ 149<sup>2</sup>; עֹשֵׂהָ Is 22<sup>11</sup>; נֹטְתֵיהֶם *stretching them out*, Is 42<sup>6</sup>; for all these forms may also be explained as singular, according to § 93 ss.<sup>4</sup>—נֹגְשֵׁי Is 3<sup>12</sup> might also be regarded as another instance, unless it be a numerical plural, *their oppressors*; moreover, מְרַמֵּי *him who lifteth it up*, Is 10<sup>15</sup> (but read probably מְרִמּוֹ); שִׁלְחֵי *him who sendeth him*, Pr 10<sup>28</sup>, 22<sup>21</sup> (so Baer, but Ginsburg שִׁלְחֶךָ), 25<sup>13</sup> (in parallelism with אֲדָנִי). These latter plurals, however (including מְרִמּוֹ), may probably be more simply explained as indicating an indefinite individual, cf. o below.—For שִׁמְרֶיךָ ψ 121<sup>5</sup> (*textus receptus*) and בִּרְאֵיךָ Ec 12<sup>1</sup> (*textus receptus*) the singular should be read, with Baer.

<sup>1</sup> Even in Gn 31<sup>34</sup>, notwithstanding the plural suffix in וַתִּשְׁמַעַם and וַתִּלְהָם, since the construction of these abstracts as numerical plurals is one of the peculiarities of the E-document of the Hexateuch; cf. Gn 20<sup>13</sup>, 35<sup>7</sup>, and § 145 i.

<sup>2</sup> On אֲדָנִי (for אֲדָנִי) as a name of God, cf. § 135 g.

<sup>3</sup> Euting, *Reise in Arabien*, p. 61, mentions the interesting fact that the subjects of the Emir of Hâyel commonly speak of their ruler as *šiyûkh*, a plur. majestatis = *the great sheikh*.

<sup>4</sup> בָּעָלֶיךָ, which in Is 54<sup>5</sup> is in parallelism with עֹשֵׂיךָ, must then be explained as merely formed on analogy.

*l* Rem. 1. (a) Coherent substances, &c., are mostly regarded as *single*, and are, accordingly, almost always represented by nouns in the singular, cf. אֶבֶן *fine dust*, אֲפֹרָה *ashes*, בֵּד *linen*, בְּרִיל *lead*, זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, נְחָשֶׁת *brass*, חֵלֶב *milk*, יַיִן *wine*, עָפָר *dust*, הַגֹּרֶם *the ground*, עֵץ *wood*. Plurals are, however, formed from some of these words expressing materials in order to denote separate portions taken from the whole in manufacture (*plurals of the result*), or parts otherwise detached from it; thus, בְּדִים *linen garments*; כֶּסֶףִּים *silver pieces*, Gn 42<sup>25,35</sup>; נְחָשֶׁתִּים (dual) *fetters of brass*; עֲצִים *ligna* (timber for building or sticks for burning); also in a wider sense, בְּרִילִים *particles of alloy* to be separated by smelting, Is 1<sup>26</sup>; עֲפָרוֹת *fragments of earth*, Pr 8<sup>26</sup>, cf. Jb 28<sup>6</sup> וְהָבָה עֲפָרֹת *dust of gold*.

*m* (b) To the class of *plurals of the result* belong also a few names of natural products, when represented in an artificial condition; thus, חֲטָיִם *wheat* in grain (threshed wheat), as distinguished from חֶטֶה *wheat* (used collectively) in the ear; cf. the same distinction between בִּסְמִים and בִּסְמֹת *spelt*; עֲרִשִׁים and עֲרִשָּׁה (the singular preserved only in the Mishna) *lentils*; שְׁעָרִים and שְׁעֵרָה *barley*; also פִּשְׁתִּים *linen*, פִּשֶׁת (to be inferred from פִּשְׁתִּי) *flax*.

*n* (c) Finally, the distinction between דָּם *blood* and דְּמִים requires to be specially noticed. The singular is always used when the blood is regarded as an organic unity, hence also of menstrual blood, and the blood of sacrifices (collected in the basin and then sprinkled), and in Nu 23<sup>24</sup> of the blood gushing from wounds. On the other hand, דְּמִים as a sort of plural of the result and at the same time of local extension, denotes *blood which is shed*, when it appears as blood-stains (Is 1<sup>15</sup>) or as blood-marks (so evidently in Is 9<sup>4</sup>). But since blood-stains or blood-marks, as a rule, suggest blood shed in murder (although דְּמִים also denotes the blood which flows at childbirth or in circumcision), דְּמִים acquired (even in very early passages) simply the sense of a *bloody deed*, and especially of *bloodguiltiness*, Ex 22<sup>1f.</sup>, &c.

*o* In some few cases the plural is used to denote an indefinite singular; certainly so in Dt 17<sup>5</sup> אֶל־שַׁעְרֶיךָ *unto one of thy gates*; Zc 9<sup>9</sup> בְּזִמְתֹּתָם (cf. Ct 2<sup>8</sup>); Ex 21<sup>22</sup> יִלְדָּהּ (where evidently only *one* child is thought of, though certainly in connexion with a contingency which may be repeated); cf. also Ec 4<sup>10</sup> (if *one of them* fall).—So probably also Gn 8<sup>4</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>43</sup>, Dn 2<sup>1</sup>, Neh 3<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; but not Gn 19<sup>29</sup>, since the same document (Gn 13<sup>12</sup>) makes Lot dwell in the cities of the Jordan valley; in Gn 21<sup>7</sup> בָּנִים denotes the class with which the action is concerned. In Ju 12<sup>7</sup> instead of the unusual בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד in the cities of Gilead (formerly explained here as in *one of the cities of Gilead*) we should most probably read, with Moore (*SBOT. Judges*, p. 52), בְּעִירוֹ בְּמַצֵּפֶה גִלְעָד in his city, in Mizpeh (in) Gilead.

*p* 2. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and the compound idea thus formed is to be expressed in the plural, this is done—

(a) Most naturally by using the plural of the *nomen regens*, e.g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל *mighty men of valour* (prop. heroes of strength), 1 Ch 7<sup>2,9</sup>; so also in compounds, e.g. בְּנֵי יִמִּי 1 S 22<sup>7</sup>, as the plur. of בְּנֵי יִמִּי *Benjamite*; but also

*q* (b) By using the plural of *both* nouns,<sup>1</sup> e.g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּלִּים 1 Ch 7<sup>5</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 438 f., according to whom the plural of the principal word exercises an influence on the determining genitive.

שְׁנֵי לָחֶת אֲבָנִים, *and in prison houses*, Is 42<sup>22</sup>; cf. Ex 34<sup>1</sup>, &c., two tables of stone (but Ex 31<sup>18</sup> לָחֶת אֶבֶן); Nu 13<sup>32</sup>, Dt 1<sup>28</sup>, Jos 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 14<sup>14</sup>, 25<sup>23</sup>, Is 51<sup>9</sup>, Jer 41<sup>10</sup>, Ezr 3<sup>3</sup>, &c. עַמֵּי הָאָרְצוֹת the people of the country; 2 Ch 26<sup>14</sup>; so perhaps אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי אֱלֹהִים sons of God, ψ 29<sup>1</sup>, 89<sup>7</sup> (according to others sons of gods); or finally even

(c) By using the plural of the *nomen rectum*;<sup>1</sup> e.g. בֵּית אָבוֹת Ex 6<sup>14</sup>, r Nu 1<sup>2.4ff.</sup>, &c., as plur. of בֵּית אָב father's house, family; בֵּית הַבָּמוֹת the houses of the high places, 2 K 17<sup>29</sup> (also בְּתֵי הַבָּמוֹת 23<sup>19</sup>); בֵּית עֲצֻבֵיהֶם the houses of their idols, 1 S 31<sup>9</sup>, Ez 46<sup>24</sup>; cf. also Ju 7<sup>25</sup> the head of Oreb and Zeeb, i.e. the heads, &c.

Rem. When a substantive (in a distributive sense) with a suffix refers *s* back to a plural, the singular form of the substantive suffices, since the idea of plurality is already adequately expressed by the suffix, e.g. בְּיָמֹו os (for ora) eorum, ψ 17<sup>10</sup>; יְמִינָם their right hand, ψ 144<sup>8</sup> [so in the English RV.], for hands.

## § 125. Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of Proper Names.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 466 ff.

1. A noun may either be determinate in itself, as a proper name *a* or pronoun (see below, *d* and *i*), or be made so by its context. In the latter case, the determination may be effected either by prefixing the article (see § 126), or by the connexion of the noun (in the construct state) with a following determinate genitive, and consequently also (according to § 33 c) by its union with a pronominal suffix (§ 127 a). It is to be taken as a fundamental rule, that the determination can only be effected in *one* of the ways here mentioned; the article cannot be prefixed to a proper name, nor to a noun followed by the genitive, nor can a proper name be used in the construct state. Deviations from this rule are either only apparent or have arisen from a corruption of the text.

Rem. Only in a few passages is a noun made expressly *indeterminate* by the addition of אֶחָד in the sense of our indefinite article; cf. Ex 16<sup>33</sup>, Ju 9<sup>63</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>9.12</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>11</sup>, 19<sup>4</sup>, 20<sup>13</sup>, 22<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>6</sup>, 12<sup>10</sup>, Ez 8<sup>8</sup>, Dn 8<sup>8</sup>, 10<sup>6</sup> (in 8<sup>13</sup> אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ i.e. *one*, viz. *a holy one*, is opposed to another).

It is further to be noticed, that in Hebrew the phenomenon sometimes *c* occurs, which the Arab grammarians call *indeterminateness for the sake of amplification*; e.g. Is 31<sup>8</sup> and he shall flee מִפְּנֵי הָחֶרֶב from a sword, i.e. from an irresistible sword (God's sword); cf. Is 28<sup>2</sup> בַּיָּד בְּיָד; 2 S 6<sup>2</sup> נָשִׁים; Ho 3<sup>1</sup> אִשָּׁה such a woman, without doubt to be referred to the Gomer mentioned in cap. 1;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 482.

Am 6<sup>14</sup> גִּוִּי ψ 77<sup>16</sup> בִּזְרֹעַ; Pr 21<sup>12</sup> צָדִיק, if with Delitzsch it is to be referred to God; Jb 8<sup>10</sup> מְלִים meaning *important words*, but in 15<sup>13</sup> מְלִין *reproachful words*. Cf. on this point, § 117 q, note 3, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, ed. 4, p. 79.

d 2. Real *proper nouns*, as being the names of things (or persons) only *once* met with, are sufficiently determinate in themselves. Such names, therefore, as יהוה, דָּוִד, יַעֲקֹב, בְּנֵנֹ, כָּדָם do not admit of the article,<sup>1</sup> nor can they be in the construct state. On the other hand, not only *gentilic* names (as denoting the *various* individuals belonging to the same class), but also all those proper names, of which the appellative sense is still sufficiently evident to the mind, or at least has been handed down from an earlier period of the language, frequently (often even as a rule) take the article (according to § 126 e), and may even be followed by a genitive.

c Examples. Like the above-mentioned proper names of individuals, countries, and cities, so also national names, which are identical in form with the name of the founder of the race (e.g. מֹאָב, אֲדָם, יִשְׂרָאֵל, are always determinate in themselves. Of gentilic names (e.g. הָעִבְרִי the *Hebrew*, הָעִבְרִים the *Hebrews*, Gn 40<sup>15</sup>; הַכְּנַעֲנִי the *Canaanite*) the plural פְּלִשְׁתִּים, even when meaning the Philistines, is generally used without the article (but in 1 S 4<sup>7</sup>, &c., הַפְּ); so always בְּפִתְרִים.—Evident appellatives (like such modern names as the *Hague*, *le Havre*) are הַגְּבֵעָה the *hill*, in the construct state גְּבֵעַת שְׂאוּל, i. e. the *Gibeah* named after *Saul* to distinguish it from others; הָרְמָה the *height*; הֶעָי the *heap*; הַלְבָּנוֹן (prop. the *white mountain*) the *Lebanon*; הַיָּאֵר (prop. the *river*) the *Nile*, cf. Am 8<sup>8</sup> בִּיאוֹר מִצְרַיִם like the *river of Egypt*; הַיַּרְדֵּן the *Jordan* (according to Seybold, *Mittheil. und Nachr. des DPV.*, 1896, p. 11, probably the *drinking-place* [יֵרֵד, Arab. *warada*, meaning orig. to go down to drink]).

f Rem. 1. In a few instances original appellatives have completely assumed the character of real proper names, and are therefore used without the article; thus אֱלֹהִים *God*, to denote the one true God (as elsewhere יהוה) Gn 1<sup>1</sup> and so generally in this document of the Pentateuch up to Ex 6, elsewhere sometimes אֱלֹהִים θεός (cf. § 126 e); also the sing. אֱלֹהֵי *God*, עֲלִיּוֹן the *Most High*, and שְׂרִי the *Almighty* never take the article.—Moreover, אָדָם *Adam* from Gn 5<sup>1</sup> onwards (previously in 2<sup>7</sup>, &c., הָאָדָם the *first man*); שָׂטָן *Satan*, 1 Ch 21<sup>1</sup> (but Zc 3<sup>1</sup>, Jb 1<sup>6</sup>, &c., הַשָּׂטָן the *adversary*); cf. אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד the *tent of revelation* (i. e. the *tabernacle*), always without the article.

g To the class of nouns originally appellative, which the language regards

<sup>1</sup> Consequently, הַמְּנַשֶּׁה Dt 3<sup>13</sup>, Jos 1<sup>12</sup>, &c. (In the Deuteronomist) in the combination הַמְּנַשֶּׁה שִׁבְטָה (for which elsewhere מְנַשֶּׁה) is to be regarded *not* as a proper name but as a gentilic name (= the *tribe of the Manassites*), for which in Dt 29<sup>7</sup> הַמְּנַשִּׁי ש' is used, as in 10<sup>8</sup> הַלֵּוִי ש' the *tribe of the Levites*, and in Ju 18<sup>1</sup> הַדָּנִי ש' the *tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos 13<sup>7</sup> הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (like gentilic names in '—) is even used adjectivally.

as proper names, and which consequently never take the article, belong also certain archaic words mostly used only by poets, such as שְׁאוֹל *Hades*, תֵּבֶל *world*, תְּהוֹם *ocean*, of the body of water which encircles the earth, Gn 1<sup>2</sup>, &c.; but Is 63<sup>13</sup>, ψ 106<sup>9</sup> בְּתֵּהֱמוֹת *through the depths*, viz. of the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup>

2. When nouns which the usage of the language always treats as proper names occasionally appear to be connected with a following genitive, this is really owing to an ellipse whereby the noun which really governs the genitive, i. e. the appellative idea contained in the proper name, is suppressed. So evidently in the case of יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Yahweh (the God) of hosts*; the fuller form יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת 2 S 5<sup>10</sup>, &c., or יהוה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת Am 3<sup>13</sup>, &c., is a secondary expansion of the original צְבָאוֹת; יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת in ψ 59<sup>8</sup>, 80<sup>15,20</sup>, 84<sup>9</sup> is due to the mechanical substitution of אֱלֹהִים for יְהוָה affected in the 2nd and part of the 3rd book of the Psalms. So also in geographical names such as אֲרָם נְהָרַיִם *Uram (the city) of the Chaldees*, Gn 11<sup>28</sup>; אֲרָם *Aram (the region) of the two rivers*; בֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה *Bethlehem (the city) of Judah*; אֲבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה 2 S 20<sup>14</sup>, &c., to distinguish it from אֲבֵל מַיִם *Abel by the water*, 2 Ch 16<sup>4</sup>; יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד 1 S 11<sup>1</sup>, &c.; יִרְדֵּן יֶרֶחוֹ Nu 22<sup>1</sup>, 26<sup>3,63</sup>, &c.; on Ju 8<sup>92</sup> cf. § 128 c; צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל *the Zion of the Holy One of Israel*, Is 60<sup>14</sup>; but in 1 S 1<sup>1</sup> for צוֹפִים read צוּפִי *a Zuphite*. Some of these examples (cf. also Am 6<sup>2</sup>) come very near to the actual construct state (cf. above, נָבִיעַת שְׁאוֹל), since e.g. the addition of the genitive serves to distinguish the place from four others called Aram (see the Lexicon), or from another Bethlehem. Aram, Bethlehem, &c., are accordingly no longer names found only in one special sense, and therefore also are no longer proper names in the strictest sense.

3. Of the pronouns, the personal pronouns proper (the separate *i* pronouns, § 32) are always determinate in themselves, since they can denote only definite individuals (the 3rd person, also definite things). For the same reason the demonstrative pronouns (§ 34) are also determinate in themselves, when they stand *alone* (as equivalent to substantives), either as subject (Gn 5<sup>29</sup>) or as predicate (e.g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this is the day*, Ju 4<sup>14</sup>; אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים *these are the words*, Dt 1<sup>1</sup>), or as object (e.g. אֶת־יוֹצֵאת 2 S 13<sup>17</sup>), or as genitive (הַמְּחִיר הַזֶּה 1 K 21<sup>2</sup>), or finally when joined to a preposition (לְיוֹצֵאת Gn 2<sup>23</sup>; בְּיָדָהּ 1 S 16<sup>8</sup>, see § 102 g).

So also the personal pronouns הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵנָּה, הֵמָּה when they *k* are used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille*, &c.) are always determinate in themselves, e.g. הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *that is the thing*, Gn 41<sup>28</sup>. They

<sup>1</sup> That various other words, such as אָנוּשׁ *man*, צִלְמֹת *deep darkness*, רִיזִין *prince*, שְׂדֵי *field*, תְּהִישָׁה *effectual working*, are always found without the article is not to be attributed to any special archaism, but is to be explained from the fact that they belong solely to poetic language, which avoids the article; in other cases, such as תִּרְדָּמָה *deep sleep*, there is no occasion for the article in the passages we possess.

are made determinate by the article, when they are joined like adjectives (see § 126 *u*) with a determinate substantive, e.g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*; הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה *these men*; וּבַיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה וּבָעֵת הַהִיא *in those days, and in that time*, Jo 4<sup>1</sup>. The demonstrative, however, even in this case, is frequently used *without* the article, as being sufficiently determinate in itself (cf. § 126 *y*).

### § 126. Determination by Means of the Article.

*a* 1. The article (הַ, הָ, הֶ, § 35) was originally, as in other languages (clearly in the Romance; cf. also ὁ, ἡ, τό in Homer), a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative force of the article, apart from its occasional use as a relative pronoun (see § 138 *i*), appears now, however, only (*a*) in a few standing phrases, and (*b*) in a certain class of statements or exclamations.

*b* (*a*) Cf. הַיּוֹם *this day, hodie* (§ 100 *c*); הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, Gn 19<sup>34</sup>; הַפֶּעַם *this time*, Gn 2<sup>23</sup>; הַשָּׁנָה *this year (= in this year)* Is 37<sup>30</sup>, Jer 28<sup>16</sup>.

(*b*) includes those instances in which the article, mostly when prefixed to a participle, joins on a new statement concerning a preceding noun. Although such participles, &c., are no doubt primarily regarded always as in apposition to a preceding substantive, the article nevertheless has in some of these examples almost the force of הוּא (הִיא, הֵמָּה) as the subject of a noun-clause; e.g.  $\psi$  19<sup>10</sup> *the judgements of the Lord are true . . .*, verse 11 הַנְּחֻמִּים וְגו' *prop. the more to be desired than gold, i.e. they are more to be desired, or even they, that are more to be desired,*<sup>1</sup> &c.; cf. Gn 49<sup>21</sup>, Is 40<sup>22 f.</sup>, 44<sup>27 f.</sup>, 46<sup>6</sup>, Am 2<sup>7</sup>, 5<sup>7</sup>,  $\psi$  33<sup>15</sup>, 49<sup>7</sup> הַבְּמֹתִים *in the parallel half of the verse continued by a finite verb*;  $\psi$  104<sup>3</sup>, Jb 6<sup>18</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, 30<sup>3</sup>, 41<sup>26</sup> and frequently. When such a participle has another co-ordinate with it, the latter is used *without* the article, since according to the above it strictly speaking represents a second predicate, and as such, according to *i*, remains indeterminate; e.g. Jb 5<sup>10</sup> *who giveth* (הַנֶּתֵּן) *rain, &c., and sendeth* (וְשִׁלַּח), &c.

*C* The article is sometimes used with similar emphasis before a substantive, which serves as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 140 *d*); e.g. Dt 32<sup>4</sup> הַצֹּר תָּמִים פֶּעֶלָּו *i.e. as a fresh statement (not in apposition to the preceding dative), really equivalent to he is a rock, perfect in his work (i.e. whose work is perfect)*; cf.  $\psi$  18<sup>31</sup>.

*d* 2. The article is, generally speaking, employed to determine a substantive wherever it is required by Greek and English; thus:

(*a*) When a person or thing already spoken of is mentioned again, and is consequently more definite to the mind of the hearer or reader; e.g. Gn 1<sup>3</sup> *and God said, Let there be light: verse 4 and God saw the light* (וַיַּבְחִין אֶת־הָאוֹר); 1 K 3<sup>24</sup> *fetch me a sword: and they brought the sword*; Ec 9<sup>15</sup>. (In 2 S 12<sup>2</sup> therefore לַעֲשֹׂיִר must be read.)

<sup>1</sup> On the analogous use of the article before participles which have a verbal suffix, as in  $\psi$  18<sup>33</sup>, &c., cf. above, § 116 *f*.

(b) With a title understood and recognized by every one, e.g. *הַשֶּׁלֶמֶה הַקָּטָן* *ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών*: Gn 35<sup>8</sup> *under the oak* (the well-known oak which was there).

(c) With appellatives to denote persons or natural objects which are unique, e.g. *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל* *the high priest*, *הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ* *the sun*, *הָאָרֶץ* *the earth*.

(d) When terms applying to whole classes are restricted (simply by *e* usage) to particular individuals (like *ὁ ποιητής*, meaning Homer) or things, e.g. *שָׂטָן* *adversary*, *הַשָּׂטָן* *the adversary, Satan*; *בָּעַל* *lord*, *הַבָּעַל* *Baal* as proper name of the god; *הָאָדָם* *the (first) man, Adam*; *הָאֱלֹהִים*<sup>1</sup> or *הָאֵל* *ὁ θεός, the one true God* (cf. also *ὁ Χριστός* in the New Testament); also *הַנָּהָר* *the river, i.e. Euphrates*; *הַכֶּכֶר* *the circle, sc. of the Jordan, the Jordan plain* [Gn 19<sup>17</sup>, &c.].

(e) Very often with the vocative, e.g. 2 S 14<sup>4</sup> *הַמֶּלֶךְ הַיֹּשֵׁעַ* *help, O king*; Zc 3<sup>8</sup> *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ* *O Joshua the high priest*; 1 S 17<sup>58</sup>, 24<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>5</sup>; in the plural, Is 42<sup>18</sup>, Jo 1<sup>2.13</sup>; but cf. also Jos 10<sup>12</sup>, Is 1<sup>2</sup>, 49<sup>13</sup> (*שָׂמַיִם* and *אֲרָץ*); 23<sup>16</sup>, Ho 13<sup>14</sup>, Jo 1<sup>5</sup>, ψ 34<sup>12</sup>, Ec 10<sup>17</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup>, &c.<sup>2</sup> The vocative occurs *without* the article in Is 22<sup>2</sup>, since it has been already defined by a preceding accusative.

Rem. Strictly speaking in all these cases the substantive with the article *f* is really in apposition to the personal pronoun of the 2nd person, which is either expressly mentioned or virtually present (in the imperative), e.g. 1 S 17<sup>68</sup> *thou, the young man*. But such passages as Is 42<sup>18</sup>, where the vocative precedes the imperative, prove that in such cases the substantive originally in apposition eventually acquired the value of a complete clause.

(f) With words denoting classes (see particulars under *l*).

(g) In a peculiar way, to specify persons or things, which are so far definite as to be naturally thought of in connexion with a given case, and must be assumed accordingly to be there (see *q-s*).

(h) With adjectives (also ordinal numbers and demonstrative pronouns used adjectivally) which are joined to substantives determined in some way (see *u*).

Rem. The article may be omitted in *poetry* in all the above-mentioned *h* cases; in general it is used in poetry far less frequently than in prose. Its use or omission probably often rests on rhythmical grounds;<sup>3</sup> it is sometimes omitted also for rhetorical reasons. Cf. e.g. *הָאָרֶץ* for *הָאָרֶץ* ψ 2<sup>2</sup>; *מַלְכִים* as vocative, verse 10; *מֶלֶךְ* for *הַמֶּלֶךְ* 21<sup>2</sup>; *שֶׁמֶךְ נָדוּל וְנוֹרָא* (contrary to *u, v*) 99<sup>3</sup>. In the instances in which the *ה* of the article is omitted after a prefix (§ 35 *n*), the vowel of the article is often retained after the prefix even in poetry, e.g. *בְּשָׂמַיִם* ψ 2<sup>4</sup>, &c.

<sup>1</sup> On the subsequent change of *שָׂטָן*, *אָדָם*, *אֱלֹהִים* into real proper names by the omission of the article, cf. above, § 125 *f*.

<sup>2</sup> For further exceptions see Nestle, *ZAW*. 1904, p. 323 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the useful statistics of J. Ley in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 2te Abteilung, 1891, Heft 7-9, and M. Lambert, 'L'article dans la poésie hébr.', *REJ*. 37, 263 ff.

i (i) On the other hand, the article is always omitted when a person or thing is to be represented as indefinite (or indefinable) or as yet unknown; consequently also before the predicate, since this is from its nature always a general term, under which the subject is included, e.g. Gn 29<sup>7</sup> עוֹר הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *as yet the day is great*, i.e. it is yet high day; 33<sup>13</sup>, 40<sup>18</sup>, 41<sup>26</sup>, Is 66<sup>3</sup>.

k Rem. 1. As exceptions to the above rule it is usual to regard those examples in which a determinate adjective or participle (equivalent to a relative clause) is used apparently as a predicate, e.g. Gn 2<sup>11</sup> הוּא הַפֶּסֶב *it is the compassing*, i.e. *that is it which compasseth*; 42<sup>6</sup>, 45<sup>12</sup>, Ex 9<sup>27</sup>, Dt 3<sup>21</sup>, 8<sup>18</sup>, 11<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>18</sup>, Is 14<sup>27</sup>, Mal 3<sup>2</sup> (cf. in Greek, e.g. St. Mat. 10<sup>40</sup>, where Winer, *Gram. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 58, 2, Rem., explains *οἱ λαλοῦντες* as a predicate with the article). In reality, however, these supposed predicates are rather subjects (acc. to § 116 q), and the only peculiarity of these cases is that the subject is not included under a general idea, but is equated with the predicate.

2. Sometimes the article is used with only one of two parallel words, as Na 1<sup>6</sup> הָרִים הַנִּבְנוֹת and מִיָּמִין, 2 Ch 3<sup>17</sup> מִיָּמִין and מִהַשְּׂמָאוֹל.

l 3. The use of the article to determine the *class* is more extensive in Hebrew than in most other languages. In this case the article indicates universally known, closely circumscribed, and therefore well defined classes of persons or things. The special cases to be considered are—

m (a) The employment of general names as collectives in the singular, to denote the *sum total* of individuals belonging to the class (which may, however, be done just as well by the plural); e.g. *the righteous, the wicked man*, Ec 3<sup>17</sup>; *the woman*, i.e. *the female sex*, 7<sup>26</sup>; הָאֹיֵב *th. enemy*, i.e. *the enemies* (?) ψ 9<sup>7</sup>; הָאֹרֵב *the liar in wait*, i.e. *the liars in wait*; הַחֲלָיִץ *the armed man*, i.e. *soldiers*; הַמְּאַפֵּף *the rearguard*; הַמְּשַׁחֵת *the spoiler*, 1 S 13<sup>17</sup>; <sup>1</sup> so also (as in English) with names of animals, when something is asserted of them, which applies to the whole species, e.g. 2 S 17<sup>10</sup> *as the courage of* הָאֲרִי *the lion*. Especially also with gentile names, e.g. *the Canaanite*, Gn 13<sup>7</sup> (cf. 15<sup>19f.</sup>); so in English *the Russian, the Turk*, &c., in Attic writers *ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Σπαρτιάτης*, &c.

n (b) Names of materials known everywhere, the elements and other words denoting classes, even though only a part and not the whole of them is considered, in which case in other languages, as e.g. in English, the article is usually omitted (cf., however, *our to fall into the water, into the fire, &c.*), e.g. Gn 13<sup>2</sup> *and Abram was very rich* בַּכֶּסֶף וּבַזָּהָב *in cattle, in silver and in gold*; Jbs 11<sup>9</sup> *and he burnt their chariots* בְּאֵשׁ *with fire*; cf. Gn 6<sup>14</sup>, 41<sup>42</sup> (unless this means, *the chain necessarily belonging to the official dress*); Ex 2<sup>3</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup> (35<sup>32</sup>), Is 1<sup>22</sup>, &c. and בְּשֶׁמֶן *with oil*<sup>2</sup> very commonly in the sacrificial laws, Ex 29<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> But in Ex 12<sup>23</sup> הַמ' is either to be explained as *the destroyer* (now mentioned for the first time) according to q, or a particular angel is meant whose regular function it was to inflict punishments. Others again take הַמ' even in Ex 12<sup>23</sup> impersonally = *destruction*.

<sup>2</sup> In nearly all the above examples the presence of the article is only indicated by the vowel of the prefix (בַּ, בְּ, לְ) and might therefore be merely

&c., and also Dt 33<sup>24</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>, Is 1<sup>6</sup>, ψ 23<sup>5</sup>, &c. Similarly the article is used with terms of measurement, as הַאֲפָה Ex 16<sup>36</sup>, &c.: הַחֶמֶר and הַבֵּת Ez 45<sup>11</sup>; הָעֵמֶר Ex 16<sup>22</sup>; בְּחֶבֶל 2 S 8<sup>2</sup>.

(c) The expression of abstract ideas of every kind, since they are likewise used to represent whole classes of attributes or states, physical or moral defects, &c.; e.g. Pr 25<sup>5</sup> (בְּצֹדֶק); Gn 19<sup>11</sup> and they smote the men . . . בְּסִנְיָרִים with blindness; Am 4<sup>9</sup>, &c.; but in הַחֲשֵׁךְ Is 60<sup>2</sup> the article is no doubt due to dittography of the ה, and the parallel וְעֶרְפָּל has no article.

(d) Comparisons, since the object compared is treated not (as usually in O English) individually but as a general term, e.g. Is 1<sup>18</sup> בְּשֹׁלֶג as snow, בְּצֹמֶר as wool; red בְּתוֹלַע like crimson; Is 34<sup>4</sup> and the heavens shall be rolled together בְּסֹפֶר as a scroll; cf. Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Ju 8<sup>18</sup>, 16<sup>9</sup> as פְּתִיל־הַנְּעֹתָה a string of tow is broken; 1 S 26<sup>20</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>15</sup>, Is 10<sup>14</sup>, 24<sup>20</sup>, 27<sup>10</sup>, 29<sup>8</sup>, 53<sup>6</sup>, Na 3<sup>15</sup>, ψ 33<sup>7</sup>, 49<sup>15</sup>; cf. also such examples as Gn 19<sup>28</sup>, Ju 14<sup>9</sup>, where the object compared is determined by a determinate genitive which follows (according to § 127 a).

Examples of indeterminate comparisons are rare, and perhaps due only to the Masora,—so at least in the case of singulars, while in such plurals as those in Gn 42<sup>30</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>27</sup>, Jo 2<sup>4.7</sup>, the omission of the article may be explained by the ordinary rules. On the other hand, the article is regularly omitted when the object compared is already defined by means of an attribute (or relative clause, Jer 2<sup>3</sup>, ψ 17<sup>12</sup>), e.g. Is 16<sup>2</sup> בְּעוֹף נֹדֵד מִן מְשָׁלַח as wandering birds, (as) a scattered nest (but cf. 10<sup>14</sup> בְּיֶגֶן); 14<sup>19</sup>, 29<sup>5</sup> כְּמִין עֵבֶר (but ψ 1<sup>4</sup> בְּמִין); Jer 2<sup>30</sup>, Pr 27<sup>8</sup>, Jb 29<sup>25</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup>.—In comparisons with persons also the Masora seems to avoid the use of the article, as in כְּנִבְיָהוּ Jb 16<sup>14</sup> and seven other places (כְּנִבְיָהוּ only in Is 42<sup>13</sup>), כְּאָב Jb 31<sup>18</sup>, כְּנִבְיָהוּ Jb 38<sup>3</sup>, 40<sup>7</sup>.

4. Peculiar to Hebrew<sup>1</sup> is the employment of the article to denote *q* a single person or thing (primarily one which is as yet unknown, and therefore not capable of being defined) as being present to the mind under given circumstances. In such cases in English the indefinite article is mostly used.

Thus Am 5<sup>19</sup> as if a man did flee from a lion (הַאֲרִי, i.e. the particular lion *r* pursuing him at the time), and a bear (הַדִּב) met him, &c., cf. 3<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>36</sup> (John 10<sup>12</sup>); also Gn 8<sup>7f.</sup>, 14<sup>13</sup> הַפְּלִיט, i.e. one that had escaped, the particular one who came just then; so also Ez 24<sup>26</sup>, 33<sup>21</sup>; cf. 2 S 15<sup>13</sup>); Gn 15<sup>1.11</sup>, 18<sup>7</sup> the servant, who is regarded as being constantly at hand and awaiting his commands; cf. 2 S 17<sup>17</sup> (but הַנֶּעֱרַר Nu 11<sup>27</sup> is used like הַפְּלִיט above); Gn 19<sup>30</sup>, unless בְּמַעְרָה means in the well-known cave; בְּמִקוֹם Gn 28<sup>11</sup>, according to Dillmann, upon the place suitable for passing the night, or the right place, but it may possibly also refer to the sanctuary of Bethel afterwards so sacred and celebrated; Gn 42<sup>23</sup>, 46<sup>2</sup>, 50<sup>26</sup>, Ex 2<sup>15</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>20</sup> (2 S 23<sup>21</sup>), Lv 23<sup>42</sup>, 24<sup>10</sup> (Samaritan יִשְׂרָאֵל without the article); Nu 17<sup>11</sup>, 21<sup>6.9</sup>, 25<sup>6</sup>, Dt 10<sup>5</sup>, Jos 2<sup>15</sup>, Ju 4<sup>18</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 13<sup>19</sup>, 16<sup>19</sup>, 19<sup>29</sup>, 20<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>34</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>, 21<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 6<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>14</sup> (? most

due to the masoretic punctuation. There is, however, no reason to doubt the correctness of the tradition. The same is true of the examples under *n* and *o*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, analogous examples in biblical Aramaic in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 79 *f*, e.g. Dn 2<sup>14</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, &c.

probably a particular tree is meant); 19<sup>9</sup>, Is 7<sup>14</sup> הָעֵלְמָה, i. e. *the particular maiden*, through whom the prophet's announcement shall be fulfilled; we should say *a maiden* [cf. Driver on 1 S 14, 6<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>]; Jb 9<sup>31</sup>.

- <sup>S</sup> So always to write in the book (or on the scroll, Nu 5<sup>23</sup>, Jer 32<sup>10</sup>), i. e. not in the book already in use, but in the book which is to be devoted to that purpose, equivalent to *in a book, on a scroll*, Ex 17<sup>14</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>25</sup>, Jb 19<sup>23</sup>. Especially instructive for this use of the article is the phrase יוֹמֵי הַיּוֹם, which does not simply refer back to the previous narrative in the sense of *the same day*, but is used exactly like our *one day* (properly meaning on the particular day when it happened, i. e. *on a certain day*), 1 S 14, 14<sup>1</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>18</sup>, Jb 16<sup>13</sup>. In Gn 39<sup>11</sup> even כְּהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה.

- <sup>t</sup> The article is sometimes used in this way before collectives in the singular, which are not meant to denote (like the examples given under *l*) a whole class, but only that part of it which applies to the given case; thus הָעָרֶב, הַיּוֹמָה Gn 8<sup>7</sup>, הַצֶּרֶעָה Ex 23<sup>28</sup>.

- <sup>u</sup> 5. When a substantive is defined by the article, or by a suffix, or by a following genitive determinate in any way (see the examples below), the attribute belonging to it (whether adjective, participle, ordinal, or demonstrative pronoun) necessarily takes the article (see, however, the Rem.), e. g. Gn 10<sup>12</sup> הַגְּדֹלָה הָעִיר *the great city*; Dt 3<sup>24</sup> יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה *thy strong hand*. A genitive following the substantive may, according to § 127 *a*, be determined either by the article, e. g. 1 S 25<sup>25</sup> אִישׁ הַבְּלִיעַל הַזֶּה *this worthless man* (prop. *man of worthlessness*; cf. also such examples as 2 Ch 36<sup>18</sup>, where the article is prefixed only to a second genitive following the noun); or as a proper name, e. g. Dt 11<sup>7</sup> מַעֲשֵׂה הַגָּדֹל הַזֶּה *the great work of the Lord*; or by a suffix, e. g. Is 36<sup>9</sup> עֲבָדֵי אֲדֹנִי הַקְּטָנִים *the least of my master's servants*.

- <sup>v</sup> When several attributes (whether connected by *Wāw* or not) follow a determinate substantive, each of them takes the article, e. g. Dt 10<sup>17</sup> הָאֵל הַגָּבֹר הַחֲזָק הַיּוֹמָה *the great God, the mighty, and the terrible*. Cf. also Ex 3<sup>3</sup>, Dt 1<sup>10</sup>, in both of which places a demonstrative with the article also follows the adjective.<sup>1</sup>

Rem. 1. The article is, however, not infrequently used also—

- <sup>w</sup> (a) With the attribute alone, when it is added to an originally indefinite substantive as a subsequent limitation; so always with ordinal numbers after יוֹם,<sup>2</sup> e. g. Gn 1<sup>31</sup> (cf. 2<sup>3</sup>, Ex 20<sup>10</sup>, &c.) יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי *the sixth day* (prop. *a day namely*

<sup>1</sup> The demonstrative used adjectivally is generally placed *after* the adjective proper; in such cases as עֲמֻךְ הַיּוֹם הַגָּדֹל 2 Ch 10<sup>10</sup> the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to הַיּוֹם.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 209; M. Lambert, *REJ.* 31, 279 f.—The omission of the article from the substantive is not to be regarded in this instance as an indication of late style, and consequently cannot be put forward as a proof of the late origin of the 'Priestly Code' (cf. Dillmann on Gn 1<sup>31</sup>, Holzinger, *Einl. in d. Hexateuch*, p. 465, and especially Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, xi. 229 f., against Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 265 f.). On the other hand, the common omission of the article from the substantive before a determinate adjective (e. g. הַבֵּית הַגָּדֹל *the great synagogue*, in the Mishna; cf. Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, p. 19 ff.) is certainly a later idiom.

the sixth; but יום שני a second day, Gn 1<sup>8</sup>; Ex 12<sup>15</sup> מיום הראשון from the first day onward (not before Dn 10<sup>12</sup> and Neh 8<sup>18</sup> is מן־היום הראשון used instead of it). On the other hand, the article is always found after ב, hence ביום הששי, &c., although it is possible that the original reading in these cases was ביום, and that the article is only due to the Masora. In Ju 6<sup>25</sup> the text is evidently corrupt (see verse 26).—Especially also in certain frequently recurring combinations as in particularizing the gates in Jer 38<sup>14</sup>, Ez 9<sup>2</sup>, &c., Zc 14<sup>10</sup>, and courts in 1 K 7<sup>8,12</sup>, &c., Ez 40<sup>28</sup>; and very often when the attribute consists of a participle, e.g. Dt 2<sup>23</sup>, Ju 21<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>10</sup>, Jer 27<sup>3</sup>, 46<sup>16</sup> הָרֶב הַיּוֹנָה the sword which oppresses (?); Ez 14<sup>22</sup>, Zc 11<sup>2</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup> (the impenetrable forest?) Pr 26<sup>18</sup>, ψ 119<sup>21</sup>.

Of the other examples, Gn 21<sup>29</sup> (where, however, the Samaritan reads א' the explained on the ground that the preceding cardinal number is equivalent to a determinant; in Gn 1<sup>21</sup>, 28<sup>9,10</sup>, &c., the substantive is already determined by בל, and in 1 S 14<sup>29</sup> (דבש) by מעט.—In 1 S 12<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>4</sup>, Is 7<sup>20</sup> (where, however, the השקירה might also be understood as a subsequent explanation of בפתער) and Neh 9<sup>35</sup>, the omission of the article after the preposition is certainly due merely to the Masora. In 1 S 16<sup>23</sup> (unless רוח אלהים is to be read twice), Zc 4<sup>7</sup> (where however אף ההר is probably meant), ψ 104<sup>18</sup> (where a ה precedes הרים, hence probably a case of haplography), the omission of the article before א, ר (?) and ה may be due to a regard for euphony (see z below). On the other hand, in 1 S 6<sup>18</sup> (read ה'אֶבֶן הַיְיָ, 17<sup>12</sup> the ה' is a later addition), 19<sup>22</sup> (cf. the LXX), Jer 17<sup>2</sup>, 32<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>3</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>, Ez 2<sup>8</sup> (read ג' or omit ג' with Cornill), Mi 7<sup>11</sup>, ψ 62<sup>4</sup>, either the text is corrupt, or the expression incorrect. But in 2 K 20<sup>13</sup>, Jer 6<sup>20</sup>, Ct 7<sup>10</sup> acc. to D. H. Müller (*Anzeiger der Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1902, no. x) הפטוב is the genitive of a substantive, aromatic oil, sweet cane (in Jer 6<sup>20</sup> read וקנה), like spiced wine. In Is 39<sup>2</sup> read פשמן הפטוב and in ψ 133<sup>2</sup> הפ' פשמן.

(b) No article with the attribute, while the substantive is determined y either by the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive. Thus the article is sometimes omitted with demonstratives, since they are already to a certain extent determined by their meaning (cf. also the Mēša' inscription, l. 3, הבמת זאת this high place); as with הוא Gn 19<sup>33</sup> (evidently for euphony, and so probably often); 30<sup>16</sup>, 32<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>10</sup>; with היא Gn 38<sup>21</sup>; with זו ψ 12<sup>8</sup> (according to the Masora זו is a relative pronoun here, as always elsewhere); with אלה 1 S 2<sup>23</sup>, according to the present corrupt text (the original reading יהוה בלעם became בלעם אלהים, and אלהים was then corrupted to אלה); so, almost without exception, when the substantive is determined only by a suffix, e.g. Jos 2<sup>20</sup>, Ju 6<sup>14</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 1<sup>2</sup> and 8<sup>8f</sup>, where חלי, as in Jer 10<sup>19</sup>, has arisen by contraction from חללי, or we should simply read חלי (in all these passages with ו); Gn 24<sup>8</sup> (with זאת); Ex 10<sup>1</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>23</sup>, Jer 31<sup>21</sup> (with אלה).

The article is sometimes omitted also with the attributes referring to proper names,<sup>1</sup> as צידון רבה Jos 11<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>28</sup>, חמת רבה Am 6<sup>2</sup>. Other examples are Jos 16<sup>8,5</sup>, 18<sup>13</sup>, 1 K 9<sup>17</sup> (but in 1 Ch 7<sup>24</sup>, 2 Ch 8<sup>5</sup> with the article). In Gn 7<sup>11</sup>, &c., יהוה רבה is also a case of this kind, יהוה being used (almost always without the article) as a sort of proper name; cf. also אל עליון the most high

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 48, n. 1.

God and אֱלֹהִים *the living God*. In Ju 1<sup>15</sup> נִלְתָּ עִלָּית and ג' תַּחֲתִית are strange; Jos 15<sup>19</sup> ג' עֲלִיּוֹת and ג' תַּחֲתִית.

z Of the remaining examples Is 11<sup>9</sup> explains itself; the direct connexion of the attribute with its substantive is broken by the insertion of לִים. In Ez 34<sup>12</sup>, Hag. 1<sup>4</sup> (as Wellhausen says, a good instance of a Hebrew adjective in the stative form = הֵם סְפוּנִים), ψ 143<sup>10</sup>, Ct 6<sup>12</sup> (?) the substantive is also (see above) determined by a suffix, and consequently the attribute is less closely attached; the same applies to Gn 37<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>19</sup>, 43<sup>14</sup>, ψ 18<sup>18</sup>, except that in these passages the omission of the article before ר, א, ע may at the same time be due to considerations of euphony (as also in Jos 16<sup>1</sup> before ע, Nu 14<sup>37</sup> before ר, 28<sup>4</sup>, Ez 10<sup>9</sup> before א, 21<sup>19</sup> before ח).<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 13<sup>17f.</sup> (אֶחָד) and 2 K 25<sup>16</sup> (שְׁנַיִם) after a determinate substantive), the attribute again, being a numeral, is determinate in itself (see above, x); in Is 65<sup>2</sup> the א prevents the use of the article; finally, in 2 Ch 26<sup>15</sup> בְּחַצִּים and בְּאַבְנִים are to be read, as in Jer 22<sup>1</sup> בָּפֶן for הַפֶּן, in 22<sup>26</sup> אֶרֶץ for הָאֶרֶץ; in 2 S 6<sup>3</sup> omit חֲרָשָׁה, and in Ez 39<sup>27</sup> omit רַבִּים. Without any apparent reason the article is omitted in Dn 8<sup>13</sup> and 11<sup>81</sup>.

aa 2. When, as in Mi 7<sup>12</sup> (יּוֹם הוּא in *that day*?), the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezr 3<sup>12</sup>, the demonstrative even precedes (הַכִּתִּיב הָהָּ = הַכִּתִּיב הַזֶּה), this is obviously due in both cases to a radical corruption of the text (not only in the words quoted). In Jos 9<sup>12</sup> לַחֲמֵנוּ is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative זֶה (= *this our bread*, &c.), as in verse 13 נֹאדָוֶה is to אֵלֶּה, or they are complete sentences, *this is our bread*, &c. So also in Ex 32<sup>1</sup> כִּמֹּשֶׁה (= *that [iste] Moses*, &c.), and in ψ 48<sup>15</sup> אֱלֹהִים are to be taken in apposition to זֶה. On ψ 68<sup>8</sup> and Is 23<sup>13</sup> cf. § 136 d.

## § 127. The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 475.

a When a genitive, determined in any way, follows a *nomen regens*, it also determines the *nomen regens*, which, according to § 89 a, is always in the construct state. Moreover, every pronominal suffix attached to a substantive is, according to § 33 c, to be considered as a genitive determinate by nature. An independent genitive may be determinate—

(a) By its character as a *proper name* (according to § 125 a), e. g. יהוה יְיָ *the word of the Lord*.

(b) By having the article, e. g. אִישׁ הַמִּלְחָמָה (prop. the man of the war) *the soldier* (but אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה Jos 17<sup>1</sup>, *a soldier*); אֲנָשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה

<sup>1</sup> The same reason no doubt also favoured the omission of the article before הוּא and אֵלֶּה, see above, under y. Also in Is 23<sup>7</sup> (*is this your joyous* . . . ?) the article is omitted before עֲלִיּוֹה probably only for euphony.

Nu 31<sup>49</sup>, *the soldiers*; דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא *the word of the prophet*, Jer 28<sup>9</sup> (but e. g., on the other hand, מִצְוַת אֲנָשִׁים מִלְּפִדָּה *a commandment of men which hath been taught*, Is 29<sup>13</sup>; דְּבַר-שָׁקֶר *word of falsehood*, Pr 29<sup>12</sup>).

(c) By the addition of a pronominal suffix (see above), e. g. בֵּית־אָבִי *my father's house*.

(d) By construction with another genitive determined in some way, e. g. Gn 3<sup>2</sup> עֵץ־הַיָּדָן מִפְּרֵי *of the fruit of the trees of the garden*. Thus in Is 10<sup>12</sup> four, and in 21<sup>17</sup> even five, members of a series are determined by a concluding determinate genitive.

Rem. 1. The above explains also the various meanings of כָּל (prop. a *b* substantive in the sense of *aggregate, whole*), according as it is followed by a determinate or indeterminate genitive. In the former case כָּל has the meaning of *the entirety*, i. e. *all, the whole* (like the French *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), e. g. כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *the whole* (prop. the entirety of the) *earth*, כָּל־הָאָדָם *all men*;<sup>1</sup> Ex 18<sup>22</sup>, Nu 15<sup>13</sup>, Jer 4<sup>29</sup>, and cases like Nu 4<sup>23, 47</sup>, 21<sup>8</sup> where כָּל is followed by a singular participle with the article. On the other hand, before an indeterminate genitive כָּל is used in the more indefinite (individualizing) sense of *of all kinds, any* (cf. *tout homme, à tout prix*), or distributively *each, every*, e. g. כָּל־עֵץ *every (kind of) tree*, Gn 2<sup>9</sup>; cf. 4<sup>22</sup>, 24<sup>10</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>2</sup>; כָּל־דָּבָר *any thing*, Ju 19<sup>19</sup>; כָּל־יּוֹם *every day, every time*, ψ 7<sup>12</sup>.

It is, however, to be observed—

(a) That the article may in this case also (see § 126 *b*) be omitted in poetic style, although the substantive is to be regarded as determinate, e. g. כָּל־שִׁלְחָנֹת *all (the) tables*, Is 28<sup>8</sup>. c

(b) That the meaning *every* is frequent even before singulars used collectively; afterwards the idea of *quisque* passes naturally into that of *totality*, e. g. כָּל־חַי *each living thing*, i. e. *every* (not every kind of) *living thing*; כָּל־בָּשָׂר *all flesh*, i. e. *all men or all living creatures* (with the article only in Gn 7<sup>15</sup> before a relative clause, and in Is 40<sup>6</sup>); sometimes also כָּל־עֵץ *all trees*, כָּל־עוֹף *all birds*; finally—

(c) That before the names of members of the human body, כָּל־ frequently (as being determinate in itself) denotes the entirety, e. g. Is 1<sup>6</sup> *the whole head, the whole heart* (the sense required by the context, not *every head*, &c., which the expression *in itself* might also mean); 9<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>3</sup>, Ez 29<sup>7</sup> *all* (i. e. *the whole of*) *their shoulders . . . all (the whole of) their loins*; 36<sup>5</sup>.—On כָּל with a suffix when it follows a noun in apposition (e. g. Is 9<sup>8</sup> הָעָם בְּלוֹ *the people, all of it*, i. e. *the whole nation*, more emphatic than כָּל־הָעָם, cf. Driver on 2 S 2<sup>9</sup>), as well as when it follows absolutely in the genitive (= *all men, every one*, e. g. Gn 16<sup>12</sup>),<sup>2</sup> see the *Lexicon*, pp. 481<sup>b</sup>, 482<sup>b</sup>.

2. Gentilic names (or patronymics), derived from compound proper names (consisting of a *nomen regens* and genitive), are determined by inserting the article before the second part of the compound (since it contains the original d

<sup>1</sup> כָּל־הָאָדָם being a collective, cf. כָּל־הָאִישׁ 2 S 15<sup>2</sup>, *all men*, כָּל־הַבָּנִים Ex 1<sup>22</sup> *all sons*, כָּל־הַבָּתִּים *all daughters*; in itself כָּל־הָאָדָם could also mean *the whole man*.

<sup>2</sup> In Ezr 10<sup>17</sup> instead of כָּל־אֲנָשִׁים read simply כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים.

genitive), e.g. בְּיָמֵי (see § 86 h) a *Benjamite*; בְּיָהוֹיָכִן Ju 3<sup>15</sup>, &c., the *Benjamite*; בֵּית־הַלְחֵמִי the *Bethlehemite*, 1 S 16<sup>1</sup>, &c. (cf., however, 1 Ch 27<sup>12</sup> קֶרֶב יָמֵי (לִבְנֵי יִמְיָי) בֵּית־הַשְּׁמִי the *Beth-shemite*, 1 S 6<sup>14</sup>; אֲבִי הָעֶזְרִי the *Abiezrite*, Ju 6<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. 1 K 16<sup>34</sup>).

e 3. In a few instances the nomen regens appears to be used indefinitely notwithstanding a following determinate genitive; it is not so, however, in Gn 16<sup>7</sup>, where the reference is to a well-known fountain; 21<sup>23</sup>, where in the original context there must have been some reason for *the seven ewe lambs of the flock*; 2 S 12<sup>30</sup> *the spoil found in the city*; but it often is so before a proper name, as in Ex 10<sup>9</sup> הָיָה חַג יְהוָה a *feast of the Lord* (unless it is the spring festival), Dt 7<sup>25</sup>, and frequently יְהוָה הוֹעֵבֶת an *abomination unto the Lord*; cf. also Gn 46<sup>34</sup>. Dt 22<sup>19</sup> a *virgin of Israel*; 1 S 4<sup>12</sup> a *man of Benjamin*; Pr 25<sup>1</sup>, Ct 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>9</sup>; similarly before appellatives with the article (or before a genitive determined by a suffix, as in Lv 14<sup>34</sup>), 1 S 20<sup>20</sup> *three arrows*; 2 S 23<sup>11</sup> חֲלֶקֶת הַפָּדָה a *plot of the ground* (but see Gn 33<sup>19</sup>, Jos 24<sup>32</sup>); Ju 13<sup>6</sup>, Jer 13<sup>4</sup>, 41<sup>16</sup>, Ct 11<sup>13</sup> f., 5<sup>13</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת in the titles of Psalms 120 to 134 (except 121<sup>1</sup>, שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת) was most probably originally the title of a collection, in the sense of '*the pilgrimage-songs*' (according to § 124 r), and was subsequently added to these Psalms severally.—In Ex 20<sup>24</sup> בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם in *all the place*, sc. of the sanctuary, is a dogmatic correction of בְּכָל־מָקוֹם, in *every place*, to avoid the difficulty that several holy-places are here authorized, instead of the one central sanctuary. In Gn 20<sup>13</sup> also בָּל־הַמָּקוֹם (unless it means *in the whole place*) is remarkable, since elsewhere *every place* is always (8 times) בָּל־מְדִינָה.

f 4. The deviations mentioned under e, from a fundamental rule of syntax, are in some cases open to suspicion on textual grounds, but much more doubtful are the instances in which the article is found before a noun already determined in some other way, as—

(a) Before a noun which appears to be determined by a following independent determinate genitive. The least questionable are the instances in which the genitive is a *proper name*, since these may be elliptical forms of expression like the apparent construction of proper names with a genitive, noticed in § 125 h, e.g. Nu 21<sup>14</sup> הַנַּחֲלִים אֲרֹנוֹן the *valleys*, namely the valleys of *Arnon*; 2 K 23<sup>17</sup> הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בֵּית־אֵל the *altar*, namely the altar of *Bethel* (i.e. with the suppression of the real nomen regens, מִזְבֵּחַ without the article; by the pointing הַמִּזְבֵּחַ the Masora evidently intends to allow the choice either of reading הַמִּזְבֵּחַ or correcting it to מִזְבֵּחַ; הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל the *God of Beth-el*<sup>1</sup> (equivalent to הָאֵל אֵל ב', Gn 31<sup>13</sup> (the LXX read בְּמָקוֹם אֵלֶיךָ הִנֵּרְאָה הָאֵל הַנִּרְאָה *the God who appeared to thee in the holy place*); הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר the *king of Assyria*, Is 36<sup>16</sup> (probably a scribal error due to verse 13; it does not occur in the parallel passage, 2 K 18<sup>31</sup>), cf. Jos 13<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>11</sup>, Jer 38<sup>6</sup>, Ez 47<sup>15</sup>; in the vocative, Jer 48<sup>32</sup>, La 2<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, שָׁרָה אִמִּי Gn 24<sup>67</sup> is no doubt

<sup>1</sup> According to Philippi (*St. Constr.*, p. 38) בֵּית־אֵל is rather a case of 'subposition' in the accusative, as also הַדֶּרֶךְ הַתְּלוֹן Ez 47<sup>15</sup> (for which, however, in 46<sup>1</sup> there is the correct reading הַדֶּרֶךְ הַתְּלוֹן) *by the way to Helhon*; and in fact, Ez 47<sup>15</sup> may without difficulty be explained in this way; so שֵׁשׁ Ex 39<sup>27</sup> as an accusative of the material.

only a subsequent insertion; so also יִשְׂרָאֵל Jos 8<sup>33b</sup> (cf. LXX), 2 S 20<sup>23</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>13</sup>, הַמֶּלֶךְ 1 S 26<sup>22</sup> after הַחֲנִית (simplified by the Masora to חֲנִית *Q<sup>re</sup>*); עָלִית אָחוּ 2 K 23<sup>12</sup>, אֲשֹׁר Is 36<sup>8</sup> (cf. 2 K 18<sup>23</sup>), הַקֶּדֶשׁ Ez 46<sup>19</sup> (unless the article with לִשְׁכּוֹת is to be omitted), also הַתְּמִיד Dn 8<sup>13</sup>, and עֹדֵר הַבָּיִא 2 Ch 15<sup>8</sup>. In Ex 9<sup>18</sup> read with the Samaritan לָמִיּוֹם; in 2 S 19<sup>25</sup> לָכֵת might possibly be taken in apposition to הַיּוֹם; לָמֵן 2 K 10<sup>1</sup> restore אֶת־בְּנֵי, with the LXX and Lucian, before אֶהְיֶה; in 2 K 25<sup>19</sup> omit the article, as in Jer 52<sup>25</sup>, before סָפַר.

A similar ellipse must also be assumed in 2 K 23<sup>17</sup> *the sepulchre is the g* sepulchre of the man of God (but most probably קֶבֶר has dropped out after הַקֶּבֶר) and ψ 123<sup>4</sup> (cf., however, the LXX, and observe that in the parallel member the genitive is paraphrased by הָ).—In Jos 3<sup>14</sup> הַבְּרִית (verse 17 בְּרִית יְהוָה) has been added to the original הָאָרוֹן by a redactor; cf. similar syntactically impossible additions in verse 11 (also in 1 S 4<sup>3</sup>, &c., where the LXX still had simply יְהוָה); in הֵיטֵר Ju 16<sup>14</sup> the Masora evidently combines two different readings הֵיטֵר and יֵתֵר הָאָרֶץ; and similarly in Jer 25<sup>26</sup> (where הָאָרֶץ was only subsequently introduced into the text), the two readings הַמַּמְלָכוֹת and מַמְלָכוֹת הָאֵל are combined.—In Jos 8<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>24</sup>, Jer 31<sup>40</sup>, Ez 45<sup>16</sup> the article, being usual after בָּל־, has been mechanically added, and so also in 2 Ch 8<sup>16</sup> after עָר־; in 2 K 9<sup>4</sup> the second הַנֶּעַר (instead of נֶעַר) is occasioned by the first; in Ez 7<sup>7</sup> מְהוֹמָה belongs as a nominative to what follows; in Ez 8<sup>29</sup> the meaning perhaps is *in the chambers, in the house of the Lord*, or the article is to be omitted; in 1 Ch 15<sup>27</sup> the text is manifestly corrupt.

Of another kind are the instances in which a determinate noun is followed *h* by a definition of the material *in apposition* (hence, not in the genitive; cf. § 131), e.g. Zc 4<sup>10</sup> הָאֶבֶן הַבְּרִיל *the weight, the lead, i.e. the leaden weight*; Ex 39<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>14</sup> הַנְּחֹשֶׁת, both here and in verse 17, is probably only a later addition, while הַמַּסְגְּרוֹת הַמַּכְנוֹת in verse 17 has arisen from a confusion of two readings, מַסְגְּרוֹת הַמַּכְנוֹת and מַסְגְּרוֹת הַמַּכְנוֹת. In Jer 32<sup>12</sup> also הַפִּקְנָה (unless the article is simply to be omitted) is in apposition to הַפִּקְנָה.

(b) Before a noun with a suffix (which likewise represents a determinate *i* genitive; see above, at the beginning of this section). This does not apply to cases in which a verbal (i.e. accusative) suffix is affixed to a participle which has the article, e.g. הַפִּקְנָה Is 9<sup>12</sup>, *the one smiting him*; in Dt 8<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>6</sup> also הֵן is a verbal suffix, but hardly the הֵן in הָעֵשׂוֹ, for הָעֵשׂוֹ Job 40<sup>19</sup>, nor the הֵן in הַיְלֵדָה Dn 11<sup>6</sup>; § 116 g. For הָעֶרְבָּד Lev 27<sup>23</sup>, read עֶרְבָּד as in verses 2, 3, 5, 7, 13, &c., twelve times (but cf. also the note on § 128 d).—Of the remaining examples כִּבְבֵּרְתָהּ Is 24<sup>2</sup> (probably an intentional alliteration with the eleven other words beginning with כִּבְ), לַמַּעֲנֵהוּ Pr 16<sup>4</sup>, and בְּעֵרֵינוּ (so Baer, following the best authorities) Ezr 10<sup>14</sup>, rest only on the authority of the Masoretes, not of the authors. So also in הָאֶהְיֶה Jos 7<sup>21</sup>, הָחֵצִי Jos 8<sup>33</sup> (previously הָחֵצִי), הָהֵרֹאִיָּה 2 K 15<sup>16</sup> (dittography of the הֵן), the article is simply to be omitted as syntactically impossible; the וֹ of הַבְּרִיָּה Mi 2<sup>12</sup> is the copula belonging to the next word.

§ 128. *The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the Construct State.*

Cf. especially Philippi's work cited at the head of § 89.

*a* 1. The genitive relation is regularly expressed (see § 89) by the close connexion of the *nomen regens* (in the construct state) with the *nomen rectum* (in the genitive). Since only *one* *nomen regens* can be immediately connected with a *nomen rectum*, it follows that the same genitive cannot depend on two or more *co-ordinate* nouns, but a second (sometimes even a third, &c.) *regens* must be added with a suffix referring to the *nomen rectum*, e.g. בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבָנוֹתָיו *the sons of David and his daughters* (not בְּנֵי וּבָנוֹת דָּוִד); cf. 1 K 8<sup>28</sup>.<sup>1</sup> The language also prefers to avoid a series of several *co-ordinate*<sup>2</sup> genitives depending upon one and the same *nomen regens* (such as occur in Gn 14<sup>19</sup>, Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, 31<sup>54</sup> [1 Ch 13<sup>1</sup>], 1 S 23<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>6</sup>, Is 22<sup>5</sup>, ψ 5<sup>7</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>),<sup>3</sup> and rather tends to repeat the *nomen regens*, e.g. אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ *the God of heaven and the God of the earth* (so in Jer 8<sup>1</sup> the *regens* is five times repeated). A lengthened series of genitives may, however, be formed by a *nomen rectum* serving at the same time as *regens* to a genitive depending on it (cf. § 127 *a* [*d*]); e.g. Gn 4<sup>7-9</sup> יְמֵי שָׁנֵי חַיֵּי אָבֹתִי *the days of the years of the life of my fathers*; cf. Jb 12<sup>24</sup>, where there are three genitives, Is 10<sup>12</sup> four, and 21<sup>17</sup> five (unless the last three are in apposition). As a rule, indeed, such an inconvenient accumulation of genitives is avoided by means of a circumlocution in the case of one of them (see § 129 *d*).

*b* Rem. As the fundamental rules stated above are the necessary consequence not merely of *logical* but more especially of *rhythmical* relations (see § 89 *a*), we must feel the more hesitation in admitting examples in which genitives are supposed to be loosely attached to forms other than the construct state. Some of these examples (the supposed genitives following a *regens* which is determined by the article) have been already discussed in § 127 *f-h*. Compare, moreover:

*c* (*a*) Genitives after the absolute state, e.g. Is 28<sup>1</sup> נְיֵא־שְׁמֵינִים הִלְכִי אֵין *the fat valley of them that are overcome with wine*. The usual explanation that נְיֵא־שְׁמֵינִים forms one single idea (in German *Fettigkeitstal*), on which the

<sup>1</sup> Very rare, and only possible in very rapid utterance, are such exceptions as Ez 31<sup>16</sup> (מְבַחֵר וְמוֹכֵל־בְּנָנִין); Pr 16<sup>11</sup>.—In Is 11<sup>2</sup> the *spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord*, רֵעֵת ה' may at any rate also be taken as an absolute genitive, so also כֶּסֶף Dn 1<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In ψ 114<sup>1</sup> a second genitive is added even without the copula, but the parallelism of the members renders any misunderstanding impossible.

<sup>3</sup> In almost all these instances the two (or three) genitives form one closely connected whole, as *heaven and earth, sons and daughters*.

genitive הַלְלוּמִי then depends, in reality explains nothing; the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Dt 15<sup>18</sup> מִשְׁנֵה would be expected; in Jos 3<sup>11</sup> הַבְּרִית is a later addition; in Is 32<sup>13</sup> (מִשְׁוֹשׁ), and ψ 68<sup>22</sup> (שְׁעָרָה), the absolute for the construct state probably rests only on the authority of the Masoretes. In Ju 6<sup>25</sup> π. the text is obviously in confusion. In Ju 8<sup>32</sup> (cf. 6<sup>24</sup>) בְּעֶפְרָה should come either after וַיִּקְבֹּר or at the end of the verse, unless, with Moore, we omit הָעֵי אָבִי as a gloss (from 6<sup>24</sup>); in Is 63<sup>11</sup> מִשְׁהָ is probably a gloss on יִמְעֻלֹם which has crept into the text; in 2 S 4<sup>2</sup> לְאִישׁ-בִּשֵׁת according to the LXX, has dropped out before בֵּן; in Ez 6<sup>11</sup> רָעוֹת is to be omitted with the LXX; if originally in the text, it could only be genitive (= *all abominations of evils*), not an adjective; Pr 21<sup>6</sup> the text is altogether uncertain (the LXX read מוֹקֵשׁ for מוֹקֵשׁ); in 1 Ch 9<sup>13</sup> the preposition לְ (after a ל) has dropped out before מְלֹאכֶת (cf. 12<sup>25</sup>).—Elsewhere (Dt 3<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 4<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 8<sup>5</sup>) the supposed genitives are to be taken rather as words of nearer definition standing in apposition, i. e. *with high walls, gates, and bars*. In Jer 8<sup>5</sup> יְרוּשָׁלַם is either in apposition to הוּא הָעָם or is better (since not in the LXX) omitted as a gloss.

(b) Genitives after a noun with a suffix (where the suffix prevents the direct government by the *nomen regens*). Thus in Lv 27<sup>3.5.6</sup>, where הַזֶּכֶךְ after עֶרְפֶּךָ<sup>1</sup> might be taken, contrary to the accents, as subject of the following clause; in Lv 5<sup>15.25</sup> the suffix may refer to Moses. In Lv 6<sup>8</sup> מִדּוֹ בָרִי מְדוֹ *his garment*, namely the garment of *linen*, unless simply in apposition, cf. § 131 d (or read מְדוֹ?); Lv 26<sup>42</sup>, where בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב וְנֹר could at most be explained as an ellipse for בְּרִיתִי בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב, cf. § 125 h (probably, however, it is a case of dittography of the י, which was repeated also before אֲבֵרָהם; so Valetton, *ZAW.* xii. 3); equally strange is הַיּוֹם בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם Jer 33<sup>20</sup>, &c. On the other hand, אִם יִהְיֶה נְבִיאָם יִהְיֶה נְבִיאָךְ מִיְהוָה Nu 12<sup>6</sup> could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably נְבִיאָךְ מִיְהוָה is to be read, with Marti). In ψ 45<sup>7</sup> בְּסֻמֶּךָ אֱלֹהִים (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), אֱלֹהִים is most probably a later addition [another suggestion is to read כְּאֱלֹהִים *like God*(’s throne): cf. § 141 d, note]. In Jer 52<sup>20</sup> two readings are probably combined, לְנִחֲשָׁתָם without any addition, and לְנִחֲשָׁת פְּלִהֲפָלִים. In Nu 25<sup>12</sup> שָׁלוֹם is in apposition to בְּרִיתִי. On Ez 16<sup>27</sup>, cf. § 131 r.

(c) The interposition of a word is assumed between כָּל- (*the whole*; cf. § 127 b) and the genitive governed by it in 2 S 1<sup>9</sup>, Jb 27<sup>8</sup> (עוֹר), and, if the text is correct, in Hos 14<sup>8</sup> (הַיֵּשָׁע). In reality, however, in all three places the genitive relation is destroyed by the transposition of the words (instead of כָּל- (עוֹר, &c.), and כָּל- is rather to be taken adverbially (equivalent to *wholly*), e. g. 2 S 1<sup>9</sup> *because my life is yet wholly in me*, i. e. *my whole life*; cf. Philippi, *Stat. Constr.*, p. 10.—On the instances in which the original construct state אֵין *non-existence* is used without a following genitive, see the negative sentences, § 152 o.

2. The dependence of the *nomen rectum* on the *nomen regens* by *f* no means represents merely what is, properly speaking, the genitive relation (see the examples under *g-i*). Very frequently the *nomen*

<sup>1</sup> Halévy, *J. A.* xiv. 548, removes the difficulty by pointing עֶרְפֶּךָ.

rectum only adds a nearer definition of the *nomen regens*, whether by giving the name, the genus or species, the measure, the material, or finally an attribute of it (*genit. epexegeticus* or *appositionis*,<sup>1</sup> see the examples under *k-q*).

Examples. The *nomen rectum* represents—

- g** (a) A *subjective genitive*, specifying the possessor, author, &c., e. g. בֵּית־הַמֶּלֶךְ the king's house; דְּבַר יְהוָה the word of the Lord.
- h** (b) An *objective genitive*, e. g. Ob<sup>10</sup> מִחַמָּס אָחִיךָ for the violence done to thy brother<sup>2</sup> (but in Ez 12<sup>19</sup> מִחַמָּס is followed by a subjective genitive); Pr 20<sup>3</sup> מֶלֶךְ אִימַת the terror of a king; Gn 18<sup>20</sup> זַעַקַת סֹדֶם the cry concerning Sodom; Is 23<sup>8</sup> נִשְׁמַע צָר the report of (about) Tyre, cf. 2 S 4<sup>4</sup>; Am 8<sup>10</sup> יָחִיר אֲבִלְ the mourning for an only son; Dt 20<sup>14</sup> אֵיבֶיךָ שָׁלַל praeda hostibus tuis erepta; cf. Is 3<sup>14</sup>. In a wider sense this includes such examples as עֵץ הַחַיִּים דֶּרֶךְ the way of (i. e. to) the tree of life, Gn 3<sup>24</sup>; cf. Pr 7<sup>27</sup>, Jb 38<sup>20</sup>; הַיָּם דֶּרֶךְ the way of (by) the sea, Is 8<sup>23</sup>; וּבְחַיִּי אֱלֹהִים the sacrifices of (i. e. pleasing to) God, ψ 51<sup>19</sup>; יְהוָה שְׁבַעַת the oath of (i. e. sworn before) the Lord, 1 K 2<sup>48</sup>; דְּבָרֵי לְמוֹאֵל the words of (i. e. addressed to) L., Pr 31<sup>1</sup>.
- i** (c) A *partitive genitive*; this includes especially the cases in which an adjective in the construct state is followed by a general term, e. g. חֲכָמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ the wisest of her ladies, Ju 5<sup>29</sup>; cf. for this way of expressing the superlative, § 133 *h*, and also *r* below.
- k** Merely formal genitives (*genit. explicativus* or *epexegeticus*, *genit. appositionis*) are those added to the construct state as nearer definitions—
- (d) Of the name, e. g. נְהַר פָּרָת the river Euphrates; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן the land of Canaan; בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל the virgin Israel (not of Israel), Am 5<sup>2</sup>.
- l** (e) Of the genus, e. g. Pr 15<sup>20</sup> (21<sup>20</sup>) אָדָם בָּסִיל אֶחָד a fool of a man (= a foolish man); cf. Gn 16<sup>13</sup>, Is 1<sup>4</sup>, 29<sup>19</sup>, Ho 13<sup>3</sup>, Mi 5<sup>4</sup>, &c.
- m** (f) Of the species, e. g. אֶחָד קֶבֶר a possession of a burying-place, i. e. hereditary sepulchre, Gn 23<sup>4</sup>, &c.; הָאֲנִי הַבְּרִיּוֹת the early figs, Jer 24<sup>2</sup>; אֹהֶל בֵּיתִי the tabernacle of my house, i. e. my dwelling-place, ψ 132<sup>3</sup>.
- n** (g) Of the measure, weight, extent, number, e. g. מִתֵּי מִסְפָּר people of number, i. e. few in number, Gn 34<sup>30</sup>, Dt 26<sup>5</sup>; cf. also Ez 47<sup>3-5</sup> waters of the ankles, waters of the loins, waters of swimming, i. e. which reached up to the ankles, or loins, or necessitated swimming; but in verse 4 in apposition (?) מַיִם בְּרַפִּים.
- o** (h) Of the material<sup>3</sup> of which something consists, e. g. בִּלִּי חֶרֶשׁ a vessel of earthenware, Nu 5<sup>17</sup>; כֶּסֶף בִּלִּי vessels of silver (cf. the French *des vases d'or*); עֶזְרֹן עֵץ an ark of wood, שֵׁבֶט בְּרֹזֶל a rod of iron, ψ 2<sup>9</sup>; cf. Gn 3<sup>21</sup>, 6<sup>14</sup>, Ju 7<sup>13</sup>, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The latter term is preferred especially by König, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1898, p. 528 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in Latin a similar use of the genitive after *iniuria* (Caes. *B. G.* 1, 30), *metus* (*hostium*, *Pompeii*, &c.), *spes*, and other words. In Greek, cf. *εὐνοία τῶν φίλων*, *πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ*, *ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ*, 1 Cor. 1<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> In the almost entire absence of corresponding adjectives (אֶרֶץ made of cedar, a denominative from אָרָז, and נְחֹשֶׁת brazen are the only examples), the language regularly has recourse to the above periphrasis. On the form *qāṭūl*, as expressing an inherent property, cf. § 50 *f*; cf. also the proper name, בְּרֹזֶל *ferreus*.

(i) Of the attribute of a person or thing, e.g. Gn 17<sup>8</sup> **אֶחָד עוֹלָם** *an everlasting possession*; Pr 17<sup>8</sup> *a precious stone*; cf. Nu 28<sup>6</sup>, Is 13<sup>8</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, ψ 23<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup>, Pr 5<sup>19</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup>, Jb 41<sup>19</sup>, and the examples of the genitive with a suffix given in § 135 n. Such a periphrasis for the expression of attributes frequently occurs, even when the corresponding adjectives are in use. Thus especially **קָדֹשׁ** *holiness* very frequently serves as a periphrasis for the adjective **קָדוֹשׁ** (e.g. **בְּגָדֵי הַקָּדֹשׁ** *the holy garments*, Ex 29<sup>29</sup>), since **קָדוֹשׁ** is used almost exclusively in reference to persons (hence also with **עַם** and **גּוֹי** *people*, and with **שֵׁם** *the name of a person*); the only exceptions are **מָקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ** *holy place*, Ex 29<sup>81</sup>, &c.; and **מַיִם קְדוּשִׁים** *holy water*, Nu 5<sup>17</sup>; **קָדוֹשׁ** as the predicate of **יוֹם** *day*, Neh 8<sup>10 f.</sup>, and of **מַחֲנֶה** *camp*, Dt 23<sup>15</sup>. So also the use of **צַדִּיק** *righteous* is always confined to persons, except in Dt 4<sup>8</sup>; elsewhere the periphrasis with **צַדִּיק** or **צִדְקָה** is always used, e.g. **מֵאֲנֵי צֶדֶק** *just balances*, Lv 19<sup>36</sup>.

In a wider sense this use of the genitive also includes statements of the purpose for which something is intended, e.g. **צֹאן מִבְּחָר** *sheep for the slaughter*, ψ 44<sup>23</sup>; **מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ** *the chastisement designed for our peace*, Is 53<sup>5</sup>; cf. 51<sup>17</sup> (*the cup which causes staggering*), ψ 116<sup>18</sup>; finally, also, the description of the material, with which something is laden or filled, e.g. 1 S 16<sup>20</sup> **חֵמֶר לֶחֶם וְנָאֵר יַיִן** *an ass laden with bread and a bottle of wine* (but probably **עֵשְׂרָה** is to be read for **חֵמֶר**); cf. Gn 21<sup>14</sup>, Pr 7<sup>20</sup>, &c.

Rem. 1. Certain substantives are used to convey an attributive idea in the construct state before a partitive genitive; thus **מִבְּחָר** *choice, selection*, as in Gn 23<sup>6</sup> **קְבָרֵינוּ מִבְּחָר** *the choice of our sepulchres*, i.e. our choicest sepulchres; Ex 15<sup>4</sup>, Is 22<sup>7</sup>, 37<sup>24</sup>; other examples are, Is 1<sup>18</sup> *the evil of your doings*, emphatically, for *your evil doings*; Is 17<sup>4</sup>, 37<sup>24</sup> (= *the tall cedars thereof*), ψ 139<sup>22</sup>, Jb 15<sup>26</sup>.—This is the more common construction with the substantive **כֹּל** *entirely*, for *all, the whole, every*, see § 127 b; it is also frequent with **מְעַט** *a little*, for *few*, 1 S 17<sup>28</sup>, &c.

2. To the periphrases expressing attributive ideas (see p above) by means of a genitive construction may be added the very numerous combinations of the construct states **אִישׁ** *a man*, **בָּעַל** *master, possessor*, **בֶּן־** *son*, and their feminines and plurals (including **מְתֵי** *men*, used only in the plural), with some appellative noun, in order to represent a person (poetically even a thing) as possessing some object or quality, or being in some condition. In English, such combinations are sometimes rendered by single substantives, sometimes by circumlocution.

Examples:—

(a) Of **אִישׁ**, &c.: **אִישׁ דְּבָרִים** *an eloquent man*, Ex 4<sup>10</sup> (but **אִישׁ שִׁפְתָּיִם** Jb 11<sup>2 t</sup> *a man of lips*, i.e. *a boaster*); **אִישׁ לָשׁוֹן** = *a slanderer*, ψ 140<sup>12</sup>; **אִישׁ דָּעַת** *a man of knowledge*, Pr 24<sup>5</sup>; **אִישׁ חֶמָה** *a wrathful man*, Pr 15<sup>18</sup>; **אִישׁ דָּמִים** *a man of blood*, 2 S 16<sup>7</sup>, ψ 5<sup>7</sup>; cf. further, 1 S 16<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>28</sup>, Is 53<sup>3</sup>, Pr 19<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>21</sup>, 29<sup>1</sup>, Ezr 8<sup>18</sup>; also **אִשָּׁת מְרִינִים** *a contentious woman*, Pr 27<sup>16</sup>; in the plural, e.g. Gn 6<sup>4</sup> **אֲנָשֵׁי הַשָּׁם** *the men of renown, famous*; cf. Gn 47<sup>6</sup>, Is 41<sup>11</sup>, Jb 34<sup>8,10</sup> **אֲנָשֵׁי לֵבָב** *men of understanding*); with **מְתֵי**, e.g. Is 5<sup>13</sup> **מְתֵי רָעֵב** *famished men*; but read probably **רָעֵב מְתֵי** *weak with hunger*); ψ 26<sup>4</sup>, Jb 11<sup>11</sup>, 22<sup>15</sup>.

(b) Of **בָּעַל**, &c.: **בָּעַל שֵׁעַר** *hair*, 2 K 1<sup>8</sup>; **בָּעַל הַחֲלֹמוֹת** *the dreamer*, Gn 37<sup>19</sup>; **וְ** cf. Na 1<sup>2</sup>, Pr 1<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup> (*a destroyer*), 22<sup>24</sup>, 23<sup>2</sup> (*disposed to eat, greedy*), 24<sup>8</sup>; feminine

בַּעֲלַת־אוֹב *a woman that hath a soothsaying spirit*, 1 S 28<sup>7</sup>; cf. Na 3<sup>4</sup>; in the plural, e.g. בַּעֲלֵי הַצִּים *archers*, Gn 49<sup>23</sup>, בַּעֲלֵי בְרִית *confederates*, Gn 14<sup>13</sup>; בַּעֲלֵי שְׁבוּעָה *sworn supporters*, Neh 6<sup>18</sup>.

- ו (c) Of בֶּן־חַיִל *a hero, warrior*, 1 K 15<sup>2</sup>; בֶּן־מָשֶׁק *heir*, Gn 15<sup>2</sup>; בֶּן־שָׁנָה *yearling*, Ex 12<sup>5</sup>, &c.; בֶּן־מֵאָת שָׁנָה *centum annos natus*, Gn 21<sup>5</sup>; בֶּן־מָוֶת *worthy to die*, 1 S 26<sup>31</sup> (Luther, 2 S 12<sup>5</sup> *ein Kind des Todes*); cf. Dt 25<sup>2</sup> בְּנֵי־הַכּוֹחַ *worthy to be beaten*. Feminine, e.g. בַּת־בָּלָעַל *a wicked woman*, 1 S 11<sup>6</sup>; frequently also בְּלָעַל, like the Latin *scelus* for *scelestissimus*, 2 S 23<sup>6</sup>, Jb 34<sup>18</sup>. Plural masculine, e.g. בְּנֵי מָרִי *children of rebellion*, Nu 17<sup>25</sup>. בֶּן־ is used poetically of things without life, e.g. Is 5<sup>1</sup> בֶּן־שֶׁמֶן *a fat*, i.e. a fruitful (hill); Jon 4<sup>10</sup> בֶּן־לַיְלָה i.e. *grown in a night*; Jb 41<sup>20</sup> *son of the bow* (i.e. an arrow); so also בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף = *sparks*, Jb 5<sup>7</sup>; La 3<sup>13</sup>; בְּנוֹת Ec 12<sup>4</sup> *the daughters of song*, probably meaning the individual notes.

There is another use of בֶּן־ or בְּנֵי to denote membership of a guild or society (or of a tribe, or any definite class). Thus בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים or בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים Gn 6<sup>2,4</sup>, Jb 1<sup>6</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 38<sup>7</sup> (cf. also בְּנֵי אֱלִים ψ 29<sup>1</sup>, 89<sup>7</sup>) properly means not *sons of god(s)*, but beings of the class of אֱלֹהִים or אֱלִים; בְּנֵי־הַנְּבִיאִים 1 K 20<sup>35</sup> (singular in Am 7<sup>14</sup>) *persons belonging to the guild of prophets*; בְּנֵי־הַרְקָקִים Neh 3<sup>8</sup> *one of the guild of apothecaries*, cf. 3<sup>31</sup> where בְּנֵי־הַצִּרְפִּים is to be read. Similarly בְּנֵי יִשְׁלָשִׁים Gn 50<sup>23</sup> are most probably not *great-grandsons* but *grandsons*, i.e. those belonging to the third generation. Cf. also בְּנֵי הַגֵּרְשֹׁנִים Nu 4<sup>27,6</sup> *Gershonites*, בְּנֵי הַקֹּהָתִים 2 Ch 20<sup>19</sup>, &c., *Kohathites*; בְּנֵי קָרָם *dwellers in the East*.

- ו 3. Special mention must be made of the not infrequent idiom by which adjectives (sometimes also ordinals, see § 134 o) are added in the genitive, like substantives, rather than as attributes in the same state, gender, and number as the noun which they qualify; thus, Is 28<sup>4</sup> צִיָּת נָבֵל *the flower of that which fades*, for which verse 1 has צִיָּן נָבֵל *the fading flower*; cf. farther, Is 22<sup>24</sup>, Jer 22<sup>17</sup> (?), 52<sup>13</sup>, ψ 73<sup>10</sup>, 74<sup>15</sup> (but אֵיתָן may be a substantive), 78<sup>49</sup>; also the use of רַע as a substantive, e.g. in Pr 21<sup>4,6</sup>, 6<sup>24</sup> (רַעֲיָתָהּ), &c., analogous to the New Testament phrase *ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας*, Luke 16<sup>8</sup>, and the French *un homme de bien*.<sup>1</sup>—Finally, an adverb (treated as a substantive) may likewise be used as an epexegetical genitive; cf. חָנָם דָּמִי בְּחֵנָם *blood shed without cause*, 1 K 2<sup>31</sup>; Pr 24<sup>28</sup>, 26<sup>3</sup>; Ez 30<sup>16</sup> (יוֹמָם).

- x 3. The epexegetical genitives include finally the numerous nearer definitions which follow the construct state of adjectives (and of active and passive participles, or verbal adjectives, cf. § 116 f-l). For, while the word of nearer definition is added to the verb in the accusative (e.g. חָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו *he was diseased in his feet*, 1 K 15<sup>23</sup>), it may, with participles and verbal adjectives, be either in the accusative

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in such passages as Is 36<sup>2</sup> (2 K 18<sup>17</sup>), Zc 14<sup>4</sup>, Ec 8<sup>10</sup>, &c., there is no apparent reason why the Masora requires the construct state instead of the absolute; hence חָיִל Is 36<sup>2</sup> and גִּיאָה Zc 14<sup>4</sup> must be intended as forms of the absolute state, shortened in consequence of their close connexion.

(§ 116 f and h) or in the genitive, the case of a word depending on a noun. Such a genitive relation is usually termed an *improper annexion*. The nearer definition contains a statement either of the *material*, e. g. Ex 3<sup>8</sup>, &c., אֶרֶץ זָבַת חֶלֶב וְדָבָשׁ *a land flowing with milk and honey*; or of the *means*, e. g. חָלַל לִי-הָרֶב *slain with the sword*, Is 22<sup>2</sup>; or the *cause*, Ct 2<sup>5</sup> *sick of love*; or of the *scope* of the attribute,<sup>1</sup> e. g. Gn 39<sup>6</sup> יָפֵה-תָּאֵר *fair of form*; cf. Gn 41<sup>2,4</sup>, Ex 34<sup>6</sup>, Is 1<sup>4</sup>, Jer 32<sup>19</sup>, Na 1<sup>3</sup>, ψ 119<sup>1</sup>, Jb 37<sup>16</sup>; or of the *manner*, e. g. ψ 59<sup>6</sup> בְּגֵרֵי אֱמֶן *faithless ones of wickedness* (wickedly faithless).

Especially frequent is the use of this genitive to name the part of *y* the body described as being affected by some physical or mental condition, e. g. ψ 24<sup>4</sup> נָקִי כַפַּיִם *clean as regards hands*, &c.; 2 S 9<sup>3</sup>, Is 6<sup>5</sup>, Jb 17<sup>9</sup>; Is 19<sup>10</sup> אֲנִי-נֹפֵשׁ *grieved in soul*; 1 S 1<sup>10</sup>, Jb 3<sup>20</sup>. Also such examples as Am 2<sup>16</sup>, Pr 19<sup>1</sup>, where a suffix is attached to the substantive, must be regarded as instances of the genitive construction, on the analogy of Pr 14<sup>2</sup>, see § 116 k.

### § 129. *Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution.*

Besides the construction of a *nomen rectum* dependent upon a *nomen a* regens in the construct state (§§ 89 and 128), the connexion of two nouns may also be effected otherwise, either by simply attaching the dependent noun by means of the preposition לְ, which, according to § 119 r, expresses, besides other ideas, like that of *belonging to*,<sup>2</sup> or by the addition of a relative clause (לְאִשֶּׁר, see h below).

1. The introduction of a genitive by לְ sometimes occurs even when the *b* construction with the construct state would be equally possible, e. g. 1 S 14<sup>16</sup> הַצִּפֹּתִים לְשָׁאִיל *the watchmen of Saul*; ψ 37<sup>16</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>18</sup> (where indeed the circumlocution makes the sense much plainer); as a rule, however, this use is restricted to the following cases:—

(a) To prevent a *nomen regens* being determined by a following determinate *C* genitive, e. g. 1 S 16<sup>18</sup> בֶּן לֵישַׁי *a son of Jesse* (בֶּן-יֵשַׁי would be, according to § 127 a, *the son of Jesse*); cf. Gn 14<sup>18</sup>, 36<sup>12</sup>, 41<sup>12</sup>, Nu 16<sup>22</sup> (27<sup>16</sup>), 1 S 17<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>21</sup>, ψ 122<sup>5</sup>. Hence, regularly לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר (ψ 3<sup>1</sup>, &c.) *a psalm of David* (properly belonging to David as the author), for which לְדָוִד of David is used alone elliptically in ψ 11<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, &c. Such a case as לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר (ψ 24<sup>1</sup>, &c.) is not to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Latin *integer vilas scelerisque purus; tristes animi*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον in Greek, e. g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Bernhardy's *Syntax*, p. 88). The Arab grammarians distinguish a twofold genitive, one of which may be resolved by لَ, and the other by مِنْ [see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. ii, § 75 ff.]. The *de* of the Romance languages is a development of the latter idea; the Gascon, however, says e. g. *la fille à Mr. N.* laying stress upon the idea of *belonging to* and not that of *origin*, as in *la fille de . . .* of the literary language.

be regarded as a transposition, but מִזְמוֹר is used epexegetically for the general term omitted before לָרוֹד (as it were, a poem of David, a psalm).

Moreover, the introduction of the author, poet, &c., by this *Lamed auctoris* is the customary idiom also in the other Semitic dialects, especially in Arabic.

- d (b) When a genitive is to be made dependent on a nomen regens, which is itself composed of a nomen regens and rectum, and represents, as a compound, one united idea, e.g. Ru 2<sup>3</sup> חֵלֶקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבָעוּ the portion of field belonging to Boaz (הַ שָּׂדֶה לְבָעוּ would be the portion of the field of Boaz); 2 K 5<sup>9</sup> at the house-door of Elisha. This especially applies to the cases in which the compound regens represents a term in very common use, the fixed form of which cannot be altered, e.g. 1 K 14<sup>19</sup> עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבַר־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel; 15<sup>23</sup>, &c.; cf. also Jos 19<sup>51</sup>.

- e (c) When for any other reason the construction with the nomen regens in the construct state is inadmissible; cf. e.g. Lv 18<sup>20</sup>, where שִׁכְבַּתָּךְ, on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lv 15<sup>16</sup> <sup>fr.</sup>, &c., שִׁכְבַּת־אֹרֶעַ; Ju 3<sup>28</sup> the Jordan fords of Moab (יַרְדֵּן as a proper name cannot be used in the construct state); Ex 20<sup>5</sup> upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; וְעַל־רִבְעִים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with וְעַל־שְׁלֹשִׁים, and for the same reason also לְאַהֲבִי.

- f (d) After statements of number in such cases as Gn 8<sup>14</sup> יוֹם בְּשִׁבְעָה וָעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם בְּחָדָשׁ on the seven and twentieth day of the month; cf. 7<sup>11</sup>, 16<sup>3</sup> and frequently, or as in Hag 1<sup>1</sup> בְּשָׁנָה שְׁנִיָּה לְדָרְיֹשׁ in the second year of Darius; the numeral here is always one compound idea with the substantive numbered, and consequently (as in the examples under b) does not admit of being in the constr. st. with a genitive. The same naturally applies also to such examples as 1 K 3<sup>18</sup> בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי on the third day of my giving birth (i.e. after my giving birth). Cf. also the standing phrase בְּאַחַד לְחָדָשׁ on the first (day) of the month, Gn 8<sup>5</sup> and frequently.

- g Rem. In cases like 2 S 3<sup>2</sup> and his firstborn was Amnon לְאַחִינוֹעַם of Ahinoam, the genitive expressed by circumlocution with לְ is in reality dependent on a regens which is omitted (בֶּן לְאַחִינוֹעַם a son of Ahinoam); cf. 2 S 3<sup>3,5</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>13</sup>, Am 5<sup>3</sup> (unless יִשְׂרָאֵל לְבֵית originally depended on thus spake the Lord), and the remarks on מִזְמוֹר לָרוֹד under c above.

- h 2. The periphrastic expression of the genitive by means of אֲשֶׁר לְ is used principally to state the possessor, e.g. Gn 29<sup>9</sup> הָרָצָא אֲשֶׁר לְאִבִּיהָ her father's sheep (prop. the sheep which belonged to her father); Gn 47<sup>4</sup> and frequently. So also (according to § 128 a) when a genitive depends on more than one substantive, e.g. Gn 40<sup>6</sup> הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַבָּכֶר who (belonged) to the king of Egypt (מֶלֶךְ וְבָכֶר would indicate only the baker as belonging to the king); or when a genitive (as in the examples under d above) is added to a compound, which expresses one united idea (Ru 4<sup>3</sup>); or when, as a fixed term (e.g. a title), it appears always in the same form, e.g. Ct 1<sup>1</sup> שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשֹׁלֹמֹה the Song of songs, of Solomon; 1 S 21<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>10</sup>; cf. also Gn 41<sup>43,1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In New Hebrew שֶׁל (derived from שָׁלַח = אֲשֶׁר לְ, see § 36, and cf. Ct 1<sup>6</sup>, 3<sup>7</sup> שֶׁל־שֹׁלֹמֹה, שֶׁל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ) is used like the simple relative דִּי, דְּ in Aramaic, as an independent sign of the genitive.

§ 130. *Wider Use of the Construct State.*

The construct state, which, according to § 89 *a*, primarily represents *a* only the immediate government by one substantive of the following word (or combination of words), is frequently employed in rapid narrative as a connecting form, even apart from the genitive relation; so especially—

(1) Before prepositions,<sup>1</sup> particularly in elevated (prophetic or poetic) style, especially when the nomen regens is a participle. Thus before  $\text{בְּקִצִּיר}$   $\text{שִׂמְחַת בְּקִצִּיר}$  *the joy in the harvest*, Is 9<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>,  $\psi$  136<sup>8f.</sup>; in participles, Is 5<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 19<sup>8</sup>,  $\psi$  84<sup>7</sup>, and especially often when  $\text{בְּ}$  with a suffix follows the participle, e. g.  $\psi$  2<sup>12</sup>  $\text{בְּלִחוּסִי בּוֹ}$ ; cf. Na 1<sup>7</sup>, Jer 8<sup>16</sup> ( $\psi$  24<sup>1</sup>);  $\psi$  64<sup>9</sup> (unless  $\text{רָאָה}$  should be read); 98<sup>7.2</sup>—Before  $\text{לְ}$ , Ho 9<sup>6</sup> (but read probably  $\text{בְּסֶפֶם בְּמַמְדֵּי}$ );  $\psi$  58<sup>5</sup> (before  $\text{לְמוֹ}$ ); Pr 24<sup>9</sup>, Jb 18<sup>2</sup>, La 2<sup>18</sup> (before  $\text{לְךָ}$ ); 1 Ch 6<sup>55</sup>, 23<sup>28</sup>; in participles, Ez 38<sup>11</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup>; before  $\text{לְ}$  with an infinitive, Is 56<sup>10</sup>, and again before  $\text{לְ}$  with a suffix, Gn 24<sup>21</sup>, Is 30<sup>18</sup>, 64<sup>3</sup>; <sup>3</sup>—before  $\text{אֶל־}$ , Is 14<sup>19</sup>, Ez 21<sup>17</sup>;—before  $\text{אֶת־}$  (*with*), Is 8<sup>6</sup>;—before  $\text{מִן־}$ , Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, Is 28<sup>9</sup> (a participle); Jer 23<sup>23</sup>, Ez 13<sup>2</sup>, Ho 7<sup>5</sup>;—before  $\text{עַל־}$ , Ju 5<sup>10</sup>;—before  $\text{בְּלִי־}$ , Is 14<sup>6</sup>;—before the *nota accus.*  $\text{אֵת}$ , Jer 33<sup>22</sup>;—before a locative (which in such cases also serves as a genitive), Ex 27<sup>13</sup>, Jer 1<sup>15</sup>.

(2) Before *wāw copulative*, e. g. Ez 26<sup>10</sup>; but  $\text{חֲכֵמַת}$  Is 33<sup>6</sup>,  $\text{וַיֵּלֶת}$  35<sup>2</sup>, *b* and  $\text{שִׁבְרַת}$  51<sup>21</sup> may be cases of an intentional reversion to the old feminine ending *ath*, in order to avoid the hiatus (1)  $\text{וְהָיָה}$ .

(3) When it governs the (originally demonstrative) pronoun  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ , *c* so especially in the combination  $\text{אֲשֶׁר מְקוֹם}$ , Gn 39<sup>20</sup>, 40<sup>3</sup>, *the place where* (prop. *of that in which*) *Joseph was bound*; cf. § 138 *g*; or  $\text{אֲשֶׁר בְּמְקוֹם}$  Lv 4<sup>24,33</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>19</sup>, Jer 22<sup>12</sup>, Ez 21<sup>35</sup>, Ho 2<sup>1</sup>. We should expect  $\text{אֲשֶׁר הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר בְּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר}$ , as in Gn 35<sup>13</sup>, &c., *at the place which . . .*, cf. § 138; but  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  is treated as a nomen rectum instead of as an attribute.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König, 'Die Ueberwucherung des St.-constr.-Gebrauchs im Semit.,' ZDMG. 53, 521 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In Ju 8<sup>11</sup> the article is even used before a construct state followed by  $\text{בְּ}$ , in order to determine the whole combination  $\text{שְׂכֵנֵי בְּהָהָלִים}$  *tent-dwellers*, taken as one word; cf., however, the remarks in § 127 *f-i* on similar grammatical solecisms.

<sup>3</sup> These are to be distinguished from the cases where  $\text{לְ}$  follows a construct state, which in conjunction with  $\text{מִן־}$  (and the following  $\text{לְ}$ ) has become a sort of preposition or adverb of place; thus, we have  $\text{מִבֵּית־לְ}$  Ex 26<sup>33</sup> (for which in Ez 1<sup>27</sup> merely  $\text{בֵּית־לְ}$  meaning simply *within*;  $\text{מִיְמִין־לְ}$  (2 K 23<sup>13</sup>, Ez 10<sup>3</sup>) *on the right hand* (i.e. south) *of*;  $\text{מִצְפוֹן־לְ}$  (Jos 8<sup>11,13</sup>, &c., Ju 2<sup>9</sup>) *on the north of*; cf. also Jos 15<sup>21</sup> and  $\text{לְפָנֵי מִן־}$  Neh 13<sup>4</sup>.

Cf. also מִיּוֹם א' followed by a perfect in 1 S 29<sup>8</sup>, and מִיּוֹם א' Lv 13<sup>46</sup>, Nu 9<sup>18</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

d (4) When it governs independent sentences (cf. § 155), which virtually stand to the construct state (as *nomen regens*) in a sort of genitive relation, e. g. Ex 4<sup>13</sup> בְּיַד-הַשֵּׁלֶחַ prop. *by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*; Nu 23<sup>3</sup> דְּבַר מַה-יֵּרָאֵנִי the *matter of that which he shall show me*, i. e. whatever he shall; Is 29<sup>1</sup> קִרְיַת תְּנָה דָּוִד the *city where David encamped*; Jer 48<sup>36</sup>, ψ 16<sup>3</sup> (if the text be right), 65<sup>5</sup> (Pr 8<sup>32</sup>), ψ 81<sup>6</sup>, Jb 18<sup>21</sup> the *place of him that knoweth not God*; Jb 29<sup>16</sup>, La 1<sup>14</sup> (if the text be right) *into the hands of those against whom I cannot stand*.<sup>2</sup> In Gn 39<sup>4</sup> (כָּל-יְשֻׁלָּו) the כָּל- takes after it a noun-clause, and in Ex 9<sup>4</sup>, still more boldly, a subst. with לְ.—Very often a *time-determination* governs the following sentence in this way; thus אַחֲרֵי followed by a perfect, Lv 25<sup>48</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>9</sup>; בְּיוֹם ψ 102<sup>3</sup> (before a noun-clause), Ex 6<sup>28</sup>, Nu 3<sup>1</sup>, Dt 4<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>1</sup>, ψ 18<sup>1</sup>, 59<sup>17</sup>, 138<sup>3</sup> (in every case before a following perfect), ψ 56<sup>10</sup> (before an imperfect); מִיּוֹם followed by the perfect, Jer 36<sup>2</sup>; כָּל-יְמֵי Lv 14<sup>46</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>15</sup>, Jb 29<sup>2</sup> (בְּיָמַי) *as in the days when . . .*<sup>3</sup>; cf. שָׁנוֹת and בְּיָמוֹת before a perfect, ψ 90<sup>15</sup>; בָּעֵת before a perfect, Jer 6<sup>15</sup> (cf. 49<sup>8</sup>, 50<sup>31</sup>); before an imperfect, Jb 6<sup>17</sup>; הַחֵלֶת before a perfect, Ho 1<sup>2</sup>.

e (5) Connected with a following word in apposition; certainly so in such cases as בתּוֹלַת בַּת-צִיּוֹן the *virgin, the daughter of Zion*, Is 37<sup>22</sup>; cf. 23<sup>12</sup>, Jer 14<sup>17</sup>; also אִשָּׁת בַּעֲלַת-אֹיֵב 1 S 28<sup>7</sup> a *woman, possessor of a soothsaying spirit*; cf. Dt 21<sup>11</sup>.—Gn 14<sup>10</sup>, Ju 19<sup>22</sup> (but read probably אֲנָשִׁים with Moore, as in Dt 13<sup>14</sup>, Ju 20<sup>13</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>10</sup>); 2 K 10<sup>6</sup>, 17<sup>13</sup> Qerê; Jer 46<sup>9</sup>, ψ 35<sup>16</sup> (?), 78<sup>9</sup>, Jb 20<sup>17b</sup> (unless נִהְיֶה or נִהְיֶה be a gloss).

f Rem. Some of the above passages may also be explained by supposing that there exists a real genitive relation towards the preceding construct state, which has been, as it were, provisionally left *in suspenso*, in consequence of the insertion of some interrupting word, e. g. Is 37<sup>22</sup>, &c.; Jb 20<sup>17a</sup>. Elsewhere (Dt 33<sup>19</sup>, ψ 68<sup>84</sup>) the *nomen regens* probably governs the following construct state directly.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Dt 23<sup>5</sup> the construct state governs a sentence introduced by the conjunction אֲשֶׁר (עַל-דִּבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר by reason of the fact that, i. e. because); so also in 1 S 3<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Gn 22<sup>14</sup> is also to be so explained (contrary to the accents), and certainly (contrary to the very unnatural division of the verses) 2 Ch 30<sup>18</sup>, which should read on thus: יְהוָה הַטּוֹב יִכְפָּר בְּעַד כָּל-לִבָּבוֹ הַכֵּין the good Lord pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God. [See Wickes' *Accentuation of the Twenty-one Prose Books of the Old Testament*, p. 140.]

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Na 2<sup>9</sup> מִיָּמֶיהָ, usually explained to mean *from the days that she hath been*, but the text is evidently very corrupt.

<sup>4</sup> So also Is 28<sup>16</sup> a corner stone of the preciousness יִקְרָת is a substantive not an adjective) of a fixed foundation, i. e. a precious corner stone of surest foundation.—In 2 S 20<sup>19</sup> the text is wholly corrupt; in ψ 119<sup>188</sup> read כָּל-בְּקִיּוֹרָיִךְ.

(6) The numeral **אֶחָד** *one* for **אֶחָד** in close connexion, and even with *g* small disjunctives, e. g. Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 48<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>22</sup>, Is 27<sup>12</sup>, Zc 11<sup>7</sup>.

The character of these passages shows that the numeral here cannot be in the construct state, but is merely a rhythmical shortening of the usual (tone-lengthened) form.

### § 131. *Apposition.*

1. Apposition in the stricter sense is the collocation of two substantives in the same case in order to define more exactly (or to complete) the one by the other, and, as a rule (see, however, below, under *g*), the former by the latter. Apposition in Hebrew (as in the other Semitic languages<sup>1</sup>) is by no means confined to those cases in which it is used in English or in the classical languages. It is not infrequently found when either the *subordination* of one substantive to the other or some more circumstantial kind of expegetical addition would be expected.

2. The principal kinds of apposition in Hebrew are:—

(a) The collocation of *genus* and *species*, e. g. **אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה** *a woman b* (who was) *a widow*, 1 K 7<sup>14</sup>; **בְּתוּלָה נְעִירָה** *a damsel* (that is) *a virgin*, Dt 22<sup>23,28</sup>, Ju 4<sup>1</sup>, 19<sup>1</sup>, 21<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. Gn 13<sup>8</sup>, 21<sup>20</sup> (where, however, **נְעִירָה** is probably an explanatory gloss); Ex 24<sup>5</sup> (1 S 11<sup>15</sup>), 2 S 15<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>16</sup>, 5<sup>29</sup> (but probably **סֶבֶל** should be read instead of **סָבֵל**); Is 3<sup>24</sup> (unless **מַעֲשֵׂה** is to be read), Jer 20<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps also **כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ** *the priest* (who is) *the chief man*, 2 K 25<sup>18</sup>, &c.; others take **כֹּהֵן** as constr. st.—In 2 S 10<sup>7</sup> read **כָּל-צָבָא הַגָּבֹר** with the LXX, as in the parallel passage 1 Ch 19<sup>9</sup> for **כָּל-צָבָא הַגָּבֹר**, which is evidently meant to refer to the reading in 2 S.

(b) Collocation of the *person* or *thing* and the *attribute*, e. g. Jb 20<sup>29</sup> c (27<sup>13</sup>) **חֵלֶק-אָדָם רָשָׁע** *this is the portion of a man*, (who is) *a wicked man* (but **רָשָׁע** might also be an adjunct.); cf. Pr 6<sup>12</sup>.—Lv 6<sup>13</sup>, 16<sup>4</sup> (where, however, **לֶחֶם** is probably a gloss); Pr 22<sup>21</sup> **אֱמָתִים אֱמֶת** *words* (which are) *truth*; (immediately after **אֱמֶתִי אֱמֶת** cf. 1 S 2<sup>13</sup>, Mi 1<sup>11</sup> (where, however, **בִּשְׁמֵחַ** is most probably a gloss on **עֲרִירָה**); Zc 1<sup>13</sup> (= *comfortable words*); ψ 45<sup>5</sup> (?), 68<sup>17</sup> (cf. verse 16). In a wider sense this includes also such cases as ψ 60<sup>5</sup> **יַיִן תַּרְעִילָהּ** *wine* which is *staggering* (intoxicating drink), which causes staggering<sup>2</sup>; 1 K 22<sup>27</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>26</sup> **לֶחֶץ מָוִים** (in

<sup>1</sup> On certain uses of apposition peculiar to the Semitic languages, cf. the exhaustive discussion by Fleischer, 'Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab.' (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. 16); [and see also Driver, *Tenses*, Appendix IV.]

<sup>2</sup> Unless it is to be translated *thou gavest us intoxication to drink as wine* (and so in 1 K 22<sup>27</sup> *give him affliction to eat as bread*, &c.); cf. ψ 80<sup>6</sup> and the analogous examples of apposition in the form of a second accusative in § 117 *kk*. More-

Is 30<sup>20</sup> parallel with צָרָה (צָרָה) *water* which is *affliction*, drunk in trouble (imprisonment). Still more boldly, 1 K 5<sup>3</sup> בָּקָר רָעִי *oxen* which were taken out of the *pastures*, and 1 K 6<sup>7</sup> *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מִפְסָע. A person and a condition are in apposition in Ez 18<sup>6</sup> (unless בְּנִדְתָּהּ is to be read).—In 1 S 4<sup>1</sup> read הָעָרֹץ, as in 5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>12</sup>.

- d (c) Collocation of the *person* (Dt 28<sup>36</sup>) or *thing* (form) and *material*,<sup>1</sup> or of the *place* or *measure* and its *contents*, e.g. 1 Ch 15<sup>19</sup> בְּמַצְלֵתִים נְחֹשֶׁת *with cymbals* which were *brass*, i. e. of *brass*; cf. Ex 26<sup>26</sup>, Dn 11<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>15,18</sup> (?); Ex 28<sup>17</sup> *four rows*, namely *stones* (for which 39<sup>10</sup> has סֵאֵה סֶלֶת *a seah of fine flour*; cf. 2 Ch 4<sup>13</sup>, Lv 6<sup>3</sup> (see, however, § 128 d); 2 K 7 סֵאֵה סֶלֶת *a seah of fine flour*; cf. 2 K 7<sup>16,18</sup>, Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, Ex 16<sup>33</sup>, Lv 5<sup>11</sup>, Ru 2<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 16<sup>24</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>23</sup> כֶּסֶף כְּבָרִים *two talents of silver*;<sup>2</sup> cf. 5<sup>17</sup>, Ex 39<sup>17</sup>, Ez 22<sup>18</sup> (if the text be right). With the *material* placed before the *measure*, Ex 30<sup>23f</sup>.—A *period of time* and its *contents* are placed in apposition חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים *a month of days*, i. e. a month's time = for a whole month, Gn 29<sup>14</sup>, Nu 11<sup>20,21</sup>, cf. Dt 21<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 15<sup>13</sup>, and שְׁנַתִּים יָמִים *two years' time*, i. e. two full years, Gn 41<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>23</sup>, 14<sup>28</sup>, Jer 28<sup>3,11</sup>, Dn 10<sup>2f</sup>.

Finally, under this head may be included all the cases in which a numeral (regarded as a substantive) is followed by the object numbered in apposition, e.g. בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה *trias* sc. *fili*i, § 97 a and § 134 b.

- e (d) Collocation of the *thing* and the *measure* or *extent*, *number*, &c., e.g. Nu 9<sup>20</sup> יָמִים מְסָפָר *days*, (a small) *number*, i. e. only a few days; מִשְׁנָה כֶּסֶף *money*, *repetition*, i. e. twice as much money, Gn 43<sup>12</sup> (unless כֶּסֶף be constr. st.); מַיִם בְּרָאִים *water* which was of the measure of the *knees*, which reached to the knees, Ez 47<sup>4</sup> (also מֵי מְתַנְּגִים *water that was to the loins*, in the same verse). This likewise includes the cases in which a noun is followed in apposition by a numeral (see § 134 c) or an adverb, originally conceived as a substantive, e.g. נְאֻשִׁים אֶנְשֵׁיט *men*, a few, i. e. some few men; 1 K 5 תְּבוּנָה הַרְבֵּה *understanding*, *much-making*, i. e. much understanding, unless הַרְבֵּה is to be taken as an adverb with וַיֵּת, as in 2 S 8<sup>8</sup> with לָקַח.

over, having regard to הַרְבֵּה נֵי *spiced wine*, Ct 8<sup>2</sup>, and עֵז פָּרָא *a wild ass's colt*, Jb 11<sup>12</sup> (in which passages וַיֵּן and עֵז must certainly be in the construct state) we cannot but ask whether the Masora does not intend the וַיֵּן in ψ 60<sup>5</sup> to be taken as construct state (for which elsewhere וַיֵּן).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the examples treated above in § 127 h.

<sup>2</sup> On the anomalous form כְּבָרִים (instead of כְּבָרִים; cf. כְּבָרִים immediately before), see § 88 b.

(e) Collocation of the *thing* and its *name*, e.g. בְּהַרְרָם שְׁעִיר *in their mountainous district, Seir* (perhaps only a later gloss), Gn 14<sup>6</sup>; הָאָרֶץ כְּנָעַן *the land Canaan* (כְּנָעַן probably only a later gloss), Nu 34<sup>2</sup>; cf. Ezr 9<sup>1</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>9</sup> (see under *g* below).—For examples of nouns in the construct state before a noun in apposition, see § 130 e.

Rem. 1. Only in certain combinations does the noun of nearer definition come first, e.g. הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה, הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד *king David, king Solomon* (less frequently הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד as in 2 S 13<sup>39</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>17</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>29</sup>, 9<sup>15</sup>, and in late Hebrew, Hag 1<sup>15</sup> [cf. the Aramaic order מַלְכָּא דְרִיּוֹשׁ], and often in Chron.).—A chiasmus occurs in Is 45<sup>4</sup>, the name standing after the defining noun in the first part of the verse, and before it in the parallel clause.

2. When the *nota accusativi* (אֶת, אֵת) or a preposition precedes the first substantive, it may be repeated before the noun in apposition, e.g. Gn 4<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, 24<sup>4</sup>, 47<sup>29</sup>, Is 66<sup>21</sup>; this usually occurs when the nearer definition precedes a *proper name*. As a rule, however, the repetition does not take place (Dt 18<sup>1</sup>, Jer 33<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>14</sup>). A noun in apposition is made determinate, even after a noun with a prefix, in the ordinary way, e.g. 2 Ch 12<sup>13</sup> בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם הָעִיר *in Jerusalem, the city which, &c.*<sup>1</sup>

3. Sometimes a second adjective is used in apposition to a preceding adjective, in order to modify in some way the meaning of the first, e.g. Lv 13<sup>19</sup> בְּהָרֶת לְכֹהֵן אֲדָמָה *a white-reddish (light red) bright spot*.

4. Permutation is to be regarded as a variety of apposition. It is not complementary like apposition proper (see *a* above), but rather *defines* the preceding substantive (or pronoun, see below), in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding. This includes cases like Gn 9<sup>4</sup> *with the life thereof* (which is) *the blood thereof*; Ex 22<sup>30</sup>, Dt 2<sup>26</sup>, 1 S 7<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>4</sup> *an hundred thousand rams, the wool*, i.e. the wool of the rams; Jer 25<sup>15</sup> *this cup of the wine, that is of fury* (but the *הַחֶמֶה* is probably a gloss); Is 42<sup>25</sup> *he poured upon him fury, namely his anger*;<sup>2</sup> but especially the examples in which such a permutative is added to a preceding pronoun, viz.—

(a) To a separate pronoun, e.g. Ex 7<sup>11</sup>; with regard to the vocative, cf. § 126 f.

(b) To an accusative suffix, e.g. Ex 2<sup>6</sup> *she saw him, the child* (unless אֶת־הִי be a later gloss); Ex 35<sup>5</sup>, Lv 13<sup>57b</sup>, 1 K 19<sup>21</sup> (where, indeed, הַבֶּשֶׂר appears to be a late gloss); 21<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>15</sup> *Keth.*, Jer 9<sup>14</sup>, 31<sup>2</sup>, Ez 3<sup>21</sup>, Ec 2<sup>21</sup> (according to Delitzsch rather a double accusative).<sup>3</sup>

(c) To a noun-suffix, e.g. Ez 10<sup>3</sup> בָּבֹאוּ הָאִישׁ *when he went in, the man*; 42<sup>14</sup>; cf. Pr 13<sup>4</sup> (?), Ez 3<sup>12</sup>; so also after a preposition with suffix, e.g. Ec 4<sup>10</sup> הָאֶחָד לוֹ *woe to him, the one alone*; with a repetition of the preposition, Nu 32<sup>38</sup>, Jos 1<sup>2</sup> לָהֶם לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *to them, to the children of Israel*; Ju 21<sup>7</sup>, Jer 51<sup>56</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 11<sup>8</sup> participles after לְכָל־נָשָׁיו, as in 2 K 10<sup>6</sup> after הָעִיר, in 19<sup>2</sup> after a determinate accusative, and in Hag 1<sup>4</sup> after בְּבִתְיֵיכֶם, are used without the article; these, however, are probably to be explained not as in apposition, but according to § 118 p.

<sup>2</sup> But מֵיִם Gn 6<sup>17</sup> (cf. 7<sup>6</sup>) is to be regarded as a later gloss upon the archaic מִבּוֹל.

<sup>3</sup> For וַיִּשְׁנֶה 1 S 21<sup>14</sup> either וַיִּשְׁנֶה is to be read or the *Kethibh* is to be explained according to § 75 b, note. Also יִלְכְּדֵנוּ Pr 5<sup>22</sup> has hardly preserved the correct form.

Ez 42<sup>5</sup> (?), Dn 11<sup>11</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>42</sup>, 2 Ch 26<sup>14</sup>.<sup>1</sup>—Cf. finally, Ct 3<sup>7</sup>, where the suffix precedes the genitive periphrastically expressed by שְׁלִי, as in Ez 9<sup>1</sup>, where the genitive is expressed by לִי.<sup>2</sup>

O Of a different kind are the cases in which the permutative with its proper suffix follows as a kind of correction of the preceding suffix, e. g. Is 29<sup>23</sup> *when he* (or rather) *his children see*, &c. (but יִלְדָיו is clearly a gloss; cf. ψ 83<sup>12</sup>; in Jb 29<sup>3</sup> read בְּהִלָּלוֹ (infin. Hiph.) or at least its syncopated form בְּהִלָּו.

P 5. Cases of apposition in a wider sense are those in which the nearer definition added to the noun was originally regarded as an *adverbial accusative*; on its use with the verb and on the relative correctness of speaking of such an accusative in Hebrew, cf. § 118 a and m. Owing to the lack of case-endings, indeed, it is in many instances only by analogies elsewhere (especially in Arabic) that we can decide whether the case is one of apposition in the narrower or in the wider sense; in other instances this must remain quite uncertain. However, the following are probably cases of apposition in the wider sense:—

Q (a) Such phrases as מִשְׁנֵה כֶּסֶף a double amount in money, Gn 43<sup>15</sup>; cf. Jer 17<sup>18</sup>; 1 S 17<sup>5</sup> five thousand shekels in brass, but this might also be taken (as in d) shekels which were brass; certainly such cases as Jb 15<sup>10</sup> older than thy father in days, and the expression of the superlative by means of מְאֹד (originally a substantive), e. g. מְאֹד טוֹב very good, Gn 1<sup>31</sup> (cf. also Ec 7<sup>16</sup> הרַבֵּה צְדִיק הַרַבֵּה righteous over much), and the very frequent מְאֹד הַרַבֵּה prop. a much-making exceedingly, i. e. exceedingly great, Gn 15<sup>1</sup>, 41<sup>49</sup>, also Pr 23<sup>29</sup> פְּצַעִים חֵנָם wounds without cause,<sup>3</sup> perhaps also Gn 34<sup>25</sup> (בָּטַח).

R (b) A few examples, in which an exegetical substantive is added to a substantive with a suffix; thus, Ez 16<sup>27</sup> מְדַרְבְּנָה וְזָמָה of thy conduct in lewdness (but it is also possible to explain it (as in c) of thy conduct, which is lewdness; cf. Ez 24<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>33</sup> חֵיל מְעוֹזִי my fortress in strength, i. e. my strong fortress (cf., however, ψ 18<sup>33</sup>); Hb 3<sup>8</sup>, ψ 71<sup>7</sup>. While even in these examples the deviation from the ordinary usage of the language (cf. § 135 n) is strange, it is much more so in חוֹב חִבְלוֹ Ez 18<sup>7</sup>, i. e. according to the context his pledge for a debt; Ezr 2<sup>62</sup> כְּתָבָם הַמִּתְחַשֵּׁם, i. e. their register, namely of those that were reckoned by genealogy (but perhaps הַמִּתְי is in apposition to the suffix in כְּתָבָם), also the curious combinations (mentioned in § 128 d) of בְּרִיתִי with a proper name (Lv 26<sup>42</sup>), and in Jer 33<sup>20</sup> with הַיּוֹם.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But in Is 17<sup>6</sup> we should certainly divide the words differently and read אַחֲרִית הַשְּׂמֻחָה in Jer 48<sup>44</sup> read אֶלֶּה for אֶלֶּיָּה, and in Pr 14<sup>13</sup> אַחֲרִית הַשְּׂמֻחָה; in Gn 21<sup>9</sup> נָפֶשׁ חַיָּה is a late gloss upon לוֹ, and in Ez 41<sup>26</sup> אֶלֶּיָּהוּ a gloss on אֶלֶּיָּהוּ.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the examples given above are textually (or exegetically) doubtful, whilst in the case of others, especially those from the later Books, we cannot help asking whether such a prolepsis of the genitive by means of a suffix (as e. g. Ez 10<sup>3</sup>) is not due to the influence of Aramaic, in which it is the customary idiom; cf. Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 81 e and § 88.

<sup>3</sup> In ψ 69<sup>5</sup> חֵנָם (like שֶׁקֶר in a false way, falsely, ψ 35<sup>19</sup> and 38<sup>20</sup>) is used as an *adverbial accusative* with a participle; cf. § 118 q.

<sup>4</sup> But in Nu 25<sup>12</sup> שְׁלוֹם may also be explained, according to c, as really in apposition. Cf. on the whole question Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 203, note 1.

6. In Dt 33<sup>4</sup> (מִזְרָשָׁה), perhaps לְקַהֲלֵת מִזְרָ is to be read), 33<sup>27</sup> (מַעֲנָה), Ju 7<sup>8</sup> s (צָרָה), the absolute state appears to be used instead of the construct to govern a following logical genitive; this, however, cannot be explained either as a special kind of apposition, or (with Hitzig) as a peculiarity of the dialect of Northern Palestine, but is merely a textual corruption. On the other hand, in Jb 3<sup>11</sup> עֵץ פְּלִלִים is evidently intended to combine the readings עֵץ פְּלִלִים and עֵץ פְּלִילִי (as in verse 28).—The remarkable combination אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in ψ 80<sup>8,10</sup> is due to the fact that in ψ 42–83 אֱלֹהִים has almost throughout been subsequently substituted by some redactor for the divine name יְהוָה; on אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת cf. § 125 h. In ψ 59<sup>6</sup>, 80<sup>5,20</sup>, and 84<sup>9</sup> יְהוָה has been reinstated in the text before אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת.<sup>1</sup>

7. Lastly, the nearer definition (qualification) of a noun may be effected by *t* means of a preposition (either with a suffix or with an independent noun), but must then be distinguished from the cases in which the preposition is dependent on a verb or verbal idea, e. g. Gn 3<sup>6</sup> and she gave also לְאִישָׁהּ עִמָּהּ unto her husband with her (= her husband who was with her); in Gn 9<sup>16</sup> (that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh) and other places, the qualification of the noun is itself also qualified.

### § 132. Connexion of the Substantive with the Adjective.<sup>2</sup>

1. The adjective (like the participle used adjectivally), which serves *a* as an attribute of a substantive, stands *after* the substantive, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number*, e. g. אִישׁ גָּדוֹל a great man, אִשָּׁה יָפָה a beautiful woman. If the substantive is immediately connected with a genitive, the attribute follows the latter, since, according to § 89 and § 128 a, the construct state and the genitive belonging to it are inseparably united, e. g. Est 8<sup>15</sup> עֲמֻרָת זָהָב גְּדוֹלָה a great crown of gold.—On the attribute when attached to a *determinate* substantive, see above, § 126 u.

<sup>1</sup> Without this assumption it would be inconceivable that אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת should not have been written; that the author of these Psalms regarded אֱלֹהִים already as an independent name of God (so Gesenius and Olshausen) is out of the question.

<sup>2</sup> On the expression of attributive ideas by substantives, cf. above, § 127 h, and § 128 o, with the note; § 135 n and § 141 c (substantives for adjectives as predicates of noun-clauses) and § 152 u (periphrases for negative qualities). On the use of the feminine of adjectives (and participles) to express abstract ideas, see § 122 g. It remains to mention further the employment (mostly only in poetry) of certain epithets in place of the substantives to which the quality in question belongs; e. g. אֲבִיר the strong one, i. e. God; אֲבִיר the strong one, i. e. the bull (in Jer 8<sup>16</sup>, &c., the horse); קַל swift = the runner (of the horse, Is 30<sup>10</sup>); לְבָנָה alba, i. e. luna; פְּרִיָּה (fructifera) a fruitful tree, Is 17<sup>6</sup> (so פֶּרֶת Gn 49<sup>29</sup>); רֹבֵץ a croucher, i. e. a crouching beast of prey, Gn 4<sup>7</sup>. Cf. also רֶגֶז (gravis, augustus) and נָשִׂיא (elatus?), i. e. a prince. The use of adjectives and participles for substantives is much more extensive in Arabic. In Greek and Latin poetical language cf. such examples as ὑγρή = the sea; merum for vinum, &c.

- b** Rem. 1. Where an adjectival attribute appears to stand *before* its substantive (according to the usual explanation, for the sake of special emphasis) the relation is really appositional in character; thus, Is 10<sup>30</sup> עֲנִיָּה עֲנִתוֹת *O thou poor one, Anathoth!* (but probably עֲנִיָּה *answer her*, is to be read); cf. 23<sup>12</sup>, 53<sup>11</sup> (a righteous man, my servant; but in 28<sup>21</sup> וְרַבִּי and נִבְרִי are predicates preceding the substantives); Jer 3<sup>6.10</sup>, ψ 18<sup>4</sup> *him who is worthy to be praised will I call upon, the Lord*; 92<sup>12</sup> (apposition after participles).—But רַבִּים and רַבּוֹת *many*, are sometimes placed, like numerals, before the substantive, Jer 16<sup>18</sup>, Neh 9<sup>28</sup> (in ψ 145<sup>7</sup> רַב is a *subst. regens*, in 89<sup>51</sup> the text is corrupt); an appositional relation can scarcely be intended in these instances.
- c** 2. In a few expressions (mostly poetic) the adjective appears not as an attribute *after* the substantive, but in the construct state governing it; so in the singular, Ex 15<sup>16</sup> (unless נָדָל should be read); 1 S 16<sup>7</sup> (*the height of his stature*); in the plural, 1 S 17<sup>40</sup> חֲלָקִי אֲבָנִים *smooth ones of (among) stones*, i.e. *smooth stones*; Is 35<sup>9</sup>, Ez 7<sup>24</sup>, ψ 46<sup>5</sup>, and with a following collective instead of a plural, e.g. Is 29<sup>19</sup> אֲבִיּוֹנֵי אָדָם *the poor among men*, i.e. *poor men*; Jer 49<sup>20</sup>, Zc 11<sup>7</sup>; cf. in Latin *canum degeneres*. However, in almost all these cases the adjective which is made into a *regens* is strongly emphatic, and is frequently equivalent to a superlative (see below, § 133 g).
- d** 3. When *two* adjectives follow a feminine, sometimes only that standing next to the noun takes the feminine termination, e.g. 1 K 19<sup>11</sup> רֹחַ וְנִדְלָה *רוח* (but read וְנִדְלָה); 1 S 15<sup>9</sup> (but cf. § 75 y); Jer 20<sup>9</sup>, ψ 63<sup>2</sup>. A similar dislike of the feminine form may also be observed in the case of verbal predicates referring to feminine subjects, cf. § 145 p and t.
- When an attribute qualifies several substantives of different genders, it agrees with the masculine, as being the *prior gender* (cf. § 146 d), e.g. Neh 9<sup>13</sup> חֲקִים וּמִצּוֹת מִטּוֹבִים; Jer 34<sup>9</sup>, Zc 8<sup>5</sup>.
- When *three* attributes follow a substantive, the first two may stand without a conjunction, and the last be attached by *wāw copulative*, cf. Zc 1<sup>8</sup>.
- e** 4. After feminines plural ending in םִ (cf. § 87 p) the adjectival attribute (in accordance with the fundamental rule stated above, under a) takes the ending וֹת, e.g. Is 10<sup>14</sup> עֲזוּבוֹת בֵּיצִים *forsaken eggs*; Gn 32<sup>16</sup>. For a strange exception see Jer 29<sup>17</sup> (differently in 24<sup>3</sup>).
- f** 5. With regard to *number* it is to be remarked that—
- (a) Substantives in the *dual* are followed by adjectives (or participles) in the *plural*, e.g. ψ 18<sup>28</sup> (Pr 6<sup>17</sup>) רְמוֹת עֵינַיִם *haughty eyes*; Is 35<sup>3</sup>, Jb 4<sup>3</sup>, cf. § 88 a.
- g** (b) Collective ideas are not infrequently joined with the *plural* of the adjective or participle (*constructio ad sensum*); thus, e.g. צֹאן *sheep* [with *fem. plur.*], Gn 30<sup>43</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>18</sup>; עָם = *men*, 1 S 13<sup>15</sup>, Is 9<sup>1</sup>; כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל = *all the Israelites*, 1 S 2<sup>14</sup>; גְּלוֹת = *the exiles*, Jer 28<sup>4</sup>; cf. also נַפְשֵׁי שְׁנַיִם *two souls*, Gn 46<sup>27.1</sup>. Cf. similar phenomena in the connexion of collectives with plural predicates in § 145 c.
- h** (c) The *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis* is joined, as a rule, to the singular of the attribute, e.g. ψ 7<sup>10</sup> אֱלֹהִים צָדִיק 2 K 19<sup>4.16</sup> (= Is 37<sup>4.17</sup>); Is 19<sup>4</sup>; but cf. אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים Dt 5<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>26.36</sup>, Jer 10<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>36</sup>, perhaps also

<sup>1</sup> But it is impossible to take תַּמִּימִם in Ez 46<sup>6</sup> as an attribute of בָּקָר; probably it is a correction intended to harmonize the passage with Nu 28<sup>11</sup>, where *two* young bullocks are required.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 S 28<sup>18</sup>, where אֱלֹהִים (in the sense of a *spirit*) is followed by עֲלִים as a second accusative; conversely in 1 S 19<sup>13.16</sup>, a singular suffix refers back

Ex 20<sup>3</sup> אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים = another god, and Jos 24<sup>19</sup> אֱלֹהִים קְדָשִׁים (but cf. above, § 124 g-k). On the other hand, 1 S 4<sup>8</sup> is to be explained as having been said by the Philistines, who supposed that the Israelites had several gods. On the connexion of אֱלֹהִים with a plural predicate, see § 145 i.

2. On the adjective (in the construct state) governing a following genitive, see § 128 x; for the participle in the same construction, see § 116 f-l.

### § 133. *The Comparison of Adjectives. (Periphrastic Expression of the Comparative and Superlative.)*

A. Wünsche, 'Der Komparativ im Hebr. im Lichte der arab. Gramm.,' in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Bibelkunde*, 1904, p. 398 ff.

1. Hebrew possesses no special forms either for the comparative or *a* superlative of the adjective.<sup>1</sup> In order to express a comparative, the person or thing which is to be represented as excelled in some particular quality is attached to the attributive word by the preposition מִן (מִי), e. g. 1 S 9<sup>2</sup> גָּבַהַּ מִכָּל-הָעָם higher than any of the people. The fundamental idea evidently is, *tall away from all the people* (beyond all the people); cf. Ju 14<sup>18</sup> מַה-מֶּתוֹק מִדְּבַשׁ וְמָה עֹז מִיָּאֵרִי what is sweeter than honey? and what is stronger than a lion? Ez 28<sup>3</sup>, Am 6<sup>2</sup>. Frequently an infinitive appears as the object of the comparison, e. g. Gn 29<sup>19</sup> it is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her, &c.; Ex 14<sup>12</sup>, ψ 118<sup>87. 2</sup>

Rem. 1. This use of מִן is also very common when the attributive idea is *b* represented by an intransitive verb, e. g. 1 S 10<sup>23</sup> וַיִּגְבַּהּ מִכָּל-הָעָם and he was higher than any of the people; Na 3<sup>8</sup>, Jb 7<sup>6</sup>. Elsewhere, especially after transitive verbs, מִן rather represents (on its different senses see § 119 v-z) the idea

to הַרְפִּים household god (but not so in Gn 31<sup>34</sup>), as in ψ 46<sup>4</sup> to the plural of amplification מַיִם sea. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether רַבָּה ψ 78<sup>15</sup> is to be regarded as an attribute of הַרְמוֹת and not rather as the adverb, abundantly.

<sup>1</sup> There is in Arabic a special form of the adjective (the *elative*) for the comparative and superlative, which in Hebrew would have the form אֶקְטֵל. Instances of it, perhaps, are אֶכָּזֵר daring, cruel, אֶכָּזֵב deceptive (of a brook drying up), and its opposite אֶיִּתֵּן (contracted from 'aitan) constantly flowing, perennis. These forms are, however, used without any perceptible emphasis, and cannot be regarded as more than isolated relics of an elative formation which has become obsolete, much as the Latin comparative disappears in Italian, and still more so in French, and is supplanted by the circumlocution with *più, plus*.

<sup>2</sup> In Ju 11<sup>25</sup> the adjective is specially intensified by repetition, art thou so much better than Balak? It would also be possible, however, to translate art thou really better . . . ?

of a separation, distinction or superiority of one person or thing from or over others.<sup>1</sup> This is evident in such cases as *בָּחַר מֶן* to choose something (to prefer it) before something else, e.g. Jb 7<sup>15</sup>, cf. Dt 14<sup>2</sup> (also *מֶן . . . יִתְרֶן* the excellence of . . . over . . ., Ec 2<sup>13</sup>); it is also seen in examples like Gn 37<sup>3</sup> *וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל אֶהָב אֶת־יוֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו* now Israel loved Joseph more than all his (other) children; 29<sup>30</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>29</sup>, Ho 6<sup>6,2</sup>

- C 2. A somewhat different idea underlies the use of *מֶן* after adjectives, or intransitive verbs possessing an attributive sense, when the thought to be expressed is that the quality is *too little* or *too much* in force for the attainment of a particular aim or object, e.g. Is 7<sup>13</sup> *הַמְעַט מֵכֶם* is it a small thing (i.e. too little) for you to . . . ? Jb 15<sup>11</sup>; after an intransitive verb, e.g. Gn 32<sup>11</sup> *אֲנִי מְעַט* I am too insignificant (*קִטְנֹנִתִּי*) for all the mercies (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; cf. also the expressions *כָּבֵד מֶן* to be too heavy for one, Ex 18<sup>18</sup>, Nu 11<sup>14</sup>, ψ 38<sup>5</sup>; *קָשָׁה מֶן* to be too hard for one, Dt 1<sup>17</sup>; *מְעַט מֶן* to be too few for something, Ex 12<sup>4</sup>; *גָּבֵר מֶן* to be too strong for one, ψ 65<sup>4</sup>; *עֶצֶם מֶן* to be too mighty for one, Gn 26<sup>16</sup>; *רָוֵם מֶן* to be too high for one, ψ 61<sup>3</sup>; *צָר מֶן* to be too narrow for one, Is 49<sup>10</sup>; *קָצֵר מֶן* to be too short for something, Is 50<sup>2</sup>, and very frequently *נִפְלֵא מֶן* to be too wonderful for one (and, consequently, inconceivable or unattainable), Gn 18<sup>14</sup>, Dt 17<sup>8</sup>, 30<sup>11</sup>, Jer 37<sup>17</sup>, Pr 30<sup>13</sup>; in ψ 139<sup>6</sup> *פְּלִיאָה* in the same sense is followed by *מֶן*.—This use is especially seen in the numerous instances in which the attribute is followed by *מֶן* with an infinitive, e.g. 1 K 8<sup>64</sup> *הַזֶּה־בֵּיתִי מְעַט לִקְבֹּץ* the brazen altar . . . was too little to receive (to be able to receive) the burnt offering, cf. Gn 4<sup>13</sup>, 36<sup>7</sup> *מְעַט לִדְוֹל* too great for them to dwell together; after verbs, e.g. Ex 12<sup>4</sup>, Is 28<sup>20</sup>, ψ 40<sup>6</sup>. Finally, cf. *רַב לָכֵם מֶן*, followed by the infinitive, it is enough (prop. too much) for you to . . ., meaning ye have . . . long enough, 1 K 12<sup>28</sup>; cf. Ex 9<sup>28</sup> and Ez 44<sup>6</sup> (*מֶן* followed by a substantive).<sup>3</sup>

- d In all these instances *מֶן* expresses either the removal of a thing from a person, or the severance of the person from some aim or object; cf. also the expression *לֹא־יִבְצֵר מֵהֶם כָּל וְגו'* nothing will be unattainable for them (prop. there shall not be cut off from them anything which, &c.), Gn 11<sup>6</sup>, Jb 42<sup>3</sup>.

- e 3. The attributive idea, on which *מֶן* logically depends, must sometimes, in consequence of a pregnant use of the *מֶן* (see the analogous examples in § 119 ff), be supplied from the context, e.g. Is 10<sup>10</sup> *וּפְסָלֵיהֶם מִירוּשָׁלַם* whose graven images were more numerous than those at Jerusalem, &c.;<sup>4</sup> Mi 7<sup>4</sup> worse than a thorn hedge; ψ 62<sup>10</sup> lighter than a breath; Jb 11<sup>17</sup> clearer than the noonday; Ec 4<sup>17</sup> better than, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Latin ablative with the comparative; also the etymology of such words as *eximius*, *egregius*, and the Homeric *ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα*, Il. 4, 96; *ἐκ πασέων*, 18, 431.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the phrase *צָרָה מֶן* expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gn 38<sup>26</sup> *צָרָה מִמֶּנִּי* means, she is in the right as against me; cf. ψ 139<sup>12</sup>, Jb 4<sup>17</sup>, 32<sup>2</sup>.—In Pr 17<sup>12</sup> rather (to meet with so and so) than . . . is expressed by *וְאֵל* before the second member.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also 2 K 4<sup>3</sup>, where the idea of doing something too little is paraphrased by the Hiph. *הַמְעַט* = do not too little, sc. *לִישָׂאֵל* in borrowing empty vessels.

<sup>4</sup> With this comparative *decurtata*, cf. the still bolder pregnant construction in ψ 4<sup>8</sup>, *מֵעַתָּה* greater gladness than at the time, &c.

2. The correlative comparatives *greater—less* (*older—younger*) are *f* expressed by the simple adjective with the article (*the great*, equivalent to *the greater*, &c.); Gn 1<sup>16</sup>, 19<sup>31,34</sup>, 27<sup>15</sup>, 29<sup>16,18,26</sup>.

3. To express the *superlative* it is also sufficient (see above, *f*) to *g* make the adjective determinate, either by means of the article or a following partitive genitive (or suffix); in this case the article or genitive indicates that the attribute in question belongs especially to one or more definite individuals; <sup>1</sup> e. g. 1 S 9<sup>21</sup> הַצְעִירָה *the least*; 16<sup>11</sup> הַקָּטָן *the little one*, i. e. the *youngest* of eight sons; 17<sup>14</sup> *David was the youngest*, and the *three great*, i. e. elder, &c.; Gn 42<sup>13</sup>, 44<sup>2</sup>, Ct 1<sup>8</sup>.—So also with a qualifying adjective, e. g. Gn 9<sup>24</sup> בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן *his youngest son*; cf. Jos 14<sup>15</sup>; also with a following genitive, 2 Ch 21<sup>17</sup> קָטָן בְּנֵי הַקָּטָן *the youngest of his sons*: Pr 30<sup>24</sup> *the least upon the earth*; with suffix, Mi 7<sup>4</sup> טוֹבָם *their good one*, i. e. the best of them; Jon 3<sup>5</sup> מִבְּרִיּוֹלָם *from the greatest of them even to the least of them*; cf. the inverse order in Jer 6<sup>13</sup>, 31<sup>34</sup>.

Rem. 1. The above examples apply only to the most common *relative h* attributes (*great, small, good*), and to expressions which by usage easily came to be recognized as periphrases for the superlative. Other adjectives, however, when followed by a partitive genitive, also acquire the sense of a superlative; this appears from the context, e. g. Dt 33<sup>19</sup> *the most hidden treasures of the sand*; Ju 5<sup>29</sup> *the wisest amongst her ladies*; Is 14<sup>30</sup>, 19<sup>11</sup>, 23<sup>8c</sup>, 29<sup>19</sup>, Jer 49<sup>20</sup>, Ez 28<sup>7</sup>, Zc 11<sup>7</sup>, ψ 45<sup>13</sup>, Jb 30<sup>6</sup> (*in the most horrible of valleys*), 41<sup>22</sup>; probably also ψ 35<sup>16</sup>. On this government by the adjective generally, cf. § 132 c.—Moreover, the combination of a substantive in the construct state with an adjective used substantivally (§ 128 w) sometimes serves as a periphrasis for the superlative, e. g. Is 22<sup>24</sup> כָּל בְּלִי הַקָּטָן *all the smallest vessels*. On Ct 7<sup>10</sup> see § 126 x.

2. Other periphrases for the superlative are the use of a substantive in the *i* construct state before the plural of the same word (which is naturally to be regarded as a partitive genitive; cf. our *book of books*), e. g. Ex 26<sup>33</sup> קֹדֶשׁ הַקִּדְשִׁים *the most holy place*; שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים (Ct 1<sup>1</sup>) *the most excellent song*; cf. Gn 9<sup>25</sup> (= *servus servorum, the lowest servant*); Nu 3<sup>32</sup>, Dt 10<sup>17</sup> (ψ 136<sup>2,3</sup>)<sup>2</sup>; 1 K 8<sup>27</sup>, Is 34<sup>10</sup> (cf. Gal 1<sup>5</sup>, Rev 22<sup>6</sup>); Jer 3<sup>19</sup>, Ez 16<sup>7</sup>, 26<sup>7</sup> (*king of kings*, of Nebuchadrezzar; cf. 1 Tim 6<sup>15</sup>, Rev 17<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>16</sup>, and another kind of periphrasis in ψ 95<sup>8</sup>); Ec 1<sup>1</sup>. Similarly in Jer 6<sup>28</sup> two participles are combined, and in Ho 10<sup>16</sup> two substantives in the singular. Finally, the same object is attained by connecting one substantive in the construct state with another of the same stem (שַׁבַּת שְׁבֻתָּה *a sabbath of solemn rest*, i. e. an obligatory day of rest, Ex 31<sup>15</sup>, &c.) or of the same meaning (e. g. חֹשֶׁךְ אֶפְלָח *a thick darkness*, Ex 10<sup>22</sup>).

3. The intensification of attributes by means of repetition belongs rather *k* to rhetoric than to syntax, e. g. Ec 7<sup>24</sup> עֹמֵק עֹמֵק *exceeding deep*; 1 S 2<sup>3</sup>, Pr 20<sup>14</sup>; the adjective is even used three times in Is 6<sup>3</sup>.—Cf. the repetition of adverbs for the same purpose in Gn 7<sup>19</sup>, Nu 14<sup>7</sup> מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceedingly*, also מְאֹד מְאֹד Ex 17, &c.); Ez 42<sup>15</sup>.—On the other hand, in Dt 28<sup>43</sup> the repetition expresses

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also עֲלִיּוֹן *the one above*, i. e. the *Most High*.

<sup>2</sup> *God of gods, and Lord of lords*, just as the supreme god of the Babylonians is called *bēl bēlī* (Tiele, *Compend. der Rel.-Gesch.*, p. 87).

a continuous progress, *higher and higher . . . lower and lower*; in Dt 2<sup>27</sup> (see § 123 e) and 16<sup>20</sup> (*nothing but justice*) the constancy of the action. Cf. Ex 23<sup>30</sup> מְעַט מְעַט *little by little, very gradually*.<sup>1</sup>

- l The repetition of substantives serves also as a periphrasis for the superlative in such cases as לָרֶרֶר (Ex 3<sup>15</sup>) = *to the remotest generations*; cf. 17<sup>18</sup>, Jer 6<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup> (*perfect peace*); Ez 21<sup>32</sup> עָנָה three times; <sup>2</sup> 35<sup>7</sup>, Na 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. also Ho 2<sup>21 f.</sup> and the emphatic combination of synonymous verbs in Is 33<sup>10</sup>. Sometimes the completeness of an action or state is expressed by placing together two or even three substantives of the same stem and of similar sound, cf. Is 22<sup>5</sup>, Ez 6<sup>14</sup> (33<sup>28 f.</sup>, 35<sup>8</sup>); 32<sup>15</sup>, Na 2<sup>11</sup>, Zp 1<sup>15</sup> (Jb 30<sup>3</sup>, 38<sup>27</sup>).

### § 134. Syntax of the Numerals.

Cf. the exhaustive statistics collected by Sven Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893. E. König, 'Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.', *AJSL*. xviii. 129 ff.

- a 1. The numerals from 2 to 10, as being originally abstract substantives,<sup>3</sup> may be connected with their substantives in three different ways. They may stand either—
- (a) In the construct state *before* the substantive (the object numbered being consequently in the genitive), e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *a triad of days*, i. e. three days; שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים *the two men*; or
- b (b) In the absolute state *before* it (the object numbered being in apposition, § 131 d), e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *a triad*, viz. sons, i. e. three sons; שְׁנֵי אֲנָשִׁים *two men*; or
- c (c) In the absolute state (likewise in apposition) *after* the object numbered, e. g. בָּנוֹת שָׁלוֹשׁ. So especially in long lists, since in these the substantives naturally come first, e. g. Gn 32<sup>15</sup>. Nu 7<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>19</sup>. Apart from such cases, the frequency of this order in the later Books is due to the fact that the character of the numeral tended more and more to become adjectival rather than substantival.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Adverbs of the same stem are connected in this way in Nu 6<sup>9</sup>, Is 29<sup>5</sup>, 30<sup>13</sup>; of different stems in Is 5<sup>26</sup> and Jo 4<sup>4</sup>. In Nu 12<sup>2</sup> the particles אֵף אֶל appear to be placed together for a similar purpose, equivalent to *simply and solely*.

<sup>2</sup> Different in kind from the triple utterance of the same words in 2 S 18<sup>33</sup>, Jer 7<sup>4</sup> and 22<sup>29</sup>, and the double exclamation in Jer 4<sup>19</sup> and La 1<sup>16</sup> (?).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 97 a, where it is shown that the masculine is the original form of the numerals (used for both genders), and that the feminine was afterwards differentiated and used with masc. nouns, primarily in the second decade and then in the first as well.

<sup>4</sup> From Herner's tables (op. cit., pp. 55-66) it appears, according to p. 68, that in the documents J, E, D of the Pentateuch, and in Jos 1-12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Megilloth, and Job, the numeral never, or very rarely, stands *after* its noun; in Kings and Ezekiel it stands several times *after*; in the Priestly Code nearly always *after*; in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, nearly as often *after* as *before* the noun. In Ex 28<sup>10</sup> the Masora makes the numeral in the genitive follow the construct state of the substantive numbered; we should, however, read וְאֶת-שְׁמוֹת הַשָּׁשֶׁה; for the omission of the article before 'ש', cf. § 126 w.

Rem. In Lv 24<sup>22</sup> אָחָד follows the construct state מְשַׁבֵּט, but here as in *d* Nu 15<sup>16</sup> מְשַׁבֵּט should be read. In Gn 42<sup>19</sup> אָחָד is in apposition to a substantive with a suffix (=one of you brethren; but verse 33 *the one of you brethren*). In Nu 31<sup>28</sup> אָחָד precedes the substantive in the Aramaic manner (=one each).—For מֵאָה־שָׁנָה (Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, &c.) we find regularly in the Priestly Code (except in Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, 23<sup>1</sup>) מֵאָה שָׁנָה (Gn 5<sup>3</sup>, &c.) *an hundred years*. On the connexion of abstract numerals with suffixes, as שְׁנֵיהֶם *their duality*, i. e. *they two*, Gn 2<sup>25</sup>, &c. (also with a strengthening separate pronoun, as שְׁנֵינוּ אֲנֵהְנוּ 1 S 20<sup>42</sup>), cf. § 97 *i*.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 take the object numbered in the *e* plural,<sup>1</sup> with very few exceptions, such as Ex 16<sup>22</sup> (where שְׁנֵי הָעֹמֶר = *the double of an omer*), 2 K 22<sup>1</sup>, Ez 45<sup>1</sup>, cf. 2 K 8<sup>17</sup> and 25<sup>17</sup> *Keth*. The numerals from 11 to 19 generally take the plural, but with certain substantives frequently used with numerals the singular is more common (see further, under *f*). The tens (from 20 to 90), when they precede, take the singular (in the accusative, cf. § 131 *p*) of certain nouns frequently used with numerals (אֶלֶף *a thousand*, אִישׁ, יום, נֶפֶשׁ, כֶּרֶם, עֵרִים, בָּנוֹת, בָּנִים (but cf. also Ju 11<sup>53</sup>), &c.; on the other hand, the plural is necessary when they follow the object numbered in apposition (e. g. אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים *twenty cubits*, 2 Ch 3<sup>31</sup>; with the exception of 2 S 24<sup>24</sup>, only in late Books). After מֵאָה and אֶלֶף the substantive numbered may be used either in the singular or plural, see further under *g*.

Rem. 1. After the numerals from 11 to 19 the singular is used, as a rule, *f* with יום *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (person), שִׁבְטָם *tribe*, מִצְבֵּה *pillar* (Ex 24<sup>4</sup>), sometimes with אַמָּה *cubit*, חֹדֶשׁ *month*, עִיר *city*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel* (compare our *four-year-old*, *ten pound*), e. g. Dt 1<sup>2</sup> אֶחָד עָשָׂר יוֹם (cf., however, such exceptions as Dt 1<sup>23</sup>, Jos 4<sup>2</sup>, &c.).—Substantives other than these are used in the plural with the numerals from 11 to 19, and the numeral may even follow the substantive, especially in later passages, as Nu 7<sup>87</sup> *f*, 1 Ch 4<sup>27</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>.

2. After מֵאָה [so almost exclusively in the Priestly Code, e. g. always *g* מֵאֹת (אֶלְפִים, אֲלָפִים) and מֵאֹתִים (אֲלָפִים) the substantives אִישׁ, אַמָּה, (except in Ez 40<sup>27</sup>), יוֹם, רִנְלִי, צֶמֶד, רִנְלִי, אִישׁ (with the exception of Jos 7<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>, &c.); cf., moreover, Gn 33<sup>19</sup>, 24<sup>60</sup> (אֲלָפִי רִבְבָה), Est 1<sup>1</sup>, Ju 21<sup>12</sup>, Dt 7<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>12</sup>, 2 Ch 9<sup>15</sup>.—Examples of the *plural* after מֵאָה are Gn 26<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>25</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>1</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>4</sup>; after מֵאֹת Ex 38<sup>27</sup>; after מֵאֹתִים Ju 15<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 8<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>17</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> On examples such as Gn 46<sup>27</sup> נֶפֶשׁ שְׁנַיִם *two souls*), cf. § 132 *g* (collectives joined with the plural of the adjective).

Ez 42<sup>17</sup>; after מֵאֲתָיִים 1 S 25<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>20</sup>; after אֶלֶף 1 S 25<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>4</sup>, ψ 90<sup>4</sup>; after אֶלְפִים 1 S 17<sup>6</sup>, Jb 42<sup>12</sup>; after אֶלְפֵי Mi 6<sup>7</sup>; after אֶלְפִים Is 36<sup>8</sup>.—In Dn 12<sup>11</sup> the plural יָמִים precedes the numeral *twelve hundred*.

*h* 3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21, 62) take the object numbered either *after* them in the singular (in the accusative), e. g. Gn 5<sup>20</sup> שְׁנָה וְשֵׁשִׁים שָׁנִים *two and sixty years* (שְׁנָה in the singular, according to *e*, since it conforms to the ten immediately preceding; but also שְׁנָה וְשֵׁשִׁים שָׁנִים Dt 2<sup>14</sup>), or *before* them in the plural, especially in the later Books, Dn 9<sup>26</sup>, &c.; or the object is repeated (but only in 1 K 6<sup>1</sup>, and the Priestly Code; sometimes even several times, e. g. Gn 23<sup>1</sup>, 25<sup>7,17</sup> thrice) in the plural with the units, and in the singular with the tens and hundreds, e. g. Gn 12<sup>4</sup> חֲמִשָּׁתַּיִם וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנִים *seventy and five years*; Gn 23<sup>1</sup> מֵאָה שְׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנִים *an hundred and twenty and seven years*. Cf. Gn 5<sup>6π</sup>.

*i* Rem. 1. It may further be remarked with regard to the order, that the thousand or thousands always precede the hundreds, &c., and the hundreds almost always come before the smaller numbers (in Kings and Ezekiel sometimes, and in the Priestly Code usually, after the smaller numbers), the tens in the earlier Books (documents J and D of the Pentateuch, in Joshua 1–12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, and also in Ezra and Nehemiah) *before* the units, but in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Priestly Code, Joshua 13–24 *after* the units (see Herner, op. cit., p. 73). After the hundreds the smaller number is very frequently added without י, especially in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.

On the syntax of the cardinals in general:—

*k* 2. The cardinals are determined by the article, when they refer back (without being connected with the object numbered; cf., however, Lv 25<sup>30 f.</sup>, Nu 16<sup>35</sup>, Jos 4<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>13</sup>) to a number or list already mentioned, e. g. Gn 2<sup>11</sup> שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּישׁוֹן *the name of the one (the first) is Pishon*; Gn 14<sup>9</sup> *four kings against the five* (enumerated in verse 2); cf. 1 Ch 11<sup>20 f.</sup>, and the determinate tens in Gn 18<sup>29,31 f.</sup> A demonstrative with the article may also be added to a numeral determined in this way, e. g. Dt 19<sup>9</sup> (but cf. also Gn 9<sup>19</sup>, 22<sup>23</sup>, where the numeral and demonstrative are practically determinate in themselves). In the case of the numerals from 11 to 19 the article may stand either before the unit (1 Ch 25<sup>19</sup>, 27<sup>15</sup>) or before עֶשֶׂר (Jos 4<sup>4</sup>); it is used before all three members of a compound number (273) in Nu 3<sup>46</sup>.

*l* In apposition with any determinate substantive the cardinal number is used *without* the article, not only when it precedes the substantive, as in Jos 15<sup>14</sup> אֶת־שְׁלֹשָׁה בְּנֵי הָעֵינֶן, where שְׁלֹשָׁה is equivalent to a substantive determinate in itself; cf. Gn 18<sup>28</sup>, Jos 6<sup>8,22</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>14</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>31</sup>, and the passages discussed above in § 126 *x*, Gn 21<sup>29</sup>, &c.), but also when it follows the substantive, e. g. 1 K 7<sup>27,43 f.</sup> עֶשֶׂר וְעֶשְׂרֶה; the omission of the article may here, as in the cases noticed in § 126 *z*, be also due to the dislike of a hiatus, but cf. also שְׁנַיִם 2 K 25<sup>10</sup> after a determinate substantive. The fact that it is by nature determinate would also be a very simple explanation of אֶחָד Nu 28<sup>4</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>17 f.</sup>, Jer 24<sup>2</sup>, Ez 10<sup>9</sup>, instead of the more usual הָאֶחָד, and of אֶחָת 1 S 1<sup>2</sup> for הָאֶחָת.

Such cases as שְׁבַעַת הַיָּמִים Ju 14<sup>17</sup> (which is determined by a following *m* determinate genitive) are explained from § 127 b; 1 Ch 9<sup>25</sup> perhaps from § 126 g; in Is 30<sup>26</sup> probably the light of all the seven days of the week is meant; on the other hand, in 1 S 9<sup>20</sup> and 25<sup>38</sup> the article is, with Wellhausen, to be omitted.

3. Certain specifications of *measure, weight, or time*, are commonly omitted *n* after numerals, e.g. Gn 20<sup>16</sup> אֶלְפָּה בָּסָף a thousand (shekels) of silver; so also before וְהָב Gn 24<sup>22</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>16</sup>, Is 7<sup>23</sup>, cf. ψ 119<sup>72</sup>. Moreover, Ru 3<sup>15</sup> שֵׁשׁ שְׁעָרִים six (ephahs) of barley; 1 S 10<sup>4</sup> שְׁתֵּי-לֶחֶם two (sc. loaves, see verse 3) of bread, cf. 17<sup>17</sup> עֶשְׂרֵה לֶחֶם; 2 S 16<sup>1</sup>, where before מֶרֶץ a measure, or perhaps some term like *cakes*, is to be supplied.—The number of cubits is stated in the Priestly Code (Ex 26<sup>2</sup>, &c.) and in 1 K 6 and 7 (otherwise only in Ez 40<sup>5,21</sup>, 47<sup>8</sup>, Zc 5<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>23</sup>, 2 Ch 4<sup>21</sup>) by the addition of בְּאַמָּה prop. *by the cubit*. Also in Ex 27<sup>11</sup> the Samaritan and LXX read בְּאַמָּה after אֹרֶךְ, and in 27<sup>15</sup> אֹמֶה after עֶשְׂרֵה.

4. The *ordinals* above 10 have no special forms, but are expressed *O* by the corresponding cardinals, which may then stand either before or after the object numbered, e.g. Gn 7<sup>11</sup> בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יָמִים on the seventeenth day; Dt 1<sup>3</sup> בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה in the fortieth year; cf. Gn 14<sup>5</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>27</sup>, and, with repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 K 6<sup>1</sup>; such a cardinal occurs without בְּ (and therefore in the *accus. temporis*, according to § 118 k) in Gn 14<sup>4</sup> (the Samaritan, however, has וּבְשָׁלֹשׁ); with the article (but without a numbered object, see under k), 1 K 19<sup>19</sup>.<sup>1</sup>—On the position of the numeral as a genitive following its noun, cf. e.g. 1 K 16<sup>10</sup> בְּשָׁנַת עֶשְׂרִים וְשִׁבְעָה in the twenty and seventh year, and with a determinate numeral, Ex 12<sup>18</sup>, Nu 33<sup>38</sup>, Dt 15<sup>9</sup>. In this case, however, שָׁנָה is very frequently repeated, e.g. Gn 7<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 13<sup>10</sup>; after a determinate numeral, Lv 25<sup>10</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are very *P* frequently used instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e.g. בְּשָׁנַת שְׁמִינִי 1 K 15<sup>25</sup>; בְּשָׁנַת שְׁלֹשׁ 2 K 18<sup>1</sup>, &c., cf. Dt 15<sup>9</sup>. The months themselves are always numbered by the ordinals (בְּרֵאשִׁי, &c., up to בְּעֶשְׂרִי), but not the days of the month, e.g. בְּאַחֶר לַחֹדֶשׁ Gn 8<sup>5</sup>, &c., בְּאַרְבָּעָה בַּחֹדֶשׁ Zc 7<sup>1</sup>; בְּתִשְׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ Ez 1<sup>1</sup>, &c., בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ 2 K 25<sup>8</sup>, בְּתִשְׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ Lv 23<sup>32</sup> (always, however, בְּעֶשֶׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ on the tenth day of the month). On the

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat different from this is Ex 19<sup>15</sup> בְּשִׁלֹּשֶׁת יָמִים prop. *after three days*, i. e. *on the third day* (in verses 11 and 16 and in Ezr 10<sup>8</sup> the ordinal is used), also 1 S 30<sup>13</sup> כִּי חָלִיתִי הַיּוֹם שְׁלֹשָׁה because three days ago I fell sick, prop. *to-day three (days)*.

<sup>2</sup> All these expressions may indeed be explained by supposing that, e.g. in Lv 25<sup>10</sup>, the proper meaning is *the year of the fifty years* which it completed, i. e. the fiftieth year; but it is more correct to regard שָׁנָה or בְּשָׁנָה in such cases not as a real *nomen regens*, but simply as a connective form to be explained on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 128 k.

omission of יום in all these cases see under *n*; only in late passages is יום added, e. g. 2 Ch 29<sup>17</sup> בְּיוֹם שְׁמוֹנֶה לַחֹדֶשׁ; Ezr 3<sup>6</sup> מִיּוֹם אֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ.—Finally, when the year is stated by בִּשְׁנַת governing a determinate ordinal, viz. 2 K 17<sup>6</sup> בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית in the ninth year; 2 K 25<sup>1</sup> (in Jer 52<sup>4</sup> בִּשְׁנָה), Jer 28<sup>1</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>, 32<sup>1</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>, 46<sup>2</sup>, 51<sup>59</sup>, Ezr 7<sup>8</sup>; בִּשְׁנַת in such cases is again (see note 2 on *o*) to be explained according to § 128 *k*. This is supported by the fact that the Masora on Jer 28<sup>1</sup>, 32<sup>1</sup> requires in the Q<sup>re</sup> בִּשְׁנָה for בִּשְׁנַת.

*q* 5. *Distributives* are expressed either by repetition of the cardinal number, e. g. Gn 7<sup>9,15</sup> שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם *two and two*; 2 S 21<sup>20</sup> שֵׁשׁ שֵׁשׁ *six each*; with the numbered object also repeated, e. g. Jos 3<sup>12</sup> אֶחָד אֶחָד *for every tribe a man*; Nu 13<sup>2</sup>, 34<sup>18</sup> (אֶחָד מֵן), as in Neh 11<sup>1</sup>, *one out of every ten*; cf. § 123 *d*; or a periphrasis with לְאֶחָד is used, Nu 17<sup>18</sup>, Dt 1<sup>23</sup>, cf. Is 6<sup>2</sup> לְאֶחָד after *six wings* twice repeated; the simple distributive לְ is, however, sufficient (as in לְבָקָרִים, § 123 *c*), e. g. לְמֵאוֹת וּלְאַלְפִים *by hundreds and by thousands*.

*r* 6. The *multiplicatives* are expressed either (like the ordinals above 10, see under *o*) by the cardinals (in the feminine, probably owing to the omission of פַּעַם, פְּעָמִים; so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 228), as שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, Jb 40<sup>5</sup>; שִׁבְעָה *seven times*, Lv 26<sup>21,24</sup>, Pr 24<sup>16</sup>; cf. also אַחַת *once*, 2 K 6<sup>10</sup>, Jb 40<sup>5</sup>, for which in Jb 33<sup>14</sup> בְּאַחַת along with בְּשְׁתַּיִם (the latter also in 1 S 18<sup>21</sup>); or by the *dual* of the numeral, thus שְׁבַעֲתַיִם Gn 4<sup>15</sup> (in verse 24 along with the cardinal 77 for 77 times); Is 30<sup>26</sup>, ψ 12<sup>7</sup>, 79<sup>12</sup>; אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>; <sup>2</sup> or periphrastically by פַּעַם *a time* (prop. *a step*, with the article, הַפַּעַם *this time*; cf. also הָאֶחָת above), as אַחַת פַּעַם *once* (Neh 13<sup>20</sup> וּשְׁתַּיִם *once and twice*), אַחַת פַּעַם *twice*, שְׁלֹשׁ פַּעַמִּים (for which in Ex 23<sup>14</sup>, Nu 22<sup>28,32</sup> רְגָלִים *three times*; cf. Ez 41<sup>6</sup> *thirty-three times*; 2 S 24<sup>3</sup> *an hundred times*; Dt 1<sup>11</sup> *a thousand times*; 1 K 22<sup>16</sup> עַד־כַּמָּה פַּעַמִּים *until how many times*, i. e. how often. Cf. also עֶשְׂרֵת מַנִּים *ten times*, Gn 31<sup>7,14</sup>, and רַבּוֹת עָתִידִים *many times*, Neh 9<sup>28</sup>.—In Gn 43<sup>34</sup>, *five times* is expressed by חֲמִשׁ יָדוֹת (prop. *five hands*),<sup>3</sup> and in Ex 16<sup>5</sup> the *double* is expressed by מִשְׁנֶה עַל־ (prop. *a repetition over and above that which*, &c.).—Of the ordinals שְׁנִית is used as a numeral adverb, Gn 22<sup>15</sup>, &c., *a second time*, cf. the Latin *tertium consul*; בְּשִׁלִּישׁ *the third time*, 1 S 3<sup>8</sup>; פַּעַם חֲמִישִׁית *a fifth time*, Neh 6<sup>5</sup>; בִּשְׁבַעִית *at the seventh (time)*, 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, and בְּפַעַם הַשִּׁי Jos 6<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> But בְּאַחַת Nu 10<sup>4</sup> is to be translated *on one* (trumpet).

<sup>2</sup> Probably also בְּכַפִּלָּים Jb 11<sup>6</sup> (from כָּפַל *doubling*) does not mean *doubled* but *manifold*.

<sup>3</sup> But אַרְבַּע הַיָּדוֹת Gn 47<sup>24</sup> means *the (other) four parts*; cf. 2 K 11<sup>7</sup>, Neh 11<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. The collocation of a numeral with the next above it (either in the *S* same or in different sentences) is a rhetorical device employed in *numerical sayings* to express a number, which need not, or cannot, be more exactly specified. It must be gathered from the context whether such formulae are intended to denote only an insignificant number (e.g. Is 17<sup>6</sup>, *two* or at the most *three*), or a considerable number, e.g. Mi 5<sup>4</sup>. Sometimes, however, this juxtaposition serves to express merely an indefinite total, without the collateral idea of intensifying the lower by means of the higher number. Thus *one* and *two* are connected by ך, Dt 32<sup>30</sup>, Jer 31<sup>14</sup>, Jb 33<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>5</sup> (without ך, ψ 62<sup>12</sup>); *two* and *three*, Is 17<sup>6</sup> (Sirac 23<sup>16</sup>, 26<sup>28</sup>, 50<sup>25</sup>), and without ך, 2 K 9<sup>32</sup>, Ho 6<sup>2</sup>, Am 4<sup>8</sup>; *three* and *four*, Jer 36<sup>23</sup>, Am 1<sup>3-11</sup>, Pr 30<sup>18</sup>, 21<sup>29</sup> (Sirac 26<sup>6</sup>), and without ך, Pr 30<sup>15</sup>; *four* and *five*, without ך, Is 17<sup>6</sup>; *six* and *seven*, Jb 5<sup>19</sup>, Pr 6<sup>16</sup>; *seven* and *eight*, Mi 5<sup>4</sup>, Ec 11<sup>2</sup>; (*nine* and *ten*, Sirac 25<sup>7</sup>).

### III. Syntax of the Pronoun.

#### § 135. The Personal Pronoun.

1. The *separate* pronouns,—apart from their employment as the *a* subject in noun-clauses (cf. § 141 a) and the idiom mentioned under *d-h*,—are used, according to § 32 b, as a rule, only to give express emphasis to the subject; e.g. Gn 16<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>17</sup> אֲנִי i.e. *I myself*, so also אֲנִי 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>, 17<sup>15</sup> (after the verb), Ez 34<sup>15</sup>, ψ 2<sup>6</sup>;<sup>1</sup> but 1 S 10<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>7</sup>, Is 45<sup>12</sup> אֲנִי *I* and none else; cf. also אֲנִי אֲנִי *I, I* Ho 5<sup>14</sup>, &c.; אֲתָה Gn 15<sup>15</sup>, Ju 15<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>56</sup> (as in 20<sup>8</sup>, 22<sup>18</sup>, Ex 18<sup>19</sup>, Dt 5<sup>24</sup>, Ju 8<sup>21</sup>, after the imperative); 1 K 21<sup>7</sup>, אֲתָם Gn 9<sup>7</sup>, Ex 20<sup>19</sup> (after the verb, Ju 15<sup>12</sup>); fem. Gn 31<sup>6</sup>; הִיא 1 S 22<sup>18</sup>; הִיא Gn 3<sup>20</sup>, Ju 14<sup>3</sup>; הִנֵּה Jer 5<sup>5</sup>.— Sometimes, however, the separate pronoun appears to be placed before the verb more on rhythmical grounds, i.e. in order to give the statement a fuller sound than that of the bare verbal form (cf. the similar use of the infinitive absolute, § 113 o). Thus Gn 14<sup>23</sup>, ψ 139<sup>2</sup>, and most clearly in such passages as Gn 21<sup>24</sup>, 47<sup>80</sup>, Ex 8<sup>24</sup>, Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>18</sup>, 21<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>18</sup> (in solemn promises). The same explanation applies to אֲנִי at the beginning of sentences, e.g. Gn 24<sup>45</sup>, Ho 5<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>11</sup>, 12<sup>11</sup>, ψ 39<sup>11</sup>, 82<sup>6</sup>, Jb 5<sup>3</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. 1. Different from this is the pleonastic addition of the separate *b* pronoun immediately after the verb (according to Delitzsch on Ct 5<sup>5</sup> perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Also הוּא, הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e.g. Is 7<sup>14</sup> אֲרָנִי הוּא *the Lord himself*; Est 9<sup>1</sup> הַיְּהוּדִים הֵמָּה *the Jews themselves*. In the sense of *the same* (ὁ αὐτός) or (*one and*) *the same*, הוּא is used in Is 41<sup>4</sup>, 43<sup>10,13</sup>, 46<sup>4</sup>, 48<sup>12</sup> (always אֲנִי הוּא), ψ 102<sup>28</sup> (אֲתָה הוּא), and probably also Jb 3<sup>19</sup>.—The position of הֵמָּה, as an accusative of the object, before a perfect in 1 Ch 9<sup>22</sup>, can at most be explained on the analogy of Aramaic (Ezr 5<sup>12</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> As early as the Mēša' inscription (line 21 ff.) אֲנִי frequently stands at the beginning of a new sentence after the dividing stroke.

a trace of popular language), e.g. 1 S 23<sup>22</sup> (?), Ct 5<sup>3</sup>, and (like other indications of the very late origin of the book) very frequently in Ecclesiastes, e.g. 1<sup>10</sup>, 2<sup>11,15</sup>, 3<sup>17</sup>, and thirteen other places; in Aramaic, Dn 5<sup>10</sup>.

- C 2. Substantival subjects also are somewhat frequently resumed, and thus expressly emphasized, by the insertion of the corresponding separate pronoun of the 3rd person before the predicate is stated, e.g. Gn 3<sup>12</sup> *the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she* (הִיא) gave me, &c.; 14<sup>24</sup> (הֵם); 15<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>7</sup>, &c.; but וְהוּא in Is 7<sup>14</sup> after the predicate and subject is equivalent to *he himself*.<sup>1</sup>

- d 2. Not infrequently the separate pronoun serves to give strong emphasis to a suffix of the same person which precedes (or sometimes even to one which follows), whether the suffix be attached to a verb (as accusative) or to a noun or preposition (as genitive). In English such an emphasis on the pronoun can generally be rendered only by laying greater stress upon it, or sometimes by repeating it; cf., on the contrary, the French *mon livre à moi*. The separate pronoun in such instances is not to be regarded as a *casus obliquus* (accusative or genitive), but as the subject of an independent sentence, the predicate of which must in each case be supplied according to the context.

- e Examples of emphasis:—

(a) On a verbal suffix by means of אֲנִי (אֲנִי), Gn 27<sup>34</sup> אֲנִי בִרְכָנִי בְּרַכְנִי bless me, even me also (prop. bless me, I also would be blessed); Zc 7<sup>5</sup>; cf. also Ez 6<sup>3</sup>, 34<sup>11,20</sup> אֲנִי הִנְנִי אֲנִי; by אַתָּה (אַתָּה) Pr 22<sup>19</sup> (but the text is most probably corrupt).—The separate pronoun precedes in Gn 24<sup>27</sup> (אֲנִי); 49<sup>8</sup> אַתָּה, not Judah, thou art he whom, but Judah thee, thee thy brethren shall praise!), and Ec 2<sup>15</sup> אֲנִי.

- f (b) On a noun-suffix with a substantive, by means of אֲנִי 2 S 19<sup>1</sup>, Pr 23<sup>15</sup>; by אַתָּה 1 K 21<sup>19</sup> אַתָּה בְּמִי אֶת־דָּמְךָ thy blood, even thine; by הוּא 2 S 17<sup>5</sup>, Jer 27<sup>7</sup>, Mi 7<sup>3</sup>; by אֲנִיכֵנּוּ 1 S 20<sup>42</sup>, after שְׁנֵינוּ, but without special stress; Neh 5<sup>2</sup> (?); by אַתָּם Nu 14<sup>32</sup>; by הֵם ψ 38<sup>11</sup> (without special stress), הֵמָּה ψ 9<sup>7</sup>.—The separate pronoun precedes in Jb 21<sup>4</sup> (אֲנִיכֵנּוּ); Gn 40<sup>16</sup>, Is 45<sup>12</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>2</sup> (אֲנִי); Zc 9<sup>11</sup> (אַתָּה); Jos 23<sup>9</sup> (אַתָּם); Ez 33<sup>17</sup> (הֵמָּה).—In ψ 89<sup>48</sup>, where אֲנִי might be taken as strengthening חָלַר (equivalent in sense to חָלַרְי), we should read חָלַרְי for אֲנִי, as in verse 51.

- g (c) On a suffix united with a preposition, 1 S 25<sup>24</sup> אֲנִי בִי upon me, upon me; 1 K 1<sup>26</sup> אֲנִי . . . לִי; 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> אַתָּה לֹא-עָלֶיךָ אַתָּה not against thee; 1 S 19<sup>23</sup> אֲנִי עָלָיו upon him also; Dt 5<sup>3</sup> אֲנִי אֲנִיכֵנּוּ but with us, even us; Hag 1<sup>4</sup> אַתָּם לָכֶם for you yourselves; Jer 25<sup>14</sup> אֲנִיכֵנּוּ בְּכֶם.—The separate pronoun precedes in 1 S 12<sup>23</sup> לִי . . . אֲנִיכֵנּוּ; 1 K 1<sup>20</sup> עָלֶיךָ . . . אַתָּה; Mi 5<sup>1</sup> מִמֶּךָ . . . אַתָּה, and 2 Ch 28<sup>10</sup> אַתָּם עִמָּכֶם.

- h The same principle also explains Gn 4<sup>26</sup> אֲנִי לְשֵׁת בְּרַכְנִי to Seth, to him also (not בְּרַכְנִי); cf. 10<sup>21</sup>, and Ex 35<sup>34</sup>, Nu 4<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this is the resumption of a noun dependent on a preposition, by means of a pronominal suffix united with the same preposition, e.g. Gn 2<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>22</sup>, 2 K 22<sup>18</sup>, or of an object by means of the nota accusativi אֶת with suffix, e.g. 1 S 15<sup>9</sup> (where וְנִמְאָסָה is certainly to be read), Is 5<sup>13</sup>.

3. The *oblique* cases of the personal pronouns expressed by means of *i* a preposition (or the *nota accus.* אָן) with a suffix may be used either in a demonstrative or reflexive sense,<sup>1</sup> as לְ to him, but also to himself, e.g. Ju 3<sup>16</sup> and Ehud made לְ for himself a sword, cf. Gn 33<sup>17</sup>; so also אֵלָי sibi, Is 3<sup>9</sup>; אֵלָיו unto him, and Gn 8<sup>9</sup> unto himself; אִתּוֹ with him, and Gn 22<sup>8</sup> with himself; עִמָּהּ with her, and 1 S 1<sup>24</sup> with herself; also apparently as a pleonastic *dativus ethicus* (see § 119 s), Jb 12<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>.

Rarely, and only when marked emphasis is intended, is the *accusative* ה of the reflexive pronoun represented by the *nota accusativi* אָן with a suffix (this being ordinarily expressed by the reflexive conjugations *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*<sup>2</sup>); thus, אָתָם se ipsos, Ex 5<sup>19</sup>, Jer 7<sup>19</sup> in sharp antithesis to הֵאֵתָי; Ez 34<sup>2,8,10</sup>. Cf. § 57 at the end, together with note 2.

Rem. There is a similar emphasis in Is 49<sup>26</sup> on בְּשָׁרָם and דָּמָם in the *l* sense of *their own flesh, their own blood*. On the sometimes demonstrative, sometimes reflexive meaning of noun-suffixes of the 3rd person singular and plural, cf. § 91, p and q. For other circumlocutions to express the idea of *self*, see § 139 f.

4. The *possessive pronouns* are, according to § 33 c, expressed by *m* the *suffixes of the noun* (in the genitive),<sup>3</sup> which may represent either a *subjective genitive*, or (like the genitives proper, § 128 h) an *objective genitive*, e.g. חֲמָסִי the wrong done against me, Gn 16<sup>5</sup>, Jer 51<sup>35</sup>; cf. Gn 9<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>13</sup> (2 S 16<sup>12</sup> *Keth.*); Gn 30<sup>23</sup>, 39<sup>21</sup> (cf. Ex 3<sup>21</sup>, &c.); 50<sup>4</sup>, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>35</sup>, Ju 4<sup>9</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup> (כְּעֵשְׂהוּ the treatment of him); Is 56<sup>7</sup>, Jer 9<sup>7</sup>, Na 3<sup>19</sup>, Pr 1<sup>27</sup>, 24<sup>22</sup>, Jb 20<sup>23</sup>, 23<sup>14</sup>, 34<sup>6</sup>. Cf. also such pregnant expressions as ψ 20<sup>3</sup> עֲזָרָה יִשְׁלַח עֲזָרְךָ he will send thy help (*help for thee*), i. e. he will send thee help; Gn 30<sup>18</sup>, 39<sup>21</sup>, Ex 2<sup>9</sup>, Is 1<sup>26</sup> (and I will restore judges for thee); Ez 37<sup>15</sup>.

When several substantives are co-ordinated, the pronominal suffix must be attached to each singly, e.g. Gn 36<sup>6</sup> and Esau took אֶת־נָשָׁיו וְאֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־בְּתוּלָתוֹ his wives and his sons and his daughters, &c.; 38<sup>18</sup>, &c. In 2 S 23<sup>5</sup> the text is hardly correct.

<sup>1</sup> As in Luther's Bible *im* (ihm), *jr* (ihr) for *sich*, and in our version *him*, *her* for *himself*, *herself*.

<sup>2</sup> *Niph'al* according to § 51 e (like *Hithpa'el* according to § 54 f) may also include the *dative* of the reflexive pronoun.

<sup>3</sup> Like the substantival genitive, according to § 129 h, the possessive pronoun may also be paraphrased by a relative clause, e.g. Ru 2<sup>21</sup> הַנְּעָרִים אֲשֶׁר לִי the young men, which are to me, i. e. my young men; so especially, when the substantive, which should take a genitive suffix, is already followed by a genitive, e.g. 1 S 17<sup>40</sup>. In this case, however, the suffix also is sometimes attached pleonastically, e.g. Ct 1<sup>6</sup> בְּרָמִי שְׂעָלִי my vineyard, which belongs to me. Cf. Ct 3<sup>7</sup>, and the analogous pleonasms in 2 S 22<sup>2</sup> (but see ψ 15<sup>2</sup>) and ψ 27<sup>2</sup>.

**n** 5. When the genitive, following a construct state, is used periphrastically to express the idea of a material or attribute (§ 128 o and p), the pronominal suffix, which properly belongs to the compound idea (represented by the *nomen regens* and genitive), is, like the article (§ 127), attached to the second substantive (the genitive), e.g. הִרְקֵשִׁי הֵרֶךְ *prop. the hill of my holiness*, i. e. my holy hill,  $\psi$  2<sup>6</sup>, &c.; עִיר קִדְשֶׁךָ *thy holy city*, Dn 9<sup>24</sup>; אֱלֹהֵי כֶסֶף *his idols of silver*, Is 2<sup>20</sup>, 30<sup>62</sup>, 31<sup>1</sup>; <sup>1</sup> cf. Dt 1<sup>41</sup>, Is 9<sup>3</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, 41<sup>11</sup>, Ez 9<sup>16</sup>,  $\psi$  41<sup>10</sup>, 150<sup>1</sup>, Jb 18<sup>7</sup> אֲנֹכִי *his steps of strength*; 38<sup>6</sup>; after an adjective as *nomen regens*, Is 13<sup>3</sup> (Zp 3<sup>11</sup>) עֲלֵיוֹ *my proudly exulting ones*.—On the same analogy is the use of e.g. בְּלִי מִלְחָמָתוֹ Dt 1<sup>41</sup> *his weapons of war* [cf. Is 41<sup>12</sup>]; Is 56<sup>7</sup> בֵּית *my house of prayer*, although the genitive here does not convey the idea of an attribute.

**O** Rem. 1. Through a weakening in the distinction of gender, which is noticeable elsewhere (cf. § 110 k, 144 a, 145 p, t, u) and which probably passed from the colloquial language<sup>2</sup> into that of literature, *masculine* suffixes (especially in the plural) are not infrequently used to refer to *feminine* substantives; thus a noun-suffix in the singular, Ex 11<sup>6</sup>, 22<sup>19</sup>, Ju 11<sup>34</sup>; <sup>3</sup> in the plural, Gn 31<sup>9</sup>, 32<sup>16</sup>, 41<sup>23</sup>, Ex 1<sup>21</sup>, 2<sup>17</sup>, Nu 27<sup>7</sup> (but the feminine suffix twice immediately after, and so the Samaritan also in verse 7); 36<sup>6</sup> (Samaritan אֲבִיָּהֶם, but also בְּעִיָּיהֶם); Ju 19<sup>24</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>7.10b</sup> (בְּנֵיהֶם); 9<sup>20</sup>, Is 3<sup>16</sup>, Ez 23<sup>46</sup> ff. (alternating with הֵן); Am 4<sup>16</sup>, but afterwards a feminine suffix); Jb 1<sup>14</sup>, 39<sup>3</sup> (חֲבִלֵיהֶם in parallelism with יִלְדֵיהֶן); 42<sup>15</sup>, Ct 4<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>6</sup>, Ru 1<sup>8</sup> ff. (along with feminine suffixes); Dn 1<sup>5</sup>, 8<sup>9</sup>. Verbal suffixes in the singular, Ex 22<sup>26</sup>; in the plural, Ju 16<sup>3</sup>, Pr 6<sup>21</sup>, Jb 1<sup>15</sup>. But Gn 26<sup>15.18</sup>, 33<sup>13</sup>, Ex 2<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>10a</sup> are to be explained according to § 60 h. On הֵמָּה as feminine, see § 32 n. On the use of the masculine in general as the *prior* gender, see § 122 g.

**p** 2. The suffix of the 3rd person singular feminine (as also the separate pronoun הִיא Nu 14<sup>41</sup>, Jos 10<sup>13</sup>, Ju 14<sup>4</sup>) sometimes refers in a general sense to the verbal idea contained in a preceding sentence (corresponding to our *it*); thus the verbal suffix, Gn 15<sup>6</sup>, Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>12</sup>, Is 30<sup>8</sup>, Am 8<sup>10</sup>; cf. Gn 24<sup>14</sup> (בָּהּ *thereby*), 42<sup>36</sup>, 47<sup>26</sup>, Ex 10<sup>11</sup> (אֹתָהּ *that*), Is 47<sup>7</sup>. Elsewhere the suffix of the 3rd singular feminine refers to the plurals of things, e.g. 2 K 3<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, more explicitly in prose, Gn 44<sup>2</sup> הַכֶּסֶף נָבִיעַ נְבִיעֵי *my cup, the silver cup*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Diehl (see the title at the head of § 91 a), who adduces numerous instances on pp. 44 ff., 54 ff., 67 f., many of these cases may be set down to corruption of the traditional text, while the sudden (and sometimes repeated) change of gender in suffixes is mainly due to the influence exercised on the copyists by the Mishnic and popular Aramaic dialects, neither of which recognizes such distinctions. Such influence, however, is insufficient to explain the large number of instances of this weakening, occurring even in the earlier documents.

<sup>3</sup> The Masora reckons six instances of מְחֻנֶּה, where מְחֻנָּה would be expected (Ju 11<sup>34</sup>, where, however, the text is most probably corrupt), Ex 25<sup>15</sup> (?), Lv 6<sup>8</sup>, 7<sup>18</sup>, 27<sup>9</sup>, Jos 1<sup>7</sup>; almost all these passages can, however, be easily explained in other ways.

[but see Kittel; so 13<sup>2.6.11</sup>; 10<sup>26</sup>, but LXX מַצְבַּח], Jer 36<sup>23</sup>, Jb 6<sup>20</sup> (if the text is correct), 39<sup>16</sup> (read מַחֲמֵם in v. 14), and to the plurals of names of animals, Is 35<sup>7</sup>, Ezr 11<sup>5</sup>. Conversely, plural suffixes refer to collective singulars, e.g. in Gn 15<sup>13</sup>, Nu 16<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, Zp 2<sup>7</sup> [but read הֵימָּה]; and to a verbal idea contained in the preceding clause, in Ez 33<sup>18</sup>, Jb 22<sup>21</sup> (בָּהֶם thereby), Ez 18<sup>26</sup>, 33<sup>19</sup> עַל־יְהִיָּהּ on that account, thereby).<sup>1</sup> But the suffix in נַחְנוּ Dt 21<sup>10</sup> refers to the collective idea contained in אֲנִי־יָדָי; in Jon 1<sup>8</sup> עִמָּהֶם refers to the sailors included in sense under the term אֲנִיָּהּ. In Jos 2<sup>4</sup> read וְהַצִּפְנִים; in Is 30<sup>6</sup> (מָהֶם), 38<sup>16</sup>, ψ 19<sup>5</sup> (בָּהֶם) the text is most probably corrupt.

3. In a few examples the force of the noun-suffix or possessive pronoun *q* has become so weak that the language appears to be almost entirely unconscious of it. Thus in אֲדָנִי *my Lord*, usually explained as being from the *pluralis maiestatis* אֲדָנִים (§ 124 i) with the suffix of the 1st singular (always with *Qameṣ* to distinguish it from אֲדָנִי *my lords*, Gn 19<sup>2</sup>; but see note below), used exclusively of God, not only in addressing him (Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>, ψ 35<sup>23</sup>), but ultimately (see, however, the note below), without any regard to the pronoun, as equivalent to *the Lord*.<sup>2</sup> On אֲדָנִי as a *Qéré perpetuum* of the Masoretes for יהוה see § 17 c and § 102 m.

A similar loss of vitality in the suffix is generally assumed in יַחְדוֹ prop. *in* *r* *his unitedness*, i. e. *he &c. together*, e.g. בְּלִי־יַחְדָּם Ex 19<sup>8</sup>; then, without regard to the suffix, even after the 1st person אֲנִי־יַחְדוֹ 1 K 3<sup>18</sup> in reference to two women; Is 41<sup>1</sup>, Jb 9<sup>32</sup>, Neh 6<sup>2.7</sup>; after the 2nd person, Is 45<sup>20</sup>, &c. But the supposed pronominal suffix is perhaps rather to be explained, with Brockelmann, ZA. xiv. 344 f., as an old adverbial ending, which survives in the Arabic adverbs in *u* and in Assyrian.—Cf. further בָּכֶם prop. *their entirety*, but also after the 2nd person equivalent to *all together*, 1 K 22<sup>28</sup>, Mi 1<sup>2</sup> (*hear, ye peoples, all of you*; cf. § 144 p), and even before the 2nd person, Jb 17<sup>10</sup> (in 1 S 6<sup>4</sup> read לָכֶם with the LXX).—On the redundant suffix in הָעֶרְבָּךְ Lv 27<sup>23</sup>, cf. § 127 i.

<sup>1</sup> In 2 K 7<sup>10</sup> for שְׁעָרָה (the LXX had שְׁעָרָה) read שְׁעָרָה.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the same weakening of the force of the possessive pronoun in רַבִּי prop. *my master*, from the second century A. D. onwards *the master*; so also in Syriac מֻרִי *my lord*, and ultimately as a title *the lord*; in Italian *Madonna*, French *Madame*, *Notre Dame*, *Monsieur*, *Monseigneur*, &c. It can, however, hardly be doubted that the regular distinction between אֲדָנִי as a holy name, and אֲדָנִי as an ordinary appellative is merely due to the practice of the later Rabbis. G. H. Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Berlin, 1889), in an exhaustive discussion, shows that apart from the book of Daniel and the eight critically doubtful passages, in which אֲדָנִי is used by God himself, there is nowhere any necessity to regard the suffix as *entirely* meaningless, since אֲדָנִי is always used either in an address to or (like אֲדָנִי, which also is never a mere phrase or title) in reverent language about God—as the Lord of the speaker—like the Assyrian *beli-ia*, *my lord*. Against any original distinction between אֲדָנִי and אֲדָנִי it may be urged especially that when unconnected with suffixes the singular אֲדָנִי is always used of God, and not the *pluralis maiestatis* presupposed by אֲדָנִי.

## § 136. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

*a* The demonstrative pronouns are **זֶה**, fem. **זֹאת**, plur. **אֵלֶּה** (§ 34), *hic, haec (hoc), hi, &c.*, and the personal pronoun **הוּא**, likewise used as a demonstrative, fem. **הִיא**, plur. masc. **הֵמָּה**, fem. **הֵנָּה** (§ 32 *b*), *is, ea (id), or ille, &c., ii, eae or illi, &c.* The distinction between them in usage is that **זֶה** (like *hic*, *ὁδε*) almost always points out a (new) person or thing present, while **הוּא** (like *is, ille, αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος*) refers to a person or thing already mentioned or known (see the examples below).<sup>1</sup>

*b* Rem. 1. Compare the instructive examples in Gn 32<sup>3</sup>, Ju 7<sup>4</sup> of *whom I say unto thee, this (זֶה) shall go with thee, he (הוּא) shall go with thee* (so afterwards with negatives). Moreover, **הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה** *this day*, i.e. the actual day on which one is speaking or writing (Gn 26<sup>33</sup>, &c.), but **הַיּוֹם הַהוּא** *the day or period of which the historian has just been speaking* (Gn 15<sup>18</sup>, 26<sup>32</sup>) or of which the prophet has just been foretelling (Is 5<sup>30</sup>, 7<sup>18.20</sup> *α.*) and of which he continues to speak or foretell. Nevertheless **זֶה** and **אֵלֶּה** are also found in certain common combinations where **הוּא** and **הֵמָּה** would be expected, and vice versa; thus almost always **הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה**, plur. **הַדְּבָרִים הַזֵּה**, but **בְּיָמִים הֵמָּה** or **בְּיָמִים הָהֵם**.—With a secondary sense of contempt (like Latin *iste*) **זֶה** occurs, e.g. in 1 S 10<sup>27</sup>, 21<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>27</sup>, Is 6<sup>10</sup>, &c. In the sense of the neuter, *this*, **זֶה** is more common than **זֶה**, as Is 5<sup>25</sup>, 43<sup>9</sup>, &c., but **הוּא** more common than **הִיא**.

*c* 2. Both **זֶה** and **הוּא** are sometimes used almost as enclitics to emphasize interrogative words (like the Latin *nam in quisnam*; cf. also *quis tandem*); e.g. Jb 38<sup>2</sup> **מִי נֹה** *who now* (darkeneth, &c.) . . . ? 1 S 17<sup>55</sup> *י.*, Is 63<sup>1</sup>, Jer 49<sup>19</sup>, ψ 24<sup>3</sup>, 25<sup>12</sup>, &c.; **מַה־נָּה** *what now?* 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>; *how now?* Gn 27<sup>20</sup>; *why now?* Ju 15<sup>24</sup>; but before the verb **עָשָׂה** it is usually **מַה־זֶּאת** Gn 3<sup>13</sup>, 12<sup>18</sup>, Ex 14<sup>5</sup>, Ju 15<sup>11</sup>; **לְמַה־נָּה** *wherefore now?* Gn 18<sup>13</sup>, 25<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>88</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>23</sup>, &c.—So also **מִי־הוּא** Is 50<sup>9</sup>, Jb 4<sup>7</sup> *α.*; and still more emphatically **מִי הוּא־זֶה** ψ 24<sup>10</sup>, Jer 30<sup>21</sup>.

*d* 3. **זֶה** is likewise used as an enclitic (see *c* above): (*a*) of place, in such passages as Gn 27<sup>21</sup> **וְהוּא זֶה וְנָוִי** *whether thou (that art here) be my son Esau?* 2 S 22<sup>20</sup> *is it thou?* **הִנֵּה־זֶה** *behold, here*, 1 K 19<sup>5</sup>, Is 21<sup>9</sup>; <sup>2</sup> cf. also the strengthen-

<sup>1</sup> On **זֶה** and **הוּא** standing separately as determinate in themselves, see § 125 *i*. On the use of determinate demonstratives as adjectives, see § 126 *u*.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is very questionable whether **זֶה** in ψ 104<sup>25</sup> (**הַיָּם**), Is 23<sup>13</sup> (**הַיָּם**), Ju 5<sup>6</sup>, ψ 68<sup>9</sup> (**זֶה כִּינִי**) can be taken, according to the common explanation, simply as a prefixed demonstrative particle (*the sea yonder, &c.*). In ψ 104<sup>25</sup> **הַיָּם** may be in apposition to **זֶה**; cf. § 126 *aa*, on Ex 32<sup>1</sup>, and Ze 5<sup>7</sup>, where **אֵשֶׁה אֶחָת** is in apposition to **זֹאת** depending on **הִנֵּה**, and also Ez 40<sup>45</sup>, where **הַלְשָׁכָה** is in apposition to **זֶה**; otherwise it is most naturally taken as the subject, *this is the sea*. Is 23<sup>13</sup>, Ju 5<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>14</sup>, and ψ 68<sup>9</sup> might also be explained in the same way; but in these passages the text is almost certainly

ing of the separate pronoun by הוּא Is 43<sup>25</sup> (אֵלֶיךָ), 1 S 7<sup>22</sup>, Is 37<sup>18</sup>, ψ 44<sup>5</sup> (אֵלֶיךָ), and הֵם אֵלֶיךָ these are, Gn 25<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>8</sup>; (b) of time: עַתָּה now, 1 K 17<sup>24</sup>; just now, 2 K 5<sup>22</sup>; and rather frequently before words denoting number, e.g. Gn 27<sup>36</sup> הָיָה כִּי שְׁנַיִם twice, now; cf. 31<sup>88</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>2</sup>, Jb 11<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 19<sup>3</sup>; separated from the numeral in Gn 31<sup>41</sup> הָיָה לִי elliptically for this, i.e. this present period, is to me, i.e. makes altogether, twenty years, &c. The other examples are similarly elliptical.

### § 137. The Interrogative Pronoun.

The interrogative pronoun מִי who may refer either to a masculine *a* or feminine person (Ct 5<sup>6</sup>), or even to a plural, e.g. מִי אֵתָם who are ye? Jos 9<sup>8</sup>; מִי-אֵלֶיךָ Gn 33<sup>5</sup>, Nu 22<sup>9</sup> (more minutely, מִי וְיָמִי Ex 10<sup>8</sup>, i.e. who exactly, who in particular?). It is used of the neuter only when the idea of a person is implied, e.g. מִי-שֶׁבָּם who are the Shechemites? Ju 9<sup>28</sup>, 13<sup>17</sup>, Gn 33<sup>8</sup>, Mi 1<sup>5</sup>; even more boldly, with the repetition of a מִי used personally, in 1 S 18<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 7<sup>18</sup>.—Another interrogative is אֵיזָה which, what?; of persons only in Est 7<sup>5</sup>.

Moreover, מִי may also be used in the sense of a genitive, e.g. *b* אֵת בַּת-מִי whose daughter art thou? Gn 24<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>55, 56, 58</sup>; מִי דְבַר whose word? Jer 44<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>3</sup>; in the accusative, אֶת-מִי quemnam? 1 S 28<sup>11</sup>, Is 6<sup>8</sup>; with prepositions, e.g. בְּמִי 1 K 20<sup>14</sup> (in an abrupt question by whom?); לְמִי Gn 32<sup>18</sup>; מִי אַחֲרַי 1 S 24<sup>15</sup>.—Similarly, מָה מה, מַה מה, what? is used for the nominative, or accusative, or genitive (Jer 8<sup>9</sup>), or with prepositions, e.g. עַל-מָה whereupon? Is 1<sup>5</sup>, Jb 38<sup>6</sup>; why? Nu 22<sup>32</sup>, &c.; עַד-מָה quousque? ψ 74<sup>9</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

Rem. Both מִי and מָה are used also in indirect questions (on the merely *C* relative distinction between direct and indirect questions in Hebrew, see the *Interrogative Sentences*), e.g. Gn 39<sup>8</sup> (but read מִאֲדָמָה with Samar. and LXX), 43<sup>22</sup>, Ex 32<sup>1</sup>.—On the meaning of מִי and מָה as interrogatives is based also their use as *indefinite pronouns* (equivalent to *quisquis*, *quodcunque* or *quicquam*), e.g. Ex 32<sup>26</sup>, Ju 7<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>4</sup>, Is 50<sup>10</sup> (read יִשְׁמַע in the apodosis), 54<sup>15</sup>, Pr 9<sup>4, 16</sup>, 2 Ch 36<sup>23</sup>; even שְׂמַרְמִי have a care, whosoever ye be, 2 S 18<sup>12</sup> (unless לִי is to be read, with the LXX, for מִי); so also מָה (whatever it be) Jb 13<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>22, 23</sup>; cf. Nu 23<sup>3</sup> מַה-יִרְאֵנִי וְיִדְבַּר and whatsoever he sheweth me. Cf. also מִי-אִשֶּׁר whosoever Ex 32<sup>33</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>11</sup>, and מִי-הָאִשֶּׁר any man who Dt 20<sup>5ff</sup>,

corrupt. In Ju 5<sup>5</sup> in fact מִי הָיָה is most probably to be regarded with Moore as a very early gloss, which subsequently found its way from this passage into ψ 68.

<sup>1</sup> A quite different use of מָה was pointed out (privately) by P. Haupt in Ct 5<sup>8</sup> will ye not tell him? i.e. I charge you that ye tell him, and 7<sup>1</sup> = look now at the Shulamite, corresponding to the late Arabic mā tarā, just see! mā taqūlu, say now! It has long been recognized that מָה is used as a negative in Ct 8<sup>4</sup>.

Ju 10<sup>18</sup>. A still further weakening of the indefinite use of *מה* is the combination *מה-שׁ* *that which*, Ec 1<sup>9</sup>, 3<sup>15</sup> (just like the Syriac *ܡܐ ܕܝܢ*); cf. Est 8<sup>1</sup>, and *מה . . . כל* Pr 9<sup>13</sup>, *מה . . . לא* Neh 2<sup>12</sup>, *nothing whatever*.—On *מאומה* *quicquam*, *anything at all* (usually with a negative), and as an adverb in *any way*, 1 S 21<sup>3</sup>, see the Lexicon.

### § 138. The Relative Pronoun.

Cf. Philippi, *Stat. constr.* (see heading of § 89), p. 71 f., and especially V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894.

- a Relative clauses are most frequently (but not necessarily; cf. § 155 b) introduced by the indeclinable *אשר* (see § 36).<sup>1</sup> This is not, however, a relative pronoun in the Greek, Latin, or English sense, nor is it a mere *nota relationis*,<sup>2</sup> but an original *demonstrative* pronoun [as though *iste, istius, &c.*].<sup>3</sup> Hence it is used—

(1) In immediate dependence on the substantival idea to be defined, and virtually in the same case as it (hence belonging syntactically to the main clause); e.g. Gn 24<sup>7</sup> . . . *יהוה אשר לקחני הוא ישלח . . .* *the Lord, iste, he took me . . . he shall send, &c. (= who took me)*; Gn 2<sup>2</sup> *and God finished אשר עשה מלאכתו* *his work, istud, he had made (it)*. Such qualifying clauses may be called *dependent relative clauses*.

- b Rem. 1. In the above examples *אשר* in Gn 24<sup>7</sup> is virtually in the nominative, in Gn 2<sup>2</sup> in the accusative. A further distinction between the examples is that in Gn 24<sup>7</sup> the main idea (*יהוה*), to which *אשר* is added in apposition, is only resumed in the qualifying clause by the subject (*he*) inherent in

<sup>1</sup> The etymology of the word is still a matter of dispute. Against the identification of *אשר*, as an original substantive, with the Arabic *'aṣar*, *trace*, Aram. *אתר* *place, trace*, Nöldeke urges (ZDMG. xl. 738) that the expression *trace of . . .* could hardly have developed into the relative conjunction, while the meaning of *place* has been evolved only in Aramaic, where the word is never used as a relative. According to others, *אשר* is really a compound of several pronominal roots; cf. Sperling, *Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen*, Leipzig, 1876, and König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 323 ff., who follows Ewald and Böttcher in referring it to an original *אשל*. According to Hommel (ZDMG. xxxii. 708 ff.) *אשר* is an original substantive, to be distinguished from *שׁ* and *שׁי* (an original pronominal stem), but used in Hebrew as a *nota relationis*, or (as *וה* and *והי* are also sometimes used, see below, g and h) simply for the *relative pronoun*. Baumann (op. cit., p. 44) sees in the Assyrian *ša*, Phoenician, Punic, and Hebrew *שׁ*, the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic *אש* (see above, § 36 note) and the Hebrew *אשר* are developments.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. like Luther's use of *so*, in *die fremden Götter, so unter euch sind*, Gn 35<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> This is the necessary conclusion both from the analogy of the Arabic *'alladī*, which is clearly a demonstrative (like the Hebr. *הַלֵּוּ, הַלֵּוּהּ*), and from the use of *וה* and *והי* as relatives.

לְקַחְתִּי, while in Gn 2<sup>2</sup> it is not resumed at all. This suppression of the retrospective pronoun<sup>1</sup> takes place especially when it (as in Gn 2<sup>2</sup>) would represent an accusative of the object, or when it would be a separate pronoun representing a nominative of the subject in a noun-clause, e.g. Gn 1<sup>7</sup> לְרַקִּיעַ מִתַּחַת הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת הַרְקִיעַ the waters, those, under the firmament, &c. In negative sentences, however, the retrospective pronoun is not infrequently added, e.g. Gn 17<sup>12</sup> הוּא; 7<sup>2</sup> הִיא; 1 K 9<sup>20</sup> הִנֵּה; Dt 20<sup>15</sup> הִנֵּה; but cf. also הִיא הוּא Gn 9<sup>3</sup>. The addition of הִיא in a verbal clause, 2 K 22<sup>13</sup>, is unusual.

The very frequent omission of the retrospective pronoun is noticeable in cases where the predicate of the qualifying clause is a *verbum dicendi*, e.g. Nu 10<sup>29</sup> we are journeying unto the place, אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה אֵלֶיךָ לָכֵן that place, the Lord said (of it), It will I give to you; cf. Nu 14<sup>40</sup>, Ju 8<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>17,23</sup>, 24<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>23</sup>, Jer 32<sup>43</sup>.

2. When the substantive, followed by אֲשֶׁר and the qualifying clause, *c* expresses an idea of place, it may also be resumed by the adverbs of place שָׁם there, שָׁמָּה thither, מִשָּׁם thence, e.g. Gn 13<sup>8</sup> שָׁם אָהֳלָה עַד-הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה שָׁם אָהֳלָה unto the place, that one, his tent had been there, i.e. where his tent had been; cf. Gn 3<sup>23</sup> מִשָּׁם, Ex 21<sup>13</sup> שָׁמָּה. But even in this case the retrospective word may be omitted, cf. Gn 35<sup>14</sup>, Nu 20<sup>13</sup>, Is 64<sup>10</sup>, where שָׁם would be expected, and Gn 30<sup>88</sup>, Nu 13<sup>27</sup>, 1 K 12<sup>2</sup>, where שָׁמָּה would be expected.—When the appositional clause is added to a word of time, the retrospective pronoun is always omitted, e.g. 1 S 20<sup>81</sup> for all the days, אֲשֶׁר בָּנִי יֵשִׁי חַי those—the son of Jesse is living (in them); cf. Gn 45<sup>6</sup>, Dt 14<sup>6</sup>, 9<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>42</sup>; see Baumann, op. cit., p. 33.

3. If the governing substantive forms part of a statement made in the *d* first or second person, the retrospective pronoun (or the subject of the appositional clause) is in the same person, e.g. Gn 45<sup>4</sup> I am Joseph, אֲשֶׁר-מָכַרְתָּם אֹתִי he—ye sold me, i.e. whom ye sold; Nu 22<sup>50</sup>, Is 49<sup>23</sup>; 41<sup>8</sup> thou, Jacob, אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּיךָ he—I have chosen thee; Jer 32<sup>19</sup>, Ec 10<sup>16f.</sup>; Gn 15<sup>7</sup> I am the Lord, אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ he—I brought thee out, &c., Ex 20<sup>2</sup> (Dt 5<sup>6</sup>).

(2) Not depending (adjectivally) on a governing substantive, but *e* itself expressing a substantival idea. Clauses introduced in this way may be called *independent relative clauses*. This use of אֲשֶׁר is generally rendered in English by *he who*, *he whom*, &c. (according to the context), or *that which*, &c., or sometimes *of such a kind as* (*qualis*), cf. Ex 14<sup>13b</sup>, and in a dependent relative clause Is 7<sup>17</sup>. In reality, however, the אֲשֶׁר is still a demonstrative belonging to the construction of the main clause as subject or object, or as a genitive dependent on a noun or preposition, e.g. Nu 22<sup>6</sup> יִאָּר אֲשֶׁר פָּאָר iste—thou cursest (him)—is cursed, i.e. *he whom thou cursest*, &c.; Ex 22<sup>8</sup>; <sup>2</sup> אֲשֶׁר as object, Gn 44<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The instances in which, instead of a retrospective pronoun, the main idea itself is repeated (Gn 49<sup>30</sup>, 50<sup>13</sup>, Jer 31<sup>32</sup>) are most probably all due to subsequent amplification of the original text by another hand.

<sup>2</sup> The absolute use of אֲשֶׁר is very peculiar in the formula אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְּבַר יְיָ אֵל-אֵל this (is it)—it came as the word of the Lord to . . ., Jer 14<sup>1</sup>, 46<sup>1</sup>, 47<sup>1</sup>, 49<sup>34</sup>.

49<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>38</sup>, Mi 6<sup>1</sup> (אֵת אִשֶּׁר); and even preceding the verb, e.g. Is 52<sup>16</sup>, ψ 69<sup>5</sup>; אִשֶּׁר as genitive, Ez 23<sup>28</sup> *I will deliver thee אִשֶּׁר בְּיָד שִׁנְאָת into the hand of those—thou hatest (them)*; depending on a preposition, e.g. אִשֶּׁר לְאִשֶּׁר Gn 44<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>22</sup>; בְּאִשֶּׁר Gn 21<sup>17</sup>, שָׁם בְּאִשֶּׁר הוּא שָׁם in that (place)—*he is there, i. e. where he is*; cf. Ju 17<sup>8</sup> and Ru 1<sup>16</sup> אֶל-אִשֶּׁר whither; <sup>1</sup> 1 K 18<sup>12</sup> עַל-אִשֶּׁר whither; מֵאִשֶּׁר Ex 5<sup>11</sup>.

f From these examples it follows that in independent relative clauses the retrospective suffix, or adverb of place, may be, and in fact generally is, omitted. As a rule, however (as in the dependent relative clause), this does not apply to cases in which the retrospective pronoun, by the construction of the sentence, depends on a preposition,<sup>2</sup> e.g. אִשֶּׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ . . . וְנָתַתְּ he—it (the cup) is found with him,—*shall die* (for the *Wāw* of the apodosis in נָתַתְּ cf. § 143 d). In such cases אִשֶּׁר preceded by the preposition is quite anomalous, as in Gn 31<sup>32</sup> עִם אִשֶּׁר תִּמְצָא with whomsoever thou findest, where אִשֶּׁר is a relative pronoun in the English sense; on the other hand, in Is 47<sup>12</sup> (and probably also 56<sup>4</sup>) בְּאִשֶּׁר is to be explained (with Baumann, op. cit., p. 37) by reference to 47<sup>16</sup>, as a demonstrative pronoun, *stand now with thine enchantments . . . , with those—thou hast laboured (with them)*.

[With regard to the preceding explanation of אִשֶּׁר, the student will of course understand that, in Hebrew as we know it, אִשֶּׁר never occurs as a mere demonstrative. A particle which, whatever its origin, is uniformly used with reference to something in another, contiguous clause, will naturally have acquired in practice that force which we denote by the term 'relative'.]

g Like the original demonstrative pronoun אִשֶּׁר, the demonstratives proper הֵן, הוּא, הִוא (the last commonly),<sup>3</sup> and sometimes the article, are used somewhat frequently in poetic language to introduce both dependent and independent relative clauses. With regard to the construction of הֵן, &c., the remarks on אִשֶּׁר, under *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(a) הֵן in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, ψ 104<sup>26</sup> לֵוִיתָן הֵן-יָצַרְתָּ (there is) *leviathan, he—thou hast formed (him)*, i. e. *whom thou hast formed*; Is 42<sup>24</sup> (הוּא); in the accusative, Is 25<sup>9</sup>, ψ 74<sup>2</sup> (in both cases with a retrospective pronoun; הוּא is used without it in ψ 132<sup>19</sup>); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Pr 23<sup>22</sup> הֵן יִלְדֶּךָ הֵן יִלְדֶּךָ שָׁמַע הֵן אֲבִיךָ hearken unto thy father, him—he begat thee, i. e. *who begat thee*; ψ 17<sup>9</sup> (הוּא).—In ψ 104<sup>8</sup> אֶל-מְקוֹם הֵן יָסְדָתָּ לָהֶם unto the place which thou hadst founded for them (cf. § 130 c), הֵן is in the genitive after the construct state מְקוֹם to the place of that, thou hadst

<sup>1</sup> In Zc 12<sup>10</sup> also, instead of the unintelligible אֵלֵי אֵת אִשֶּׁר, we should probably read אֶל-אִשֶּׁר, and refer the passage to this class.

<sup>2</sup> Such a strong ellipse as in Is 31<sup>6</sup>, where מִמָּוֶנִי would be expected after הַעֲמִינִי, is only possible in elevated poetic or prophetic language.

<sup>3</sup> The etymological equivalent הִי, הִי in Aramaic is always a relative.

founded (it) for them; on the same analogy we may also take, with Baumann (op. cit., p. 48),  $\psi$  78<sup>54</sup> (חַרְיָה) and Ex 15<sup>13</sup> (עַם־יִשְׂרָאֵל), 15<sup>16</sup>, Is 43<sup>21</sup>,  $\psi$  9<sup>16</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>5</sup>, 32<sup>8</sup>, 62<sup>12</sup>, 142<sup>4</sup>, 143<sup>8</sup> (all examples of וְ).

To introduce independent relative clauses וְ is used as a nominative in *h* Jb 19<sup>19</sup>; as accusative, Jb 15<sup>17</sup> and וְ Hb 1<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>29</sup> (after a preposition, וְ Ex 13<sup>8</sup>; but the text is evidently corrupt).

(b) More certain examples of the use of the article as a relative pronoun *i* (more correctly, perhaps, of the demonstrative which is otherwise used as article) are 1 Ch 26<sup>28</sup> כָּל הַהִקְדִּישׁ שְׁמוּאֵל all that Samuel had dedicated, &c.; 1 Ch 29<sup>8</sup> (where מִצָּא can only be perfect Niph'al); 2 Ch 29<sup>36</sup>, Ezr 10<sup>14</sup>. In connexion with a plural, Jos 10<sup>24</sup> הַהֲלֹכִי אִתּוֹ the chiefs of the men of war who went with him; Ezr 8<sup>25</sup>, 10<sup>17</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>17</sup>. Finally, in the sense of *id quod*, Jer 5<sup>13</sup> (where, however, we should read with the LXX הַדְּבָר). Cf. moreover, 1 S 9<sup>24</sup> הַתֵּימָה וְהָעֵלְיָה and that which was upon it (but see *k* below); 2 Ch 1<sup>4</sup> בְּהֵכֵן בְּהֵכֵן equivalent to בְּאֵשֶׁר הֵכֵן to the place, that he had prepared.

In all the examples adduced except 1 S 9<sup>24</sup> (where וְהָעֵלְיָה should probably *k* be read for וְהָעֵלְיָה) the וְ is followed by undoubted perfects; almost all the examples, moreover, belong to the latest Books (Ezra and Chronicles). On the other hand, another series of instances (even in the older texts) is extremely doubtful, in which the Masora likewise requires perfects, either by placing the tone on the penultima, as in Gn 18<sup>21</sup>, 46<sup>27</sup>, Jb 2<sup>11</sup> הַבָּאָה; Is 51<sup>10</sup> הַשֹּׁמֵה; Ez 26<sup>17</sup> הַהֲלֹלָה Ru 1<sup>22</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup> and 4<sup>3</sup> הַשֹּׁבָה, or by the punctuation, Gn 21<sup>3</sup> הַנוֹלֵךְ; 1 K 11<sup>9</sup>, Dn 8<sup>1</sup> הַנִּרְאָה; Is 56<sup>3</sup> הַנִּלְוֶה, while no doubt the authors in all these cases intended participles (and in fact perfect participles, cf. § 116 *d*) with the article, thus הַבָּאָה, &c., Ez 26<sup>17</sup> הַהֲלֹלָה for הַמְהַלֵּלָה according to § 52 *s*, and in the other examples הַנוֹלֵךְ, הַנִּרְאָה, הַנִּלְוֶה.

### § 139. Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives.

Analogous to the periphrases for expressing materials and attributes *a* by means of substantives (§ 128 *o* and *p*), is the use of substantives to represent certain kinds of pronominal ideas, for which no special expressions exist. Thus—

1. אִישׁ, אִשָּׁה *man, woman*, are used to express— *b*

(a) The idea of *each, every* (in the sense of each severally) with reference to persons,<sup>1</sup> and even animals (Gn 15<sup>10</sup>), e.g. Gn 10<sup>5</sup>, feminine Ex 3<sup>22</sup>; אִשׁ is the object, e.g. in Jer 12<sup>15</sup>. On אִישׁ—אִישׁ cf. § 123 *c*.

In a few passages אִישׁ in the above sense is placed for the sake of emphasis *C* before the governing noun (always a substantive with a suffix), thus מִיִּד אִישׁ אָהֳרִי Gn 9<sup>5</sup>, according to the usual explanation, stands for מִיִּד אָהֳרִי אִישׁ at the hand of the brother of every man. But although the explanation seems to be

<sup>1</sup> As a rule אִישׁ is used in the particularizing sense of *each man*, with the plural of the verb, e.g. Gn 44<sup>11</sup>; sometimes, however, as subject to a verb in the singular, e.g. Gn 44<sup>13</sup>.

supported by Gn 42<sup>25</sup> and Nu 17<sup>17</sup>, it is inconceivable that such an inversion of *nomen regens* and *rectum* should occur. It is more likely, either that the second substantive is in apposition to אִישׁ (thus Gn 9<sup>5</sup> *at the hand of every man, his brother*, [unless it is a combination of the two readings אִישׁ מִיָּד and מִיָּד הָאָדָם]; similarly 15<sup>10</sup> *and he laid each or, more exactly, one piece of it, &c.*, and so probably also Nu 17<sup>17</sup> *every one, sc. his name*), or אִישׁ precedes as a kind of *casus pendens*, and only receives its nearer definition from the following substantive with suffix; thus Gn 41<sup>12</sup>, 42<sup>25</sup> (according to the context = *to every one in his sack*); 42<sup>35</sup>, where צָרוּר־בְּסָפוֹ בְּשָׁקוֹ is virtually the predicate of אִישׁ; Ex 12<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>21</sup>, Nu 5<sup>10</sup>, 26<sup>64</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>35</sup>, and especially Zc 7<sup>10</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

- d (b) Any one, some one, e.g. Gn 13<sup>16</sup>, Ct 8<sup>7</sup>, with a negative *no one*;<sup>2</sup> so after אֶל־ Ex 16<sup>19,29</sup>; before לֹא Gn 23<sup>6</sup> and frequently.—Instead of אִישׁ we sometimes find in a similar sense אָדָם *man, homo*, e.g. Lv 1<sup>2</sup> (cf. בְּאַחֶר הָאָדָם *as any one else*, Ju 16<sup>7,11</sup>), נַפֶּשׁ (*soul*) *person*, Lv 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, &c., and in a neuter sense דָּבָר (prop. word, thing) for *anything*, Gn 18<sup>14</sup>, or כֹּל־דָּבָר Lv 5<sup>2</sup>, Nu 31<sup>23</sup>. With a negative דָּבָר means *nothing*; thus after אֶל־ Gn 19<sup>8</sup>; after לֹא Ec 8<sup>5</sup>.—Cf. finally, מִי־אֶחָד *any one*, Dt 15<sup>7</sup>; *anything*, Ez 18<sup>10</sup> (but in Lv 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>13</sup> מִי־אֶחָת) and the expressions noticed in § 144 e. The latter include also instances like Ez 18<sup>32</sup> *I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, i.e. of any man*.

- c (c) In connexion with אחיו *his brother* or רֵעֵהוּ *his neighbour*, אִישׁ *one, masc.* (as אִשָּׁה *one, fem.*, in connexion with אחותה *her sister* or רֵעֵהָ *her neighbour*), is used to represent the ideas of *alter—alter, the one—the other*<sup>3</sup> (in reference to persons, animals, or things without life; see the Lexicon) or the idea of *one another*, e.g. Gn 13<sup>11</sup> *and they separated themselves אחיו מעל אִישׁ מֵעַל the one from the other*; Ex 26<sup>3</sup> *five curtains (יריעות fem.) shall be coupled together אֶל־אַחֲתָהּ one to another*.

- f 2. נַפֶּשׁ *soul, person* expresses the idea of *self*,<sup>4</sup> both in the singular, Pr 19<sup>5,16</sup>, 29<sup>24</sup>, Jb 18<sup>4</sup> (in all cases נַפֶּשׁ equivalent to *himself*) and in the plural, Jer 37<sup>3</sup>, &c. Similar to this is the use of בְּקִרְבָּה Gn 18<sup>12</sup> (prop. *in her inward part*) in the sense of *within herself*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on the whole question the thorough discussion by Budde, *Die bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 283 ff.: according to him, the words in Gn 9<sup>5</sup> are to be rendered *at the hand of one another* (from men mutually) *will I require it*. [In support of this view, Budde points to Zc 7<sup>10</sup> וְרָעַת אִישׁ אֶחָיו אֶל־תַּחֲשֹׁבוֹ, וְאִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ אֶל־תַּחֲשֹׁבוֹ בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, which in the light of S<sup>17</sup>, בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, can only, he observes, be rendered ‘and devise not the hurt of one another in your heart’. So also König, *Syntax*, § 33.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also אִין־אִישׁ Gn 39<sup>11</sup>. On the expression of the idea of *no one* by means of אִין with a following participle, see the *Negative Sentences*, § 152 l.

<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere הָאֶחָד . . . הָאֶחָד 2 S 14<sup>6</sup>, or the substantive is repeated, e.g. Gn 47<sup>21</sup> (*from one end . . . to the other end*).

<sup>4</sup> On the representation of this idea by pronouns, separate and suffixed, see § 135 a, i and k.

<sup>5</sup> In a similar way the idea of *self* in Arabic, as in Sanskrit (*ātman*), is paraphrased by *soul, spirit*; in Arabic also by *eye*; in Rabbinic by גּוּף *body*,

3. בְּעֶצֶם bone (then metaphorically for *substance*) expresses the idea of *self*, *g* *selfsame*, *very same*, in reference to *things* (as נָפֶשׁ to persons, e.g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם in the selfsame day, Gn 7<sup>13</sup>, cf. Jos 10<sup>27</sup>, Ez 24<sup>2</sup>; לְטֹהַר בְּעֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם as it were the very heaven for clearness, Ex 24<sup>10</sup>; בְּעֶצֶם חֲמוּ in the very fullness of his strength (= in the midst of his full strength), Jb 21<sup>23</sup>).

4. The simple plural of words denoting time sometimes includes also the *h* idea of *a few*, *some*;<sup>1</sup> thus יָמִים a few days, Gn 24<sup>55</sup>, 4c<sup>4</sup> (here even of a longer period, = *for some time*); Is 65<sup>20</sup>, Dn 8<sup>27</sup> (on the other hand, Gn 27<sup>44</sup>, 29<sup>20</sup> יָמִים אֲחֵרִים; see § 96 under אָחֵר); שָׁנִים some years, Dn 11<sup>6,8</sup>.

בָּרֶם or עֶצֶם bone, in Ethiopic and Amharic by *head*, in Egyptian by *mouth*, *hand*, &c.; cf. also the Middle High German *min lip*, *din lip*, for *ich*, *du*. However, נָפֶשׁ in such cases is never (not even in Is 46<sup>2</sup> נַפְשָׁם they themselves) a merely otiose periphrasis for the personal pronoun, but always involves a reference to the *mental* personality, as affected by the senses, desires, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Some in reference to persons in Ex 16<sup>20</sup> is expressed by אֲנָשִׁים, and in Neh 5<sup>2-4</sup> by יֵשׁ אִשָּׁר *sunt qui*, with a participle following.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SENTENCE

#### I. The Sentence in General.

##### § 140. *Noun-clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence.*

- a* 1. Every sentence, the subject and predicate of which are nouns or their equivalents (esp. participles), is called a *noun-clause*, e. g. *יְהוָה מֶלֶכֵּנוּ* *the Lord is our king*, Is 33<sup>22</sup>; *וְאֵלֵּי כָרָם רָעִים וְחַטָּאִים* *now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners*, Gn 13<sup>13</sup>; *פֶּה לָהֶם* *a mouth is theirs*, ψ 115<sup>5</sup>; see further, § 141.
- b* 2. Every sentence, the subject of which is a noun (or pronoun included in a verbal-form) and its predicate a finite verb, is called a *verbal-clause*, e. g. *וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים* *and God said*, Gn 1<sup>3</sup>; *וַיִּבְדֵּל* *and he divided*, 1<sup>7</sup>; see further, § 142.
- c* Rem. In the last example the pronominal subject is at least indicated by the preformative (ו), and in almost all forms of the perfect by affirmatives. The 3rd pers. sing. perf. however, which contains no indication of the subject, must also be regarded as a full verbal-clause.
- d* 3. Every sentence, the subject or predicate of which is itself a full clause, is called a *compound sentence*, e. g. *וְהָאֵל תָּמִים דְּרָבּוּ* *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect*; Gn 34<sup>8</sup> *שָׁכֵם בְּנִי* *my son Shechem—his soul longeth for your daughter*; see further, § 143.
- e* 4. The above distinction between different kinds of sentences—especially between noun- and verbal-clauses—is indispensable to the more delicate appreciation of Hebrew syntax (and that of the Semitic languages generally), since it is by no means merely external or formal, but involves fundamental differences of meaning. Noun-clauses with a substantive as predicate, represent something *fixed*, a *state* or in short, a *being* so and so; verbal-clauses on the other hand, something *moveable* and *in progress*, an *event* or *action*. The latter description is indeed true in a certain sense also of noun-clauses

with a participial predicate, except that in their case the event or action (as distinguished from that expressed by the verbal-clause) is of a fixed and abiding character.

Rem. By the Arab grammarians every clause beginning with an independent subject is regarded as a noun-clause, and every clause beginning with a finite verb as verbal. If a finite verb follows the noun-subject the two together (since the verb comprises its own subject and is thus a complete verbal-clause) form a compound noun-sentence, just as when the predicate consists of an independent noun-clause. Though this definition of the different kinds of sentence, which we formerly accepted (in § 144 a of the 22nd to the 24th German editions of this Grammar), is rejected above, *a-d*, we must, nevertheless, mention here the point in which this more complicated view of the Arab grammarians may be regarded as at least relatively correct, namely, in classifying verbal-clauses according as the subject precedes or follows the verb, a distinction which is often of great importance in Hebrew also; see further, in § 142 a.

### § 141. *The Noun-clause.*

1. The *subject* of a noun-clause (see § 140 a) may be—

*a*

(a) A substantive, e. g. וְנָהָר יֵצֵא מִיַּעַן and a river went out (was going out) of *Eden*, Gn 2<sup>10</sup>.

(b) A pronoun, e. g. Gn 7<sup>4</sup> אֲנִי מְמַטֵּר I will cause it to rain; 14<sup>18</sup> וְהוּא כֹהֵן and he was priest; 2<sup>23</sup> וְאַתָּה before a feminine predicate, as וְאַתָּה before a plural in Ex 32<sup>4</sup>); מי חָכָם who is wise? Ho 14<sup>10</sup>.—In 1 Ch 5<sup>2</sup> וּלְגִיד מִמֶּנּוּ and of him one became a prince, the subject is contained in מִמֶּנּוּ.<sup>1</sup>

2. The *predicate* of a noun-clause may be—

*b*

(a) A substantive, e. g. Dt 14<sup>1</sup> בָּנִים אַתֶּם וְגו' ye are children of the Lord your God; Gn 42<sup>13</sup>. Specially characteristic of the Semitic mode of expression are the cases in which both subject and predicate are substantives, thus emphasizing their identity ('the thing is its measure, material, or equivalent'), e. g. Ez 41<sup>22</sup> עֵץ וְקִירָתָיו עֵץ . . . הַמִּזְבֵּחַ the altar (was) wood . . . , and the walls thereof (were) wood, i. e. of wood. Cf. below, c.

(b) An adjective or participle, e. g. Gn 2<sup>12</sup> הַזֶּה הָאָרֶץ טוֹב and the gold of that land is good; וְעֶפְרוֹן יָשָׁב now Ephron was sitting, &c., Gn 23<sup>10</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Very frequently such noun-clauses, attached by *Wāw* to a verbal-clause, are used to represent a state contemporaneous with the principal action; cf. *e* below.

(c) A numeral, e. g. Gn 42<sup>13</sup> עֲבָדֶיךָ שְׁנָיִם עָשָׂר the twelve (of us) are thy servants.

<sup>1</sup> For other remarkable instances of ellipse in the Chronicler, see Driver, *Introduction*, ed. 8, p. 537, no. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the numerous examples in § 116 n-p.

(d) A pronoun, e.g. Gn 10<sup>12</sup> (היא), Ex 9<sup>27</sup> (אני), Gn 24<sup>65</sup> (מי), 1 K 9<sup>13</sup> (מה).<sup>1</sup>

(e) An adverb or (esp. if formed with a preposition) any specification of time, place, quality, possessor, &c., which may be regarded as the equivalent of a noun-idea, e.g. שם הבדללח there is the bdellium, Gn 2<sup>12</sup>; הבל where is Abel? 4<sup>9</sup>; לעולם חסדו his mercy endureth for ever, ψ 136<sup>11</sup>; עשר בביתו riches are in his house, ψ 112<sup>3</sup>; לו אנהנו we are his, ψ 100<sup>3</sup> Qerê.

C Rem. 1. The employment of a substantive as predicate of a noun-clause is especially frequent, either when no corresponding adjective exists (so mostly with words expressing the material; cf. § 128 o) or when the attribute is intended to receive a certain emphasis. For in all cases there is a much greater stress upon a substantival predicate,<sup>2</sup> since it represents something as identical with the subject (see above, b [a]), than upon an adjectival or verbal predicate; cf. Ct 1<sup>10</sup>; ψ 25<sup>10</sup> all the paths of the Lord are נאמת חסד lovingkindness and truth (i.e. wholly lovingkindness, &c.; cf. Jer 10<sup>10</sup>); Ez 38<sup>5</sup>, ψ 10<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>5</sup>, 88<sup>19</sup>, Pr 3<sup>17</sup>,<sup>3</sup> Jb 22<sup>12</sup>, 23<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>13</sup>, Ru 3<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes the emphasis on the predicate is obtained by the use of the plural form (according to § 124 e), e.g. ψ 110<sup>3</sup> thy people are נרבת altogether willingness; Ct 5<sup>16</sup>, Dn 9<sup>28</sup>.

d Sometimes the boldness of such combinations is modified by the repetition of the subject, as regens of the predicate, e.g. Jb 6<sup>12</sup> אספה אבנים כחי is my strength the strength of stones? Pr 3<sup>17</sup>. That the language, however—especially in poetry—is not averse even to the boldest combinations in order to emphasize very strongly the unconditional relation between the subject and predicate, is shown by such examples as ψ 45<sup>9</sup> myrrh and aloes and cassia are all thy garments (i.e. so perfumed with them that they seem to be composed of them); Ct 1<sup>16</sup> thine eyes are doves, i.e. dove's eyes (but 5<sup>12</sup> כיונים);<sup>4</sup> ψ 23<sup>5</sup>, 109<sup>4</sup>, Jb 8<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup>, Ct 2<sup>13</sup>. In prose, e.g. Ex 9<sup>31</sup>, Ezr 10<sup>13</sup> העת השמים the season is rain showers, i.e. the rainy season; with a bold enallage of the number, Gn 34<sup>30</sup> ואני ומי משפחתי and I (with my family) am persons few in number. For similarly bold expressions with הנה cf. Gn 11<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>, Ex 17<sup>12</sup>, Is 5<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>28</sup>, and again with a bold enallage of the number, Jb 29<sup>15</sup> I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame, but in prose, Nu 10<sup>31</sup> and thou shalt be to us לעינים.

<sup>1</sup> Why in these examples the pronouns, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, are to be considered as predicates and not as subjects, may be seen from what has been remarked above, § 126 k.

<sup>2</sup> The same naturally applies to most of those cases which are not pure noun-clauses, but have the substantival predicate connected with the subject by היה (e.g. Gn 1<sup>2</sup> and the earth was a waste and emptiness; cf. ψ 35<sup>9</sup>, Pr 8<sup>30</sup>, Jb 3<sup>4</sup>) or where a preposition precedes the substantival predicate, as ψ 29<sup>4</sup> the voice of the Lord is with power, i.e. powerful.

<sup>3</sup> שָׁלוֹם here, as in Jb 21<sup>9</sup>, is evidently a substantive after a plural subject; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether שָׁלוֹם in such passages as Gn 43<sup>27</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>, ψ 120<sup>7</sup>, &c., is not rather to be regarded as an adjective.

<sup>4</sup> As a rule, in such comparisons בְּ (which is then to be regarded as nominative) stands before the predicate, e.g. Is 63<sup>2</sup> wherefore are thy garments כְּגֵת בְּרֶכֶת כְּפָרֶה like those of one that treadeth in the wine-press? (prop. the like of one that treadeth, instar calcantis); Jer 50<sup>9</sup>. The comparison is then much less emphatic than in the noun-clauses cited above.

2. The noun-clause connected by *wāw* copulative to a verbal-clause, or its *e* equivalent, always describes a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action, or (when the predicate is a transitive participle) an action represented in constant duration (cf. § 107 d, as well as § 116 n and o), e.g. Gn 19<sup>1</sup> *and the two angels came to Sodom at even*, וְלוֹט יָשֵׁב *while Lot sat*, &c.; 18<sup>1.8.16.22</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup>, Ju 13<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 4<sup>7</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup> (always with a participle); with an adjectival predicate, Gn 18<sup>12</sup>; with a substantival predicate, 18<sup>27</sup>; with an adverbial predicate, 9<sup>23</sup>. Not infrequently such a *circumstantial* clause indicates at the same time some contradictory fact, so that וְ is equivalent to *whereas*, *whilst*, *although*, e.g. Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>27</sup>, 2c<sup>3</sup>, 48<sup>14</sup> (*although he was the younger*); Ju 16<sup>15</sup> *how canst thou say, I love thee*, וְלִבְךָ אֵין אִתִּי *whereas thine heart is not with me?* 2 S 3<sup>39</sup>, ψ 28<sup>3</sup> *whilst mischief is in their hearts*. These clauses describing a state are, however, only a subdivision of the large class of circumstantial clauses, on which see § 156.

3. As the examples given under *a* and *b* show, the syntactical *f* relation existing between the subject and predicate of a noun-clause is as a rule expressed by simple juxtaposition, without a *copula* of any kind. To what period of time the statement applies must be inferred from the context; e.g. 1 K 18<sup>21</sup> יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים *the Lord is the true God*; 1 S 9<sup>19</sup>; Is 31<sup>2</sup> גַּם־הוּא חָכֵם *yet he also is wise*; Gn 42<sup>11</sup>; on the other hand, Gn 19<sup>1</sup> וְלוֹט יָשֵׁב *and (=while) Lot was sitting*; Ez 28<sup>15</sup>; Gn 7<sup>4</sup> אֲנִי מִמָּטָר *I am raining*, i. e. *I will rain*. Sometimes even a jussive or optative is to be supplied as predicate, Gn 27<sup>13</sup> *upon me be thy curse*; Gn 11<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>13</sup>, Ex 12<sup>2</sup>. Cf. § 116 r, note.

Not infrequently, however, a connexion is established between subject *g* and predicate (*a*) by adding the separate pronoun of the 3rd person singular or plural, expressly resuming and therefore strengthening the subject, or (*b*) (especially for the sake of a more exact specification of time) by the help of the verb הָיָה. The first of these will be a *compound* sentence, since the predicate to the main subject consists of an independent clause.

Examples of (*a*): Gn 41<sup>26</sup> הֵנָּה שִׁנִּים זָבַע *they are seven* *h* years; Dt 1<sup>7</sup>, 4<sup>24</sup>; Ec 5<sup>18</sup> הִיא מַתַּת אֱלֹהִים *this—it is a gift of God*; Nu 3<sup>27</sup> הִיא אֲנִי; in a question, Gn 27<sup>38</sup>. Sometimes הוּא is used in this way to strengthen a pronominal subject of the first or second person, and at the same time to connect it with the predicate which follows,<sup>1</sup> e.g. אֲנִי הוּא Is 43<sup>25</sup> *I, even I, am he that blotteth out*, &c.; 51<sup>12</sup>; אַתָּה הוּא 2 S 7<sup>28</sup>, Is 37<sup>16</sup>, ψ 44<sup>5</sup>, Neh 9<sup>6.7</sup>; in an interrogative sentence, Jer 14<sup>22</sup>; <sup>2</sup> in Jer 49<sup>12</sup> הוּא in a *verbal-clause* strengthens אַתָּה.

<sup>1</sup> On a similar use of the separate pronoun of the third person in Aramaic (Dn 2<sup>38</sup>, Ezr 5<sup>11</sup>, &c.) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 87. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This is of course to be distinguished from the use of הוּא (to be inferred from the context) as predicate in the sense of δ αὐτός; see above, § 135 a, note 1; or such cases as Dt 32<sup>39</sup> *see now* אֲנִי הוּא אֲנִי *that I, even I, am he*; 1 Ch 21<sup>17</sup>.

*i* Of (b): naturally this does not apply to the examples, in which הָיָה, in the sense of *to become, to fare, to exist*, still retains its full force as a verb, and where accordingly the sentence is verbal, and not a noun-clause; especially when the predicate precedes the subject. On the other hand, such examples as Gn 1<sup>2</sup> and the earth was (הָיָה הָאָרֶץ) *waste and emptiness*, can scarcely be regarded as properly verbal clauses; הָיָה is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past time a statement which, as the description of a state, might also appear in the form of a pure noun-clause; cf. Gn 3<sup>1</sup>. This is especially true of the somewhat numerous instances in which הָיָה occurs as a connecting word between the subject and the participial predicate; e.g. Ju 1<sup>7</sup>, Jb 1<sup>14</sup> (immediately afterwards a pure noun-clause). The imperfect of הָיָה announces what is future in Nu 14<sup>33</sup>, &c.; cf. § 116 r. However, especially in the latter case, הָיָה is not wholly without verbal force, but comes very near to being a mere copula, and this use is more frequent in the later books<sup>1</sup> than in the earlier.

*k* Rem. On the employment of הָיָה existence, and אֵין non-existence, which were originally substantives (on their tendency to be used as verbs, equivalent to *est*, and *non est*, cf. § 100 o, and the *Negative Sentences*, § 152) as a connecting link between a pronominal subject and a participial predicate (especially in conditional and interrogative sentences, Gn 24<sup>42,49</sup>, 43<sup>4</sup>, &c.), see above, § 116 g, and the various kinds of subordinate clauses mentioned in §§ 150, 159.

*l* 4. The natural arrangement of words in the noun-clause, as describing a state, is *subject—predicate*; the principal stress falls on the former since it is the object of the description. Very frequently, however (and not merely in poetry, where greater freedom is naturally allowed in the arrangement of words), the reverse order is found, i. e. *predicate—subject*. The latter order *must* be used when special emphasis is laid on the predicate,<sup>2</sup> or when it consists of an interrogative word; thus with a substantival predicate, e.g. Gn 3<sup>19</sup> עָפָר אַתָּה dust thou art; 4<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>13</sup> (my sister, not my wife); 20<sup>2,12</sup>, 29<sup>14</sup>, Is 6<sup>3b</sup>, Jb 5<sup>24</sup>, 6<sup>12</sup>; with an adjectival predicate, e.g. Is 6<sup>3a</sup>, 28<sup>21</sup>, Jer 10<sup>6</sup>; with a participle, Gn 30<sup>1</sup>, 32<sup>12</sup>; with an interrogative pronoun, e.g. Gn 24<sup>65</sup>; <sup>3</sup> with an adverbial interrogative, e.g. Gn 4<sup>9</sup>.

*m* Rem. On the above cf. the exhaustive investigations of C. Albrecht, 'Die Wortstellung im hebr. Nominalsatz,' ZAW. vii. 218 ff. and viii. 249 ff.; with a complete list of the exceptions to the order *subject—predicate*, p. 254 ff. The predicate *must* precede for the reasons stated (an *adjectival predicate* is particularly emphatic when it has the force of a comparative, e.g. Gn 4<sup>13</sup>; the predicate expressed by means of a preposition precedes most frequently when it serves to convey the ideas of *having, possessing*, e.g. Gn 18<sup>14</sup>, 29<sup>18</sup>, &c.; cf. also 26<sup>20</sup>, 31<sup>16,43</sup>).

*n* The predicate *may* precede: (a) when the subject is a pronoun, for 'the person assumed to be generally known, does not excite the same interest as

<sup>1</sup> According to Albrecht, ZAW. viii. 252, especially in Deuteronomy and in the Priestly Code.

<sup>2</sup> For the same reason specifications of place (e.g. Gn 4<sup>7</sup>) or other adverbial qualifications may stand at the beginning of the sentence.

<sup>3</sup> The only exceptions, according to Albrecht (see the Rem. above), are Ex 16<sup>7,8</sup>.

that which is stated about him;’ (b) ‘in order not to be a mere appendage to a subject which consists of several words,’ e.g. 2 K 20<sup>19</sup>; (c) in interrogative sentences (with a substantival or adjectival predicate or one compounded with a preposition), e.g. 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>; finally (d) in a relative clause, when the predicate is adverbial or compounded with a preposition, as a rule closely united (by Maqqeph) with אֲשֶׁר, e.g. Gn 2<sup>11</sup> אֲשֶׁר-יָשָׁם; 1<sup>29f.</sup> אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ.

### § 142. The Verbal-clause.

1. By § 140 *f* there is an essential distinction between verbal-*a* clauses, according as the subject stands before or after the verb. In the verbal-clause proper the principal emphasis rests upon the action which proceeds from (or is experienced by) the subject, and accordingly the verb naturally precedes (*necessarily* so when it is in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.). Nevertheless, the subject does sometimes precede even in the verbal-clause proper, in the continuation of the narrative, e.g. Gn 7<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>13</sup>; especially so if there is special emphasis upon it, e.g. Gn 3<sup>13</sup> (it is not I who am to blame, but) *the serpent beguiled me*, cf. Gn 2<sup>5</sup>, &c.<sup>1</sup> In the great majority of instances, however, the position of the subject at the beginning of a verbal-clause is to be explained from the fact that the clause is not intended to introduce a new fact carrying on the narrative, but rather to describe a *state*. Verbal-clauses of this kind approximate closely in character to noun-clauses, and not infrequently (*viz.* when the verbal form might just as well be read as a participle) it is doubtful whether the writer did not in fact intend a noun-clause.

The particular *state* represented in the verb may consist—

b

(a) Of an act completed long before, to which reference is made only because it is necessary for understanding the sequel of the principal action. If the predicate be a perfect (as it almost always is in these cases), it is generally to be rendered in English by a pluperfect; cf. the examples discussed above in § 106 *f* (1 S 25<sup>3</sup>, &c.); also Gn 6<sup>8</sup> (not *Noah found grace*); 16<sup>1</sup>, 18<sup>17</sup>, 20<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>1</sup>, 39<sup>1</sup> (and *Joseph in the meanwhile had been brought down to Egypt*); 41<sup>10</sup>, Ju 1<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>27</sup>, 25<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>1</sup>, &c.—In a wider sense this applies also to such verbal-clauses as Gn 2<sup>6</sup> (see further, § 112 *e*), since when they serve to represent an action continuing for a long period in the past, and thus to some extent a *state*.

(b) Of a fact, contemporaneous with the principal events or continuing as *C* the result of them. To the former class belong all those instances in which the predicate is combined with הָיָה (provided that הָיָה has not, as in Gn 1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, &c., been weakened to a mere copula, in which case the precedence of the subject is fully explained from the character of the clause as a noun-clause; cf. § 141 *i*, and the examples of הָיָה, &c., with a participle, § 116 *r*); as an example of the second class, cf. e.g. Gn 13<sup>13</sup> אַבְרָם יָשָׁב בְּאֶרֶץ-כְּנָעַן וְגו' *Abraham accordingly continued to dwell in the land of Canaan, but Lot dwell, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> This of course applies also to the cases, in which the subject consists of a strongly emphasized personal pronoun, e.g. Gn 32<sup>13</sup> אַתָּה *thou thyself*; 33<sup>3</sup> הוּא *he himself*.

d Rem. 1. The close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and actual noun-clauses, is seen finally from the fact that the former also are somewhat frequently added with  $\dot{\imath}$  (or subordinated) to a preceding sentence in order to lay stress upon some accompanying circumstance; on such noun-clauses describing a *state* or *circumstance*, cf. § 141 e. This is especially the case, again, when the circumstantial appendage involves an antithesis; cf. Gn 18<sup>18</sup> *seeing that nevertheless Abraham shall surely become, &c.*; 24<sup>56</sup>, 26<sup>27</sup>, Is 29<sup>13</sup>, Jer 14<sup>15</sup>,  $\psi$  50<sup>17</sup>, Jb 21<sup>22</sup>, and such examples as Gn 4<sup>2,4</sup>, 29<sup>17</sup>, where by means of  $\dot{\imath}$  a new subject is introduced in express antithesis to one just mentioned. Moreover, in the examples treated above, under b and c (1 S 28<sup>3</sup>, &c.), the subject is frequently introduced by  $\dot{\imath}$ , which then corresponds to the Greek  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , used to interpose an explanation, &c., see Winer, *Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 53. 7 b.

e 2. By a peculiar construction verbal-clauses may be joined by means of  $\dot{\imath}$  and a following subject to participial clauses, e.g. Gn 38<sup>25</sup>  $\dot{\imath}$   $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי תִשְׁלַח$  *she was already brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; 44<sup>3,4</sup>, Ju 18<sup>3</sup>, 19<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>6</sup>; for other examples, see § 116 u (where it is pointed out, note 1, that the apodosis also frequently appears in the form of a noun-clause, a further proof of the close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and noun-clauses proper). Without doubt there is in all these cases a kind of inversion of the principal clause and the temporal subordinate clause; the latter for the sake of greater emphasis being raised to an independent noun-clause, while the real principal action is added as though it were an accompanying circumstance, and hence in the form of an ordinary circumstantial clause. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 166 ff.]

f 2. According to what has been remarked above, under a, the natural order of words within the verbal sentence is: *Verb—Subject*, or *Verb—Subject—Object*. But as in the noun-clause (§ 141 l) so also in the verbal-clause, a variation of the usual order of words frequently occurs when any member of the sentence is to be specially emphasized by priority of position.<sup>1</sup> Thus the order may be:—

(a) *Object—Verb—Subject*: Gn 30<sup>40</sup>, 37<sup>4</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>1</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>19</sup> and frequently. Naturally the examples are far more numerous, in which the object precedes a verbal form which includes the subject in itself, e.g. Gn 3<sup>10,14,18</sup>, 6<sup>16</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>13</sup>, Ex 18<sup>23</sup>, Ju 14<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>17</sup>, 20<sup>9</sup>, 2 I<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 22<sup>8</sup>, Pr 13<sup>5</sup>, &c.

(b) *Verb—Object—Subject*: Gn 21<sup>7</sup>, Nu 5<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>33</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>16</sup> (but  $\text{וְהָיָה$  is probably only a subsequent addition); Is 19<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  34<sup>22</sup>, Jb 11<sup>19</sup>, &c.

(c) *Subject—Object—Verb*: Is 3<sup>17</sup>, 11<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>18</sup>, Ho 12<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  6<sup>10</sup>, 11<sup>5</sup>, Jb 29<sup>25</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not infrequently also the striving after *chiasmus* mentioned in § 114 r, note, occasions a departure from the usual arrangement of words.

<sup>2</sup> This sequence occurs even in prose (Gn 17<sup>9</sup>, 23<sup>6</sup>, &c.); it is, however, more doubtful here than in the above prophetic and poetical passages, whether the preceding subject should not be regarded rather as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 143), the predicate of which is an independent verbal-clause; this would explain why the verbal-clause is usually separated from the subject by one of the greater disjunctives.—On the other hand, the sequence *Subject—Object—Verb* is quite common in Aramaic (e.g. Dn 27<sup>10</sup>); cf.

(d) *Object—Subject—Verb* (very rarely): 2 K 5<sup>13</sup>, Is 5<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>17</sup>, ψ 51<sup>5</sup>, Pr 13<sup>16</sup> (read פֶּל).<sup>1</sup>

(e) A substantival complement of the verb הָיָה is placed first in Is 18<sup>5</sup> נֶצְחָה יְהוָה נֶמַּל וּבִסֵּר פֶּמָּל *and a ripening grape the flower becometh*.

Rem. Of specifications compounded with a preposition those of *place* stand regularly after the verb, unless they are specially emphatic as e.g. Gn 19<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>18</sup>, 32<sup>6</sup>, Mi 5<sup>1</sup>, Est 9<sup>12</sup>; in Gn 29<sup>25</sup> בְּרַחֵל with בְּ pretii precedes for the sake of emphasis. Cf., however, in Gn 35<sup>13</sup> the order *verb—specification of place—subject*.—The remoter object precedes for the sake of emphasis, e.g. in Gn 13<sup>15</sup> (26<sup>3</sup>), 15<sup>3</sup>; even before the interrogative, Gn 27<sup>37</sup> (cf. Jer 22<sup>15</sup> where the subject precedes an interrogative, and 1 S 20<sup>8</sup>, Jb 34<sup>31</sup> where a prepositional specification precedes).—Prepositional specifications of *time*, such as בְּרֵאשִׁית (Gn 1<sup>1</sup>), בְּיוֹם הַהוּא, &c. (but not בְּרֵאשִׁיתָה, nor the simple רֵאשִׁיתָה, בְּתַחֲלָה, לְעוֹלָם), stand, as a rule, before the verb, provided it be not in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.; so also certain adverbs of time, such as אָז, עַתָּה, whilst others like עוֹד, תָּמִיד regularly follow the verb.

### § 143. The Compound Sentence.

A compound sentence (§ 140 d) is formed by the juxtaposition of a subject<sup>2</sup> (which always precedes, see c) and

(a) An independent noun-clause, which (α) refers to the principal subject by means of a pronoun, e.g. Na 1<sup>3</sup> יְהוָה בְּסוּפָה דָּרְכוּ *the Lord—in the storm is his way*; 2 S 23<sup>6</sup>, ψ 18<sup>31</sup>, 104<sup>17</sup>, 125<sup>2</sup>, Ec 2<sup>14</sup>; cf. also Gn 34<sup>23</sup>, where the predicate is an interrogative clause.—A personal pronoun is somewhat frequently used as the principal subject, e.g. Is 59<sup>21</sup> וְאֲנִי זֹאת בְּרִיתִי אִתָּם *and as for me, this is my covenant with them*, &c.; Gn 9<sup>9</sup>, 17<sup>4</sup>, Is 1<sup>7</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>2</sup>;<sup>3</sup> with an interrogative noun-clause, Gn 37<sup>30</sup>, Jb 21<sup>4</sup>, 38<sup>19</sup>:—or (β) is without a retrospective suffix (in which case naturally the connexion between the subject and predicate is much looser), e.g. 1 S 20<sup>23</sup> *and as touching the matter which*, &c. . . . *behold the Lord is between thee and me for ever*; Pr 27<sup>2</sup>.

Gesenius, *Comm.* on Is 42<sup>24</sup>, and Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 84. 1 b. The pure Aramaic usage of placing the *object* before the *infinitive* occurs in Hebrew in Lv 19<sup>9</sup>, 21<sup>21</sup>, Dt 28<sup>56</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>19</sup>, Is 49<sup>6</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>10</sup>, 31<sup>7</sup>, 36<sup>19</sup> (?).

<sup>1</sup> This sequence occurs more frequently in noun-clauses with a participial predicate, e.g. Gn 37<sup>16</sup>, 41<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>4</sup>, &c., in interrogative sentences, e.g. 2 K 6<sup>22</sup>, Jer 7<sup>19</sup>; in all which cases the emphasized object is placed before the natural sequence of *subject—predicate*. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 208.]

<sup>2</sup> In Gn 31<sup>40</sup> a verbal-clause (הָיִיתִי *I was*) occurs instead of the subject, and is then explained by another verbal-clause.

<sup>3</sup> In 1 Chr 28<sup>2</sup> (cf. also 22<sup>7</sup> וְאֲנִי הָיִיתִי עִם-לִבִּי *and I myself had it in my mind*), as e.g. Ez 33<sup>17</sup> *whereas their own way is not equal*; cf. § 135 f.

*b* (b) An independent verbal-clause: (a) with a retrospective suffix,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gn 9<sup>6</sup> (cf. § 116 w); 17<sup>15</sup> *as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai*; 26<sup>15</sup>, 28<sup>13</sup>, 34<sup>8</sup>, Ex 30<sup>37</sup>, 32<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>29</sup>, Is 9<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>10</sup>, Ez 33<sup>2</sup>, Ho 9<sup>11</sup>, ψ 11<sup>4</sup>, 46<sup>5</sup>, 65<sup>4</sup>, 74<sup>17</sup>, Dn 1<sup>17</sup>; with a pronoun as the principal subject, Gn 24<sup>27</sup>; (β) without a retrospective suffix, Is 19<sup>17</sup> *every one that mentions it (Judah) to it (Egypt), it (Egypt) is afraid*.

*c* Rem. 1. In all the above examples prominence is given to the principal subject (by its mere separation from the context by means of a greater disjunctive, as a *casus pendens*<sup>2</sup>) in a manner which would be quite impossible in a simple noun or verbal-clause (e.g. Na 1<sup>3</sup> if it were *יְהוָה בְּסוֹפָה*); cf. the French *c'est moi qu'on a accusé*. But the statement or question contained in the clause which forms the predicate also receives greater weight. For the same purpose other members of the sentence also are sometimes placed at the beginning and resumed again by a following suffix; thus the object, Gn 13<sup>15</sup>, 21<sup>13</sup>, 35<sup>12</sup>, 47<sup>21</sup> (with the Samaritan and LXX read perhaps *הָעֵינִי*); 1 S 25<sup>29</sup>; a specification of place, Gn 2<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 22<sup>18</sup>, &c.; a substantive with *ל*, 1 S 9<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>23</sup>; cf. the examples in § 135 a.—In Nu 15<sup>29</sup> a dative is co-ordinated with the *casus pendens*, i.e. there is a transition to a different construction.

*d* 2. To compound sentences belong also the numerous examples already treated in the account of the tenses, where the predicate of a *casus pendens* is introduced by the *wāw apodosis*. The isolation and prominence of the principal subject is in this case still more marked than in the instances treated above; on the *casus pendens* with a following imperfect consecutive (e.g. Jer 6<sup>19</sup>, 33<sup>24</sup>), cf. § 111 h; with a following perfect consecutive (e.g. Ex 4<sup>21</sup>, 12<sup>44</sup>, Nu 23<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>27</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>10</sup>, Is 9<sup>4</sup>, 56<sup>8 f.</sup>), § 112 t and mm; on the participle as *casus pendens*, § 112 oo and § 116 w.—In Jb 15<sup>17</sup> *wāw apodosis* follows with the cohortative; in Jb 23<sup>12</sup>, ψ 115<sup>7</sup>, the imperfect is separated by *ל* from the *wāw apodosis*; in Jb 4<sup>6</sup> *as for thy hope, it is the integrity of thy ways*, 36<sup>26</sup>, Ec 5<sup>6</sup>, an incomplete noun-clause is appended by *wāw apodosis*. On *wāw apodosis* after disconnected specifications of time, cf. § 112 oo at the end, and Gn 40<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>34</sup> *וְעַתָּה וְאֲנִי עֲבָדְךָ* and now (so far as the present is concerned) *I will be thy servant*, Nu 12<sup>12</sup>, Jer 4<sup>1</sup> (*me thou needest not fear*).

*e* 3. Sometimes a substantive introduced by *ל* (in respect to; cf. § 119 u) serves the same purpose as the *casus pendens* beginning the sentence, as Nu 18<sup>6</sup> (unless the *ל* here serves to introduce the object, according to § 117 n); Is 32<sup>1</sup> (where, however, *וְשָׂרִים* should most probably be read); Ec 9<sup>4</sup>, 1 Ch 7<sup>1</sup>, 24<sup>20 ff.</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand, ψ 16<sup>3</sup>, 17<sup>4</sup>, 32<sup>6</sup>, 89<sup>19</sup>, 119<sup>21</sup>, are very doubtful. The suggestion of P. Haupt (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii. no. 114; Baltimore, 1894) also deserves attention, that in passages like Ec 9<sup>4</sup>, and in *לָל* Gn 9<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, Ez 27<sup>3, 19</sup>, Ez 44<sup>9</sup>, &c., *ל* is not the preposition, but an emphasizing particle, answering to the Arab. *lā*, surely; Assyrian *lū*; with *לָל* it is equivalent to *in short*. Cf. also *לָל*—*לָל* *sive—sive, et—et*, Jos 17<sup>16</sup>, Ezr 1<sup>11</sup>, Assyrian *lū—lū*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Mēwā inscription, l. 31, and Horonain, therein dwelt, &c.

<sup>2</sup> But this term must not (any more than that formerly used 'the subject preceding absolutely') be misunderstood to mean that the principal subject is, as it were, floating in the air, and that the whole sentence results in an anacoluthon. On the contrary, to the Semitic mind, such sentences appear quite as correctly formed as ordinary noun- and verbal-clauses.

§ 144. *Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject*  
(especially in the Verbal-clause).

1. According to § 40 ff. most forms of the finite verb include a *a* specification of the subject in the form of *personal affirmatives* (in the imperfect also in the form of *preformatives*). Not infrequently, however, masculine forms are used in referring to feminines, e.g. וַיֵּדְעָתֶם Ez 23<sup>49</sup>; וַעֲשִׂיתֶם Ru 1<sup>8</sup>; in the imperfect, Jo 2<sup>22</sup>, Ct 2<sup>7</sup>; in the imperative, Am 4<sup>1</sup>, Zc 13<sup>7</sup> (for other examples, see § 110 *k*). On emphasizing the pronominal subject by the addition of the separate pronoun, see § 135 *a* and *b*.

On the masculine as *prior gender*, cf. § 122 *g*; on similar anomalies in the use of the personal pronoun, § 135 *o*, in the connexion between substantive and adjective, § 132 *d*, between subject and predicate, § 145 *p*, *t*, *u*.

2. The third person singular is often used impersonally, especially *b* in the masculine, e.g. וַיְהִי and *it came to pass*, וַיְהִי and *it shall come to pass*; הָרָה followed by לוֹ, &c., *it became hot to him*, i. e. *he became angry*, Gn 4<sup>6</sup>, &c.; לוֹ וַיֵּצֵר lit. *and it became strait to him, he was distressed*, Gn 32<sup>8</sup>;<sup>1</sup> also in the feminine, e.g. 1 S 30<sup>6</sup> (Ju 10<sup>9</sup>) וַתֵּצֵר לָרִיז; Ju 11<sup>39</sup>, Jer 7<sup>31</sup>, Ez 12<sup>25</sup>, Jb 15<sup>32</sup> (unless תִּמְוָתִי in verse 31 be the subject); cf. also the impersonal passives, Is 1<sup>6</sup> (רִכְכָּה), 29<sup>6</sup> (תִּפְקֹד). Somewhat different are the instances in which the 3rd singular feminine occurs as the predicate of a feminine subject which is not mentioned, but is before the mind of the speaker, e.g. Is 7<sup>7</sup>, 14<sup>24</sup>, Jer 10<sup>7</sup>, Jb 4<sup>5</sup>, 18<sup>15</sup> (in 2 K 24<sup>7</sup> כָּל-אִשָּׁר is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer 19<sup>5</sup> אִשָּׁר alone); different, too, are the instances in which the 3rd singular masculine refers to an act just mentioned, e.g. Gn 17<sup>11</sup> וַיְהִי and *this* (the circumcision) *shall be a token of a covenant*, &c.

Rem. The expressions for natural phenomena may be either in the 3rd sing. masculine or feminine, e.g. אִזְרָה *it becomes light*, 1 S 29<sup>10</sup> (but with an explicit subject, Gn 44<sup>3</sup>); וַיֵּאֵר and *it became light*; so also יִחְשֶׁק *it grows dark*, Jer 13<sup>16</sup>; but וַיְחֹשֶׁק *it grows dark*, Mi 3<sup>6</sup>; תִּעֲפֶה *though there be darkness*, Jb 11<sup>17</sup>; תִּמְטֵר *it rains*, Am 4<sup>7</sup> (where, however, the context requires the reading אִמְטֵר); ψ 50<sup>3</sup> נִשְׁעָרָה *it is tempestuous*.

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic and Ethiopic the masculine is commonly used in this case, in Syriac the feminine.—The forms חם *hot*, טוב *good, well*, מר *bitter*, צר *narrow*, רע *evil* (frequently joined by לִי, לוֹ, &c.), which many regard as impersonal, are no doubt to be regarded in most cases not as forms of the 3rd pers. sing. perf., but, with Hupfeld on ψ 18<sup>7</sup>, as adjectives.

d 3. The indefinite personal subject (our *they*, *one*, the French *on*, and the German *man*<sup>1</sup>) is expressed—

(a) By the 3rd person singular masculine, e. g. קָרָא *one* (sc. any *one* who named it, see the Rem.) called (or calls) it, Gn 11<sup>9</sup>, 16<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>22</sup>, Ex 15<sup>23</sup>; וַיִּקְרָא Gn 35<sup>8,10</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>16</sup>, Is 9<sup>5</sup>; וַיֹּאמֶר *one* said, Gn 48<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>; <sup>2</sup> other examples are Gn 38<sup>28</sup> *one* put out a hand; Nu 23<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>36</sup>, Is 6<sup>10</sup> לֹא וַיִּרְפָּא and *one* heals them; 8<sup>4</sup> (וַיִּשָּׂא); 46<sup>7</sup> (וַיַּעַץ); Am 6<sup>12</sup>, Mi 2<sup>4</sup>, Jb 27<sup>23</sup>; by the 3rd singular feminine (וַיִּלְךָ) Nu 26<sup>59</sup>.

e Rem. The Jewish commentators, following the Arab grammarians, usually explain these singulars by the addition of the participle (generally determinate) of the same stem, e. g. קָרָא הֹקֵרָא. This view is supported by the fact that such a complement sometimes occurs, e. g. Is 16<sup>10</sup> יִרְדֵּךְ הַדִּירֶךְ *the treader treads out, for one treads out*; 28<sup>4,24</sup> (doth *one* plow continually?); Dt 17<sup>6</sup> (Ez 18<sup>32</sup>), Dt 22<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>9</sup> (Ez 33<sup>4</sup>), Jer 9<sup>23</sup>; with an indeterminate participle (as in Arabic, e. g. *qāla qā'ilun, a sayer says, i. e. some one says*), e. g. Nu 6<sup>9</sup>, Am 9<sup>1</sup>; cf. above, § 116 i, and, on the whole question, Driver on 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>.

f (b) Very frequently by the 3rd plural masculine, e. g. Gn 29<sup>2</sup> *for out of that well* וַיִּשְׁקוּ *they* (i. e. people generally) watered the flocks; 26<sup>18</sup>, 35<sup>5</sup>, 41<sup>14</sup>, 49<sup>31</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>2</sup>, Is 38<sup>16</sup>, Ho 12<sup>9</sup>, Jb 18<sup>18</sup>, 34<sup>20</sup>, Est 2<sup>2</sup>, Neh 2<sup>7</sup>.

g Rem. The 3rd plur. also is sometimes used to express an indefinite subject, where the context does not admit of a human agent or at least not of several, e. g. Gn 34<sup>27</sup>. In such a case the 3rd plur. comes to be equivalent to a passive, as very commonly in Aramaic (see Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 96. 1 c); e. g. Jb 7<sup>3</sup> wearisome nights כְּנֹרְלִי have they allotted to me (equivalent to *were allotted to me*; to make 'invisible powers' the subject is a merely artificial device); Jb 4<sup>19</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>18</sup>, 19<sup>26</sup>, 34<sup>20</sup>, Ez 32<sup>25</sup>, ψ 63<sup>11</sup>, Pr 2<sup>22</sup> (in parallelism with a passive); 9<sup>41</sup>.

h (c) By the 2nd singular masculine, e. g. Is 7<sup>25</sup> לֹא-תָבוֹא שָׁמָּה *one* will (or can) not come thither (prop. *thou wilt* . . .); Jer 23<sup>37</sup>, Pr 19<sup>25</sup>, 30<sup>28</sup> (unless the reading should be תִּתְפַּחֵשׁ). Cf. also עַד-בֹּאֶךָ or simply בֹּאֶךָ (Gn 10<sup>19,30</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup> בֹּאֶכָה prop. *until thy coming, i. e. until one comes*).

i (d) By the plural of the participle, e. g. Jer 38<sup>23</sup> and all thy wives and thy children מוֹצֵאִים (prop. *are they bringing out* =) *they will bring out, &c.*; cf. Is 32<sup>12</sup>, Ez 13<sup>7</sup>, Neh 6<sup>10</sup> (*for some are coming to slay thee*)

<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 9<sup>0</sup> הָאִישׁ (prop. *the man*) is used in exactly the same sense as our *one*.

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere in such cases וַיֹּאמְרוּ usually occurs (but not in the perfect, e. g. 1 S 23<sup>22</sup>), so that it is doubtful whether the present reading of Gn 48<sup>1</sup>, &c., would not be better explained according to § 7 d, note. In Gn 48<sup>2</sup> for the extraordinary וַיִּגְדַּר the common form וַיִּגְדַּר is to be read; so in 50<sup>26</sup> for וַיִּשְׁעוּ (after a plural) either וַיִּשְׁעוּ or the 3rd plur.; in 2 K 21<sup>23</sup> וַיִּקְבְּרוּ.

and the passages discussed above, § 116 t.<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 5<sup>1</sup> the text is corrupt.

(e) By the passive, e. g. Gn 4<sup>26</sup> אָז הָיָה לְקֹרָא then (*was it begun* =) *k* began men to call upon, &c. (but read הָיָה הָיָה *he began*).

4. A peculiar idiom, and one always confined to poetic language, <sup>l</sup> is the not infrequent occurrence of two subjects in a verbal sentence,<sup>2</sup> one of the person and the other of the thing. The latter then serves—whether it precedes or follows—to state the instrument, organ, or member by which the action in question is performed, and may be most often rendered in English by an adverb, as a nearer definition of the manner of the action. All the examples of this kind have this in common, that the subject denoting the thing takes a suffix in the same person as the personal subject.<sup>3</sup> They are thus distinguished from the *accusatives* treated in § 117 s, with which they are often confused.

(a) Examples where the subject denoting the *thing* precedes, קוֹלִי אֶל־יְהוָה *m* אָקְרָא my voice—I cry unto the Lord, i. e. I cry aloud unto the Lord, ψ 3<sup>5</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, 142<sup>2</sup>; פִּי־קָרָאֲתִי my mouth—I cried, i. e. I cried aloud, ψ 66<sup>17</sup> (cf. 17<sup>10</sup>); Is 26<sup>9</sup> נַפְשִׁי with my soul, i. e. fervently, and parallel with it אֶפְרֹחֵי; but נַפְשִׁי ψ 57<sup>5</sup> is rather a periphrasis for the 1st pers. I.

(b) Where the subject denoting the *thing* follows, צִהֲלִי קוֹלְךָ cry—thy voice (i. e. aloud), Is 10<sup>30</sup>; so also after an imperative, ψ 17<sup>13</sup> (חַרְבֶּךָ) and verse 14 (יִרְךָ); 60<sup>7</sup>, 108<sup>7</sup> (יִמְנִיךָ); after a perfect, Hb 3<sup>15</sup> (סוֹנִיךָ); after a cohortative, ψ 108<sup>2</sup> (אֶפְרֹחֶיךָ). The subject denoting the *thing* stands between the personal subject and the predicate in ψ 44<sup>3</sup> יִרְךָ אֶתְּךָ.<sup>4</sup>

Rem. 1. Sometimes (as in other languages) an action is ascribed to a *n* subject which can only have been performed at his direction by another

<sup>1</sup> That this form of expression also (see *g*) comes to be equivalent to a passive is seen from the analogy of such Aramaic passages as Dn 4<sup>22</sup>, which exclude any idea of human agency. Cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 76. 2 e at the end, and in post.-bibl. Hebrew, e. g. *Pirqe Aboth* 2, 16; 3, 5, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Two subjects occur in a noun-clause in ψ 83<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> In Ex 6<sup>3</sup> שְׁמִי is subordinated to the following passive נִזְרַעְתִּי (§ 121 b); in 1 S 25<sup>26,33</sup> יָדִי, יֶרֶךְ are subjects to the infinitive absolute הוֹשִׁיעַ, according to § 113 gg. In ψ 69<sup>11</sup> read וְאֶבְכֶּה for וְאֶעֱנֶה.

<sup>4</sup> In several of the above examples it might naturally be supposed that the subject denoting the thing (especially when it follows the verb) is to be explained rather as a *casus instrumentalis*, i. e. as an accusative, analogous to the adverbial accusatives in § 118 q. But although it is true that the subject denoting the thing often defines more closely the manner in which the action is performed, and although in similar (but still different) examples, ψ 89<sup>2</sup>, 109<sup>30</sup>, Jb 19<sup>16</sup>, פִּי occurs with בְּ instrumentale, the explanation given above must nevertheless be accepted.

person; cf. e.g. Gn 40<sup>22</sup> (41<sup>13</sup>), 41<sup>14</sup>, 43<sup>34</sup> (and he commanded to set before them, &c.); 46<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>9</sup>.

- O 2. Supposed ellipses of a definite subject are due either to a misunderstanding of the passage, or to a corruption of the text. Thus in 1 S 24<sup>11</sup> after וַתִּקַּח either עֵינָי has dropped out (through confusion with עֵינָי) or we should read with the LXX וַתִּקַּח. In 2 S 13<sup>39</sup> (וַתִּבְלֶה דָּוִד) the text is obviously corrupt.

- p 3. In poetic (or prophetic) language<sup>1</sup> there sometimes occurs 'supposing the text to be correct) a more or less abrupt transition from one person to another. Thus from the 2nd to the 3rd (i.e. from an address to a statement), Gn 49<sup>4</sup> (?), Is 31<sup>6</sup> (?), 42<sup>20</sup>, 52<sup>14</sup>, 61<sup>7</sup>, Mal 2<sup>15</sup> (where, however, for וַיִּבְרַךְ we should undoubtedly read וַתִּבְרַךְ); ψ 22<sup>9</sup> [and regularly after a vocative, Is 22<sup>16</sup>, 47<sup>8</sup>, 48<sup>1</sup>, 54<sup>1,11</sup>, Jer 22<sup>16</sup>, 49<sup>4,16</sup>, Am 5<sup>6f</sup>, Mic 1<sup>2</sup> (= 1 K 22<sup>28</sup>), Mal 3<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>31</sup>; and after הוּא Is 5<sup>8</sup>, 29<sup>15</sup>, Jer 22<sup>13</sup>]. From the 3rd to the 2nd pers., Dt 32<sup>15</sup>, Is 1<sup>29</sup> (but read probably חֲמֻדָּתָם for חֲמֻדָּתָם, which has caused the insertion of אֲנִי, 5<sup>8</sup>, Jer 29<sup>18</sup>, Jb 16<sup>7</sup>, cf. also Dt 32<sup>17</sup>). From the 1st to the 3rd pers., La 3<sup>1</sup> (in a relative clause). In Jb 13<sup>28</sup> the 3rd pers. הוּא is probably employed *deiktikōs* for the 1st.

### § 145. Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number.

- a 1. As in other languages, so also in Hebrew, the predicate in general conforms to the subject in gender and number (even when it is a pronoun, e.g. וְאֵת בְּרִיתִי *this is my covenant*, Gn 17<sup>10</sup>). There are, however, numerous exceptions to this fundamental rule. These are due partly to the *constructio ad sensum* (where attention is paid to the meaning rather than to the grammatical form; see b-l below), partly to the position of the predicate (regarded as being without gender) before the subject.
- b 2. Singular nouns which include in themselves a collective idea (§ 123 a), or which occasionally have a collective sense (§ 123 b), may readily, in accordance with their meaning, be construed with the plural of the predicate, whether it precedes or follows. This is also the case, when the collective is itself feminine but represents, exclusively or at least generally, masculine persons.

Examples:—

- C (a) Of collectives proper (cf. § 132 g): (a) with the predicate preceding, Gn 30<sup>38</sup> הָעֶזְרָא תִּבְרָא (cf. 30<sup>39</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup> and 33<sup>13</sup>); Ju 1<sup>22f</sup>. בָּיִת representing persons belonging to the tribe; Mi 4<sup>3</sup> גּוֹי; 2 K 25<sup>5</sup> צֶהְלִי *army*; Pr 11<sup>26</sup> לְאִים

<sup>1</sup> In prose, Lv 2<sup>8</sup>; but וַתִּקְרִיבָה here is hardly the original reading. Different from this is Gn 26<sup>7</sup>, where there is a transition to direct narration.

the people; Nu 10<sup>8</sup> כָּל־הָעֵדָה all the congregation (cf. 1 K 8<sup>5</sup>); 1 K 14<sup>0</sup>, Is 9<sup>8</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup>, Am 1<sup>5</sup> עַם; 1 S 17<sup>47</sup>, Ezr 10<sup>12</sup> קָהָל assembly. Cf. also the construction of national names, as אֲרָם (§ 122 i), e.g. 1 K 20<sup>20</sup> וַיָּנָסוּ אֲרָם and the Syrians fled; 1 S 4<sup>5</sup>.—(β) with the predicate following, 1 K 8<sup>5</sup> צֶאֱן וְבָקָר sheep and oxen, construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Jb 14<sup>14</sup> הַבָּקָר הָיוּ הֲרִישוֹת the cattle (cows) were ploughing; 2 S 3<sup>1</sup> and 1 Ch 10<sup>6</sup> בֵּית = family (in 1 S 6<sup>13</sup> בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ on the analogy of names of countries, is used for the inhabitants of Bethshemesh); Ho 11<sup>7</sup>, Ezr 4<sup>4</sup> עַם; ψ 68<sup>11</sup> חֵיהָ herd [if correct, figuratively for people]; Is 26<sup>19</sup> גִּבְלוֹת dead bodies; Is 27<sup>11</sup> קִצִּיר boughs; 1 S 4<sup>1</sup> יִשְׂרָאֵל, preceded by a predicate in the singular.

(b) Of substantives occasionally used as collectives: (α) with the predicate *d* preceding, Gn 34<sup>24</sup> וְכָר; Ju 9<sup>55</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup> אִישׁ; Is 16<sup>4</sup> רִמָּם the treader down.—(β) with the predicate following, Jb 8<sup>19</sup> אֲחֵר = others; Ez 28<sup>3</sup> סֵתֶר a secret; [ψ 9<sup>7</sup>, and even after נָה Jb 19<sup>19</sup>.]

(c) Of feminines as collective terms denoting masculine persons: (α) with *e* the predicate preceding, 1 S 17<sup>46</sup> כָּל־הָאָרֶץ וְיָדְעוּ that all the earth may know, i.e. all the inhabitants of the earth; cf. Dt 9<sup>23</sup>, ψ 66<sup>1</sup>, 96<sup>1.9</sup>, &c.; Am 1<sup>8</sup> שְׁאִרֵי remnant; (ψ 33<sup>8</sup> כָּל־הָאָרֶץ).—(β) with the predicate following, Gn 41<sup>57</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>23</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>24</sup>, Gn 48<sup>6</sup> מוֹרֶדֶת issue; 1 S 2<sup>38</sup> כָּל־מִרְבִּית all the increase; Jb 30<sup>12</sup> פִּתְחָה rabble. In Hag 2<sup>7</sup> read חֲמֹרֶת with the LXX.

Examples of predicates in the singular, notwithstanding the collective meaning of the subject, occur in Gn 35<sup>11</sup>, Ex 10<sup>24</sup>, 14<sup>10</sup>, Dt 1<sup>39</sup>, &c.—For examples of bold enallage of the number in noun-clauses with a substantival predicate, see above, § 141 c.

Rem. Not infrequently the construction begins in the singular (especially *g* when the predicate precedes; see o below), but is carried on, after the collective subject has been mentioned, in the plural; e.g. Ex 1<sup>20</sup> וַיִּרְבּוּ הָעָם וַיַּעֲצֻמוּ and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty; 33<sup>4</sup>.

3. On the other hand, plurals which have a singular meaning *h* (§ 124 a) are frequently construed with the singular, especially the *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis* (§ 124 g-i; on the union of these plurals with attributes, cf. § 132 h), as אֱלֹהִים Gn 1<sup>13</sup>, &c. (but see the Rem.), מַלְאָכִים master, Ex 21<sup>4</sup> בָּעֲלִים master, owner, Ex 2<sup>29</sup>; cf., moreover, פָּנִים with the singular, Jb 16<sup>16</sup> כֶּתֶם, רִחְקִים Pr 10<sup>10</sup>.—So feminine forms with a masculine meaning are construed with a masculine predicate, e.g. Ec 12<sup>9</sup> חָכָם הָיָה קְהָלָהּ the preacher was wise.

Rem. The construction of אֱלֹהִים God with the plural of the predicate may *i* be explained (apart of course from such passages as 1 K 19<sup>2</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup>, where the speakers are heathen, and אֱלֹהִים may, therefore, be a numerical plural) partly as an acquiescence in a polytheistic form of expression, partly from the peculiar usage of one of the early documents of the Hexateuch, called *E* by Wellhausen, &c., *B* by Dillmann; cf. his commentary on Numbers—Joshua, p. 618, and above, § 124 g, note 2. So Gn 20<sup>13</sup> (but in conversation with a heathen); 31<sup>53</sup>, 35<sup>7</sup>, cf. also Jos 24<sup>19</sup>. That this construction was afterwards studiously avoided from fear of misconception, is shown by such passages as Neh 9<sup>18</sup> compared with Ex 32<sup>4.8</sup>, and 1 Ch 17<sup>21</sup> compared with 2 S 7<sup>23</sup>. Cf. Strack's excursus on Gen 20<sup>13</sup> in *Die Genesis*, Munich, 1905, p. 77.

k 4. Plurals of names of animals or things, and of abstracts, whether they be masculine or feminine, are frequently construed with the feminine singular of the verbal predicate<sup>1</sup> (on the collective sense of the feminine form, cf. § 122 s); thus Jo 1<sup>20</sup> שָׂרָה תַּעֲרֶיגַּ the *beasts of the field long*; Jer 12<sup>4</sup> (where the predicate precedes), cf. also Jb 12<sup>7</sup>; names of things with the predicate preceding occur in 2 S 24<sup>13</sup>, Is 34<sup>13</sup>, Jer 4<sup>14</sup>, 51<sup>29</sup>, ψ 18<sup>35</sup>, 37<sup>31</sup>, 73<sup>2</sup> *Keṯh.*, 103<sup>5</sup> (unless הַמְּחַדֵּשׁ is to be read for הַתְּחַדֵּשׁ), Jb 14<sup>19</sup>, 27<sup>20</sup>; with the predicate following, Gn 49<sup>22</sup> (פְּנוֹת = *branches*); Dt 21<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>13</sup> (וַיֵּצִיאוּ לָמָּה),<sup>2</sup> 2 S 10<sup>9</sup>, Is 59<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>15</sup> *Keṯh.*, 48<sup>41</sup>, 49<sup>24</sup>, Pr 15<sup>22</sup>, 20<sup>18</sup>, Jb 41<sup>10</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

l 5. Moreover, the plural of persons (especially in the participle) is sometimes construed with the singular of the predicate, when instead of the whole class of individuals, each severally is to be represented as affected by the statement. Undoubted examples of this *distributive* singular are Gn 27<sup>29</sup> (Nu 24<sup>9</sup>) אֲרֵרְךָ וְיִבְרְכְּךָ בְּרוּךְ *those that curse thee, cursed be every one of them, and those that bless thee, blessed be every one of them*; Ex 31<sup>14</sup>, Lv 17<sup>14</sup> and 19<sup>3</sup> (in both places the Samaritan has אִכְלוּ); Is 3<sup>12</sup> unless נִשְׁאָו is to be regarded as a *pluralis maiestatis* according to § 124 k; Pr 3<sup>18.35</sup> (?), 18<sup>21</sup> (?), 21<sup>27b</sup>, 27<sup>16</sup>, 28<sup>1b</sup>, 28<sup>16</sup> *Keṯh.*

m Rem. Analogous to the examples above mentioned is the somewhat frequent<sup>4</sup> use of suffixes in the singular (distributively) referring to plurals; cf. the *verbal*-suffixes in Dt 21<sup>10</sup>, 28<sup>48</sup>, Am 6<sup>10</sup>; and the *noun*-suffixes in Is 2<sup>8</sup>, 30<sup>22</sup>, Jer 31<sup>14</sup>, Ho 4<sup>8</sup> (but since ו follows, נִפְשׁוּ is undoubtedly a dittography for נִפְשׁוּ), Zc 14<sup>12</sup>, ψ 5<sup>10</sup> (where, however, פִּימוֹ is clearly to be read with all the early versions); 62<sup>5</sup>, 141<sup>10</sup> (?), Jb 38<sup>32</sup>, Ec 10<sup>15</sup> [but LXX הַבְּסִיל]; finally, the suffixes with prepositions in Is 2<sup>20</sup> אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ-לֹו *which they made each one for himself* (according to others, *which they (the makers) made for him*); 5<sup>26</sup>, 8<sup>20</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup>, in each case לוֹ; in Gn 2<sup>19</sup> לוֹ refers to the collectives חֵיה and עוֹף; cf. further, Jos 24<sup>7</sup>, Is 5<sup>23</sup> מִמֶּנּוּ after צְדִיקִים (but read probably צְדִיק with the LXX, &c.). Conversely in Mi 1<sup>11</sup> לָכֶם עֲבַרְי [cf. Jer 13<sup>20</sup> *Keṯh.*], but the text is undoubtedly corrupt.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Greek the construction of the neuter plural with the singular of the predicate τὰ πρόβατα βαίνει; in Attic Greek the plural of the predicate is allowed only when the neuter denotes actual persons, as τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον. In Arabic also the *pluralis inhumanus* (i.e. not denoting persons) is regularly construed with the feminine singular of the attribute or predicate, as are all the *plurales fracti* (properly collective forms).

<sup>2</sup> On the possibility of explaining forms like קָמָה as 3rd plural feminine, cf. above, § 44 m; but this explanation would not apply to all the cases under this head, cf. Jo 1<sup>20</sup>, ψ 37<sup>31</sup>, 103<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> In Pr 14<sup>1</sup> an abstract plural חֲכָמוֹת (to be read thus with ג, &c., instead of חֲכָמוֹת) is construed with the singular; but cf. § 86 l, § 124 e, end.

<sup>4</sup> In several of the above examples the text is doubtful, and hence Mayer Lambert (*REJ.* xxiv. 110) rejects the theory of distributive singulars generally. [Cf. Driver, *Jeremiah*, p. 362, on 167.]

6. Subjects in the dual are construed with the plural of the predicate, *n* since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, according to § 88 *a*, have no dual forms; thus עֵינַיִם Gn 29<sup>17</sup> לֵאָהָה וְעֵינַיִם *and Leah's eyes were dull*; 2 S 24<sup>3</sup>, Is 30<sup>20</sup>, Jer 14<sup>6</sup>, Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, ψ 18<sup>28</sup>, 38<sup>11</sup> (on the other hand, in 1 S 4<sup>15</sup> the predicate is in the feminine singular *after* the subject, and in Mi 4<sup>11</sup> *before* it; on both constructions cf. *k* above); so also אָזְנוֹיִם *ears*, 2 Ch 6<sup>40</sup>; יָדַיִם *hands*, Is 1<sup>15</sup>, Jb 10<sup>8</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup> (in Ex 17<sup>12</sup> even with the plural masculine כַּבְדִּיִם; cf. *p*); שְׁפָתַיִם *lips*, 1 S 1<sup>13</sup>, Jb 27<sup>4</sup>; נְשִׁיִם *breasts*, Ho 9<sup>14</sup>.

7. Variations from the fundamental rule (see above, *a*) very frequently occur *when the predicate precedes the subject* (denoting animals or things<sup>1</sup>). The speaker or writer begins with the most simple form of the predicate, the uninflected 3rd singular masculine, and leaves us without indication as to which of the following subjects (and so which gender or number) is to define the predicate thus left temporarily indefinite.<sup>2</sup> Thus inflexions are omitted in—

(*a*) The verb, with a following singular feminine, Is 2<sup>17</sup> וְיִשַׁח בְּבִהוּתָא *and bowed down shall be the loftiness of man*; 9<sup>18</sup>, 14<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>18</sup>, 47<sup>11</sup>; 1 S 25<sup>27</sup> (see note 1 below); 1 K 8<sup>31b</sup>, 22<sup>36</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>26</sup>, Jer 51<sup>46</sup>, Ec 7<sup>7</sup>; with a following plural masc., Is 13<sup>22</sup> וְנָחָה אֵיִים *and there shall cry wolves, &c.*; Ju 13<sup>17</sup> *Keth.*, 20<sup>46</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>15</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>33</sup>, Jer 51<sup>48</sup>, ψ 124<sup>5</sup>, Est 9<sup>23</sup> (see note 1 below); Gn 1<sup>14</sup> יְהִי מְאֹרֹת *let there be lights*; with a following plural feminine, Dt 32<sup>35</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>3a</sup>, Is 8<sup>8</sup>, Jer 13<sup>18</sup>, Mi 2<sup>6</sup>, ψ 57<sup>2</sup>; before collectives and mixed subjects, e. g. Gn 12<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>3</sup>, 30<sup>43</sup>, 32<sup>6</sup>, &c.; before a following dual, Is 44<sup>18</sup>, ψ 73<sup>7</sup> (where, however, with the LXX עֵינָיו should be read).

Rem. 1. The instances in which a preceding predicate appears in the plural masculine before a plural (or collective singular) feminine of persons (Ju 21<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>3b</sup>), of animals (Gn 30<sup>39</sup> where however צֶאֱנָא may refer specially to male animals) or of things (Lv 26<sup>33</sup>, Jer 13<sup>16</sup>, Ho 14<sup>7</sup>, ψ 16<sup>4</sup>, Jb 3<sup>24</sup>, Ct 6<sup>9</sup>), or before a dual (2 S 4<sup>1</sup>, Zp 3<sup>18</sup>, 2 Ch 15<sup>7</sup>) are to be explained not on the analogy of the examples under *a*, but from a dislike of using the 3rd plur. fem. imperf., for this is the only form concerned in the above examples (cf., however, Na 3<sup>11</sup> תְּהִי תְּהִי instead of תְּהִי תְּהִי); cf. the examples of a following predicate in the 3rd plur. masc., instead of the fem., under *t* and *u*, and on an analogous phenomenon in the imperative, see § 110 *k*.

2. As in the case of verbs proper so also the verb הָיָה, when used as a *q* copula, frequently remains uninflected before the subject; cf. Gn 5<sup>23 ff.</sup>, 39<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Only rarely does an uninflected predicate precede a personal subject, as 1 S 25<sup>27</sup> (but הָיָה יָאָה should probably be read, as in verse 35); Est 9<sup>23</sup> (before a plur. masc.). Such examples as Jb 42<sup>15</sup> are to be explained according to § 121 *a*.

<sup>2</sup> In a certain sense this is analogous to the German *es kommt ein Mann, eine Frau, &c.*

Dt 21<sup>3</sup> (according to the accents); 22<sup>23</sup>, Is 18<sup>6</sup> וַיִּהְיֶה נָצַח וּבֹסֶר וַיִּמָּל and *a ripening grape the flower becometh*.

- 7 (b) The adjective in a noun-clause, e.g.  $\psi$  119<sup>137</sup> יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ upright are *thy judgements*; cf. verse 155.<sup>1</sup>—On the other hand, רָעָה in עֲבָדֶיךָ רָעָה *thy servants are shepherds*, Gn 47<sup>3</sup>, is either an unusual orthography or simply a misspelling for רָעִי.

8 Rem. 1. As soon as a sentence which begins with an uninflected predicate is carried on after the mention of the subject, the gender and number of the subsequent (co-ordinate) predicates must coincide with those of the subject, e.g. Gn 1<sup>14</sup> וַהֲיוּ . . . יְהִי מֵאֲרֵר (see *o* above); Nu 9<sup>6</sup>, Ez 14<sup>1</sup>; cf. also Gn 30<sup>39</sup> (see *p* above).

t 2. The dislike mentioned in *p* above, of using the feminine form (cf., further, § 144 *a*, with the sections of the Grammar referred to there, and below, under *u*), is exemplified sometimes by the fact that of several predicates only that which stands next to the feminine substantive is inflected as feminine (cf. the treatment of several attributes following a feminine substantive, § 132 *d*); thus in Is 14<sup>9</sup> הָרְנוּהָ, and afterwards עוֹרֵר (but עוֹרֵר is better taken as an infin. abs. = *excitando*, reading הָקֵם for הָקִים); 33<sup>9</sup> אָבַל אֶמְלִלָּהּ mourneth, languisheth the land. Cf. Jer 4<sup>30</sup>, Jb 1<sup>9</sup>, and the examples (§ 47 *k*) where only the first of several consecutive forms of the 2nd sing. fem. imperf. has the affirmative *i*, Is 57<sup>8</sup>, Jer 3<sup>5</sup>, Ez 22<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup> (תִּהְיִי after תִּשְׁתִּי); on the converse sequence of genders in imperatives, Na 3<sup>15</sup>, cf. § 110 *k*.—Of a different kind are instances like Lv 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, where נָפֶשׁ person (fem.) as the narrative continues, assumes (in agreement with the context) the sense of a masculine person.

- u 3. The instances in which the gender or number of the following predicate appears to differ from that of the subject are due partly to manifest errors in the text, e.g. Gn 32<sup>9</sup> read with the Samaritan הָאֶחָד instead of הָאֶחָת; וְהָיָה then follows correctly; 1 S 22<sup>0</sup> read with Wellhausen שָׁאֵל, according to 1<sup>28</sup>, instead of שָׁאֵל; 1 S 16<sup>4</sup> read וַיֵּאמְרוּ; Ez 18<sup>29</sup> instead of יִתְבֶּן read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ez 20<sup>38</sup> for יָבוֹא,<sup>2</sup> and in Jb 6<sup>20</sup> for בָּטַח; in La 5<sup>10</sup> read נִכְבָּר, and cf. in general, § 7 *d*, note; 1 Ch 24<sup>8</sup> read יִלְדָה; in Jer 48<sup>15</sup> also the text is certainly corrupt. Other instances are due to special reasons. The anomalies in Is 49<sup>11</sup>, Ho 14<sup>1</sup>, Pr 1<sup>16</sup> (after רִנְיָוִי,  $\psi$  11<sup>4</sup> (after עֵינָיו), 63<sup>4</sup>, Pr 5<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>21.32</sup> 18<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>23</sup>, Jb 15<sup>6</sup> (all after שְׂפָתַיִם), Pr 3<sup>2</sup> (after מִצְוֹתִי,  $\psi$  102<sup>28</sup>, Jb 16<sup>22</sup> (after שְׁנוֹת), Dn 11<sup>41</sup> (read וְרִבּוֹת), and perhaps Gn 20<sup>17</sup> are also to be explained (see *p*) from the dislike of the 3rd plur. fem. imperf.; moreover, in Jer 44<sup>19</sup>, Pr 26<sup>23</sup> the plur. masc. even of a participle occurs instead of the plur. fem.—In Gn 31<sup>8 f.</sup> יִהְיֶה, after a plural subject, is explained as a case of attraction to the following singular predicate.<sup>3</sup>—In Gn 4<sup>7</sup> רִבֵּץ

<sup>1</sup> This does not include such cases as Jb 24<sup>7.10</sup>, where עָרוֹם is rather to be explained as an accusative denoting a state, § 118 *n*.

<sup>2</sup> יָבוֹא probably an error for יָבֹא. The Masora on Lv 11<sup>34</sup> reckons fourteen instances of יָבֹא, where we should expect the plural.

<sup>3</sup> So also the pronoun הוּא emphatically resuming the subject (see § 141 *h*) is attracted to the predicate in number in Jos 13<sup>14</sup> הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ . . . אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה the offerings of the Lord . . . that is his inheritance; in number and gender, Lv 25<sup>33</sup> קֶרֶם; Jer 10<sup>3</sup>.

is a substantival participle (*a lurker, a coucher*). In Gn 47<sup>24</sup> יְהִיָּה remains undefined in gender (masc.), although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis; so also in Gn 28<sup>22</sup>, Ex 12<sup>49</sup>, 287<sup>32</sup>, Nu 5<sup>14</sup>, 15<sup>29</sup>, Jer 50<sup>46</sup>, Ec 2<sup>7</sup> (לִי יְהִיָּה as if the sentence began afresh, and *servants born in my house . . . there fell to my lot this possession* also). In Jb 20<sup>26</sup> לֹא־נִפְחָה may (unless אֵשׁ is regarded as masculine, § 122 o) be taken impersonally, *fire, without its being blown upon*.—In Is 16<sup>8</sup> and Hb 3<sup>17</sup> the predicate in the singular is explained from the collective character of שְׂרָמוֹת (see *h* above); on the other hand, the masculine form of the predicate is abnormal in ψ 87<sup>3</sup>, Pr 2<sup>10</sup>, 12<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>25</sup>, Jb 8<sup>7</sup>, 36<sup>18</sup>.

## § 146. Construction of Compound Subjects.

1. When the subject is composed of a nomen regens (in the construct *a* state) with a following genitive, the predicate sometimes agrees in gender and number not with the nomen regens, but with the genitive, when this represents the principal idea of the compound subject.<sup>1</sup> Thus 1 S 2<sup>4</sup> נִשְׁתַּבְּחוּ גִבּוֹרִים חֲתָמִים *the bow of the mighty men is broken*, as if it were *the mighty men with their bow are broken*; Ex 26<sup>12</sup>, Lv 13<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>41</sup> (but the text is clearly very corrupt), 17<sup>16</sup>, Is 2<sup>11</sup>, 21<sup>17</sup>, Zc 8<sup>10</sup>, Jb 15<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>21</sup>, 29<sup>10</sup>, 32<sup>7</sup> (רַב שָׁנִים equivalent to *many years*); 38<sup>21</sup>; with the predicate preceding, 2 S 10<sup>9</sup>, unless it is to be explained according to § 145 *k*.

Rem. 1. The cases in which קוֹל (*voice, sound*) with a following genitive *b* stands at the beginning of a sentence, apparently in this construction, are really of a different kind. The קוֹל is there to be taken as an exclamation, and the supposed predicate as in apposition to the genitive, e.g. Gn 4<sup>10</sup> *the voice of thy brother's blood, which crieth (prop. as one crying) . . . ! = hark! thy brother's blood is crying, &c.*; Is 13<sup>4</sup>, 66<sup>6</sup>. In Is 52<sup>8</sup> an independent verbal-clause follows the exclamation *the voice of thy watchmen !*; in Jer 10<sup>22</sup> and Ct 2<sup>8</sup> an independent noun-clause; in Is 40<sup>3</sup> קוֹל קָרָא *the voice of one that crieth ! i.e. hark ! there is one crying* is followed immediately by direct speech; in Mi 6<sup>9</sup> קוֹל *hark !* may be used disconnectedly (cf. the almost adverbial use of קוֹל in § 144 *m*) and יְהוָה be taken as the subject to יִקְרָא.

2. When the substantive כֹּל (כָּל-) *entirely* is used in connexion with a *c* genitive as subject of the sentence, the predicate usually agrees in gender and number with the genitive, since כֹּל is equivalent in sense to an attribute (*whole, all*) of the genitive; hence, e.g. with the predicate preceding, Gn 5<sup>5</sup> וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי אָדָם *and all the days of Adam were, &c.* (in 5<sup>23</sup>, 9<sup>29</sup> וַיְהִי; but the Samaritan reads וַיְהִי here also); Ex 15<sup>20</sup>; with the predicate following, ψ 150<sup>6</sup>, &c. Exceptions are, e.g. Lv 17<sup>14</sup> (but cf. § 145 *l*), Jos 8<sup>25</sup>, Is 64<sup>10</sup>, Pr 16<sup>2</sup>, Na 3<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, in such cases as Ex 12<sup>16</sup> the agreement of the

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, however, the attraction of the predicate to the genitive may be merely due to juxtaposition.

predicate with כָּל-מְלָאכָה is explained from the stress laid upon the latter, כָּל-מְלָאכָה being equivalent to *the whole of work* (is forbidden).

d 2. When the subject of the sentence consists of several nouns connected by *wāw copulative*, usually

(a) The predicate *following* is put in the plural, e.g. Gn 8<sup>22</sup> *seed time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease* (לֹא יִשְׁכָּחוּ); after subjects of different genders it is in the masculine (as the *prior gender*, cf. § 132 d), e.g. Gn 18<sup>11</sup> אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה זָקְנִים *Abraham and Sarah were old*; Dt 28<sup>32</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>21</sup>.

c Rem. Rare exceptions are Pr 27<sup>3</sup> שֶׁמֶן וְקַטְרֹת יִשְׂמַח-לֵב *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*, where the predicate agrees in gender with the masculine שֶׁמֶן (as in Is 51<sup>3</sup> with שִׁשְׁשֹׁן); on the other hand, in Ex 21<sup>4</sup> (where הָאִשָּׁה וְיֶלְדֶיהָ are the subjects) it agrees with הָאִשָּׁה as being the principal person; in the compound sentence, Is 9<sup>4</sup>, it agrees with the feminine subject immediately preceding.<sup>1</sup>

f (b) The predicate *preceding* two or more subjects may likewise be used in the plural (Gn 40<sup>1</sup>, Jb 3<sup>5</sup>, &c.); not infrequently, however, it agrees in gender and number with the first, as being the subject nearest to it. Thus the predicate is put in the singular masculine before several masculines singular in Gn 9<sup>23</sup>, 11<sup>29</sup>, 21<sup>32</sup>, 24<sup>50</sup>, 34<sup>20</sup>, Ju 14<sup>5</sup>; before a masculine and a feminine singular, e.g. Gn 3<sup>8</sup>, 24<sup>35</sup> *then said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *her brother and her mother*; 33<sup>7</sup>; before a masculine singular and a plural, e.g. Gn 7<sup>7</sup> נֹחַ וּבָנָיו *and Noah went in, and his sons, &c.*; Gn 8<sup>18</sup> (where feminines plural also follow); 44<sup>14</sup>, Ex 15<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>21</sup>; before collectives feminine and masculine, 2 S 12<sup>2</sup>.

g Similarly, the feminine singular occurs before several feminines singular, e.g. Gn 31<sup>14</sup> וְלֵאָה וְרָחֵל *then answered Rachel and Leah*; before a feminine singular and a feminine plural, e.g. Gn 24<sup>61</sup>; before a feminine singular and a masculine singular, Nu 12<sup>1</sup> וּמִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *then spake Miriam and Aaron*; Ju 5<sup>1</sup>; before a feminine singular and a masculine plural, e.g. Gn 33<sup>7</sup> (cf., on the other hand, ψ 75<sup>4</sup> וְכָל-יֹשְׁבֵיהָ *dissolved are the earth and all the inhabitants thereof*). The plural feminine occurs before a plural feminine and a plural masculine in Am 8<sup>13</sup>.—In Jer 44<sup>25</sup> for אֲתֵם וְנִשְׁיֵכֶם read אַתֶּם אֲתֵם with the LXX, and cf. verse 19.

h (c) When other predicates follow after the subjects have been mentioned, they are necessarily put in the plural; cf. Gn 21<sup>32</sup>, 24<sup>61</sup>, 31<sup>14</sup>, 33<sup>7</sup>, &c., and § 145 s.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly with a mixed object, Gn 33<sup>2</sup> *he put . . . Leah and her children after*; אַחֲרֵיהֶם agrees with the masculine immediately preceding.

§ 147. *Incomplete Sentences.*

1. Sentences are called *incomplete*, in which either the subject or *a* the predicate or both must in some way be supplied from the context.<sup>1</sup> Besides the instances enumerated in § 116 *s* (omission of the personal pronoun when subject of a participial clause) and the periphrases for negative attributes § 152 *u*, this description includes certain (noun-) clauses introduced by הִנֵּה (see *b* below), and also a number of exclamations of the most varied kinds (see *c* below).

Rem. Incomplete sentences are very common in Chronicles, but are mostly due to the bad condition of the text; cf. Driver, *Introd.*<sup>6</sup>, p. 537, no. 27. Thus in 2 Ch 11<sup>22b</sup> restore הָשֵׁב, with the LXX, before לְהַמְלִיכוֹ; in 35<sup>21</sup> add בָּאֲחֵי, with the LXX, after הַיּוֹם and read פָּרַת for בֵּית; in 2 Ch 19<sup>6</sup> and 28<sup>21</sup> the pronoun הוּא is wanted as subject, and in 30<sup>9</sup> the predicate יְהִי; cf. also the unusual expressions in 1 Ch 9<sup>33</sup> (Ezr 3<sup>3</sup>), 1 Ch 15<sup>13</sup> (*ye were not present?*), 2 Ch 15<sup>8</sup>, 16<sup>10,12</sup> (<sup>bis</sup>), 18<sup>3</sup>.

2. The demonstrative particle הֵן, הִנֵּה *en, ecce* may be used either *b* absolutely (as a kind of interjection, cf. § 105 *b*) before complete noun- or verbal-clauses, e. g. Gn 28<sup>15</sup> וְהִנֵּה אֲנִכִּי עִמָּךְ *and, behold! I am with thee*; 37<sup>7</sup>, 48<sup>21</sup>, Ex 3<sup>13</sup>, 34<sup>10</sup>, or may take the pronoun, which would be the natural subject of a noun-clause, in the form of a suffix, see § 100 *o*. Whether these suffixes are to be regarded as in the accusative has been shown to be doubtful in § 100 *p*. However, in the case of הִנֵּה the analogy of the corresponding Arabic demonstrative particle 'inna (followed by an accusative of the noun) is significant.<sup>2</sup> If הִנֵּה with a suffix and a following adjective or participle (see the examples in § 116 *p* and *q*) forms a noun-clause, the subject proper, to which הִנֵּה with the suffix refers, must, strictly speaking, be supplied again before the predicate.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, however, the pronoun referring to the subject is wanting, and the simple הִנֵּה takes the place of the

<sup>1</sup> This does not apply to such cases as Gn 33<sup>8</sup>, where an infinitive with ל appears alone in answer to a question, the substance of the question being presupposed as a main clause; cf. also Gn 26<sup>7</sup>, where הִיא must again be supplied after אֲשֶׁתִּי.

<sup>2</sup> On the same analogy any substantive following הִנֵּה would have to be regarded as originally a virtual accusative. Since, however, Hebrew does not possess case-terminations (as the Arabic does, and uses the accusative necessarily after 'inna), it is very doubtful whether, and how far, substantives following הִנֵּה were felt to be accusatives.

<sup>3</sup> That these are real noun-clauses and that the participle (e. g. מֵת in מֵת הִנֵּה Gn 20<sup>8</sup>) cannot be taken as a second accusative (as it were *ecce te moriturum*), is also shown by the analogy of Arabic, where after 'inna with an accusative the predicate is expressly in the *nominative*.

subject and copula (as Gn 18<sup>9</sup> *הִנֵּה בָּאֵהָל* *behold she is in the tent*; 42<sup>28</sup>), or there is no indication whatever of the predicate, so that the sentence is limited to *הִנֵּה* with the suffix, as in the frequent use of *הִנֵּנִי הִנֵּנִי here am I*, in answer to an address. Elsewhere a substantive follows *הִנֵּה* (or *הִנֵּה* Gn 11<sup>6</sup>, Jb 31<sup>35</sup>), and *הִנֵּה* then includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun and the copula, e.g. Gn 22<sup>7</sup> *הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים here is the fire and the wood, &c.*; 12<sup>19</sup> *behold thou hast thy wife*! Ex 24<sup>8</sup>; with reference to the past, e.g. Am 7<sup>1</sup> *וְהָיָה לְקֶשׁ וְנִי and lo, it was the latter growth, &c.* By a very pregnant construction the simple *הִנֵּה* is used as the equivalent of a sentence in Jb 9<sup>19</sup>, *lo, here am I*!

- C 3. Examples of exclamations (threatening, complaining, triumphing, especially warlike or seditious) in which, owing to the excitement of the speaker, some indispensable member of the sentence is suppressed, are—(a) with suppression of the predicate (which has frequently to be supplied in the form of a jussive), e.g. Ju 7<sup>20</sup> *a sword for the Lord and for Gideon*! (verse 18 without *וְהָיָה*); 2 S 20<sup>1</sup> and 2 Ch 10<sup>16</sup> (cf. also 1 K 22<sup>36</sup>) *every man to his tents, O Israel*! (i.e. *let every man go to or remain in his tent*); without *אֵשׁ* 1 K 12<sup>16</sup>; moreover, Is 1<sup>23</sup>, 13<sup>4</sup> (on the exclamatory *קוֹל* equivalent to *hark*! cf. § 146 b); 28<sup>10</sup>, 29<sup>16</sup> (*הַפְּכֵכְם O your perversity*! i.e. *how great it is*!); Jer 49<sup>16</sup> (if *תִּפְלִצְתֶּךָ* be equivalent to *terror be upon thee*!); Jo 4<sup>14</sup>, Mal 1<sup>13</sup> (*הִנֵּה מַתְלָאָה behold what a weariness*!); Jb 22<sup>29</sup>; perhaps also Gn 49<sup>4</sup> *פָּחוּ כַּמַּיִם a bubbling over as water* (sc. happened), unless it is better to supply a subject *אַתָּה (thou wast)*.—(b) With suppression of the subject, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 152 k; Jb 15<sup>23</sup> *אֵימָה where sc. is bread*?—(c) With suppression of both subject and predicate, Ju 7<sup>18</sup> (see above); 1 K 12<sup>16</sup> (see above); 2 K 9<sup>27</sup> *אֲתוּ גַם him also*! explained immediately afterwards by *הִכֵּהוּ smite him*! Ho 5<sup>8</sup> *after thee, Benjamin*! sc. is the enemy (differently in Ju 5<sup>14</sup>); ψ 6<sup>4</sup>, 90<sup>13</sup>, Hb 2<sup>6</sup> *עֲרִמְתִּי עֲרִמָה*; ψ 74<sup>9</sup> *עֲרִמָה*.—On *וְלֹא* and if not (unless *וְלֹא* is to be read), 2 S 13<sup>36</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>17</sup>, see § 159 dd.

- d Rem. 1. To the class of incomplete sentences naturally belong exclamations introduced by interjections *אֵהָהּ, אֵהָהּ, הֵם, הוּא*; <sup>1</sup> cf. § 105. After the first two the object of the threat or imprecation follows regularly with *לְ* (cf. *vae tibi*) or *אֶל-* or *עַל-*, e.g. *אֵהָהּ לָנוּ woe unto us*! 1 S 4<sup>8</sup>, Is 6<sup>6</sup>; cf. also *אֵהָהּ לַיּוֹם alas for the day*! Jo 1<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand, the object of commiseration (after *הוּא*) follows mostly in the vocative, or rather in the accusative of exclamation (cf. *vae te* in Plautus); so in lamentation for the dead, *אֵהָהּ הוּא alas, my brother*! 1 K 13<sup>36</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> We do not consider here the cases in which these interjections (e.g. *הֵם* Ju 3<sup>19</sup>, Am 6<sup>9</sup>) stand quite disconnectedly (so always *אֵהָהּ* and *הֵהָהּ*).

Jer 22<sup>18</sup>; חַטָּא הוּי גוֹי חַטָּא *ah, sinful nation!* Is 1<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>8.11.18.20.22</sup> (*ah! they that . . .*).—For דָּח cf. Hb 2<sup>20</sup>, Zp 1<sup>7</sup>, Zc 2<sup>17</sup>.

2. Finally, instances of noun-clauses shortened in an unusual manner *c* may perhaps occur in יְדֵיהֶם and רַגְלֵיהֶם ψ 115<sup>7</sup>, for לָהֶם יָדַיִם *they have hands*, &c.; cf. verses 5 and 6 פְּהֵלָהֶם, &c. Perhaps also נִפְּילֵנִישׁוּ Gn 22<sup>24</sup>, and וְחָלִי Ec 5<sup>18</sup> are to be regarded in the same way, but hardly נִבְיָאֲכֶם Nu 12<sup>6</sup>; cf. § 128 *d* above.

## II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

### § 148. Exclamations.

The originally interrogative מָה is used to introduce exclamations *a* of wonder or indignation=*O how!* or ridicule, *why! how!* sometimes strengthened by וְהָ or וְאֵת according to § 136 *c*.—Astonishment or indignation at something which has happened is introduced by אֵיךְ *how* (likewise originally interrogative) with the perfect; the indignant refusal of a demand by אֵיךְ (but also by מָה Jb 31<sup>1</sup>) with the imperfect; an exclamation of lamentation by אֵיכָה, less frequently אֵיךְ *how!*; in Jo 1<sup>18</sup> by מָה.

Examples:—

מָה (or מָה־הָ) with a following *Dageš*, see § 37) expressing admiration (or *b* astonishment) before verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 27<sup>20</sup> (מָה־יָהּ); 38<sup>29</sup>, Nu 24<sup>5</sup> (*how goodly are . . .!*); ψ 21<sup>2</sup>, Ct 7<sup>2</sup>; before the predicate of noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 28<sup>17</sup>, ψ 8<sup>2</sup>; mockingly before the verb, 2 S 6<sup>20</sup> (*how glorious was . . .!*); Jer 22<sup>28</sup>, Jb 26<sup>21</sup>; indignantly, Gn 3<sup>18</sup> מָה־זֹּאת; 4<sup>10</sup>, 20<sup>9</sup>, 31<sup>26</sup> *what hast thou done!*

אֵיךְ with the perfect, e.g. Gn 26<sup>9</sup>, ψ 73<sup>19</sup>; in scornful exclamation, Is 14<sup>4.12</sup>; in a lament (usually אֵיכָה), 2 S 1<sup>26.27</sup>; with the imperfect, in a reproachful question, Gn 39<sup>9</sup>, 44<sup>8</sup>, ψ 11<sup>1</sup>, 137<sup>4</sup>; in a mocking imitation of lament, Mi 2<sup>4</sup>.

אֵיכָה with the perfect, Is 1<sup>21</sup>, La 1<sup>1</sup>; with the imperfect, La 2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. 1. The close relation between a question and an exclamation appears *c* also in the interrogative personal pronoun מִי in such cases as Mi 7<sup>18</sup> מִי־אֵל כְּמוֹךָ *who is a God like unto thee?* and so in general in rhetorical questions as the expression of a forcible denial; similarly in the use of an interrogative sentence to express a wish, see §§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*.

2. A weaker form of exclamation is sometimes produced by the insertion *d* of a corroborative כִּי *verily, surely*, before the predicate, Gn 18<sup>20</sup>; cf. 33<sup>11</sup>, Is 7<sup>9</sup>, and the analogous cases in the apodoses of conditional sentences, § 159 *ee*.

### § 149. Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration.

The particle אִם, in the sense of *certainly not*, and אִם־לֹא (rarely כִּי *a* Gn 22<sup>16</sup>) in the sense of *certainly*, are used to introduce promises or threats confirmed by an oath (especially after such formulae as תִּי־יָהּ,

חַי־נִפְשֶׁךָ, חַי אֲנִי, &c., as well as after imprecations, see below), and also simple asseverations, e.g. 1 S 2<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>20</sup>, Jb 27<sup>5</sup> after חַי־לִי *far be it from me*, but mostly without any introductory formula.

- b** Rem. No certain explanation of these particles has yet been given. According to the usual view, phrases expressing an oath depend on the suppression of an imprecation upon oneself, e.g. *the Lord do so unto me, if I do it* equivalent to *I certainly will not do it*; then naturally אִם-לֹא properly if *I do it* not equivalent to *I certainly will do it*. It is indeed difficult to understand such self-imprecations, put into the mouth of God, as in Dt 1<sup>34 f.</sup>, Is 14<sup>24</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, Jer 22<sup>6</sup>, Ez 3<sup>6</sup>, 35<sup>6</sup>, ψ 95<sup>11</sup>. Possibly, however, the consciousness of the real meaning of the formula was lost at an early period, and אִם-לֹא simply came to express *verily*, אִם *verily not*.—In 1 S 25<sup>22</sup>, where, instead of a self-imprecation, a curse is pronounced upon others, read לְרֹדֶךָ with the LXX for רֹדֶךָ.

Examples:—

- c** (a) The particles אִם and אִם-לֹא used after the utterance of an oath and after formulae of swearing, e.g. 2 S 11<sup>11</sup> (see note on *a*) חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשֶׁךָ אִם-אֶעֱשֶׂה אֶת-הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing*; 1 S 14<sup>45</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>16</sup> (after יְהוָה חַי; in 1 S 14<sup>39</sup> and 29<sup>6</sup> חַי־יְי is followed by a simple כִּי); Ct 2<sup>7</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup> (after הִשְׁפַּעְתִּי *I adjure you*); cf. also Gn 14<sup>23</sup>, 21<sup>43</sup>, 26<sup>20</sup>; spoken by God, Dt 1<sup>34 f.</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>14</sup>, ψ 95<sup>11</sup>; similarly אִם-לֹא Gn 24<sup>37 f.</sup>; spoken by God, Is 14<sup>24</sup>, where אִם-לֹא occurs first with the perfect in the sense of a prophetic perfect, § 106 *n*, but in the parallel clause with the imperfect; Jer 22<sup>6</sup>; in Gn 31<sup>52</sup> the negative oath introduced by אִם-אֲנִי, אִם-אֶתָּה is immediately afterwards continued by לֹא with the imperfect.—In Ez 34<sup>10</sup> the threat introduced in verse 8 by אִם-לֹא is, after a long parenthesis, resumed with הִנְנִי.
- d** (b) אִם and אִם-לֹא after formulae of cursing, e.g. 1 S 3<sup>17</sup> כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה-לְךָ אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם-תִּבְחַר מִפְּנֵי דָבָר וּנְיָ *God do so to thee, and more also! thou shalt not hide anything from me, &c.*; cf. 1 S 25<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, כִּי follows the curse, in 1 S 14<sup>44</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>23</sup> (here with a perfect), and in 2 S 3<sup>35</sup> אִם כִּי; in 1 S 25<sup>34</sup> the preceding כִּי is repeated before אִם; in 1 S 20<sup>13</sup> the purport of the asseveration is repeated (after the insertion of a conditional sentence) in the perfect consecutive.
- e** (c) אִם and אִם-לֹא as simple particles of asseveration, e.g. Ju 5<sup>6</sup> מִנֵּן אִם-יִרְאָה וְרִמָּה וּנְיָ *truly, there was not a shield and spear seen, &c.*; Is 22<sup>14</sup>, Jb 6<sup>28</sup> (in the middle of the sentence); after חַי־לִי *absit*, 2 S 20<sup>20</sup>; אִם-לֹא with the imperf. Is 5<sup>9</sup>, with the perfect, Jb 22<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Also combined חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשֶׁךָ 1 S 20<sup>8</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup> *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul (i.e. thou) liveth!* (Also in 2 S 11<sup>11</sup> read חַי־יְהוָה instead of the impossible חַיִּךְ). On חַי and חַי־יְהוָה in these noun-clauses (prop. *living is the Lord, &c.*), cf. § 93 *aa*, note.

## § 150. Interrogative Sentences.

H. G. Mitchell, 'The omission of the interrogative particle,' in *Old Test. and Sem. Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, Chicago, 1907, i, 113 ff.

1. A question need not necessarily be introduced by a special *a* interrogative pronoun or adverb. Frequently<sup>1</sup> the natural emphasis upon the words is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence as such; cf. Gn 27<sup>24</sup> **וְהָ אָמַרְתָּ בְּנִי עֵשָׂו** *thou art my son Esau?* (but cf. note 1 below) Gn 18<sup>12</sup>, Ex 33<sup>14</sup> (**וְכִנִּי**); 1 S 11<sup>12</sup> **יִמְלֹךְ שָׁאוּל** *Saul shall reign over us?* 1 S 22<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>29</sup> **לְפָנַי** *is it well with the young man?* (but cf. note 1); 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>24</sup>, Is 28<sup>28</sup>, Ho 4<sup>16</sup>, Zc 8<sup>6</sup> (*should it also be marvellous in mine eyes?*); Pr 5<sup>16</sup>. So especially, when the interrogative clause is connected with a preceding sentence by **וְ**, e.g. Jn 4<sup>11</sup> **וְאֵינִי לֹא אֲחָוִים** *and I should not have pity?* Ex 8<sup>23</sup> *will they not stone us?* Ju 11<sup>23</sup>, 14<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>9</sup>, 24<sup>20</sup>, 25<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>20</sup>, Is 37<sup>11</sup>, 44<sup>19b</sup>, Jer 25<sup>29</sup>, 45<sup>5</sup>, 49<sup>12</sup>, Ez 20<sup>31</sup>, Jb 2<sup>10</sup>, 10<sup>9</sup>; or when (as in some of the examples just given) it is negative (with **לֹא** for **לֹא־** *nonne*?), 2 K 5<sup>26</sup> (but cf. note 1), La 3<sup>33</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. The statement formerly made here that the interrogative particle is *b* omitted especially before gutturals, cannot be maintained in view of Mitchell's statistics (op. cit. p. 123 f.). The supposed considerations of euphony are quite disproved by the 118 cases in which **וְ** or **וּ** occurs before a guttural.

2. As a rule, however, the simple question is introduced by *He c* interrogative **וְ** (**וְ**; as to its form, cf. § 100 *k-n*), *ne?* *num?* the disjunctive question by **וְ** (*num?* *utrum?*) in the first clause, and **אִם**<sup>3</sup> (also **וְאִם**), less frequently **אִי** *an?* in the second, e.g. 1 K 22<sup>15</sup> . . . **הֲגִלְתִּי**

<sup>1</sup> Mitchell (op. cit.) restricts the number of instances to 39, of which he attributes 12 (or 17) to corruption of the text. Thus in Gn 27<sup>24</sup> he would read, with the Samaritan, **וְהָ אָמַרְתָּ** as in verse 21, in 1 S 16<sup>4</sup> **הֲשָׁלַם**, in 2 S 18<sup>29</sup> **הֲשָׁלַם** as in verse 32; similarly he would read the interrogative particle in 2 K 5<sup>26</sup>, Ez 11<sup>3</sup>, Jb 40<sup>25</sup>, 41<sup>1</sup>; 1 S 30<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>19</sup>, Ez 11<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> But in 1 S 27<sup>10</sup> instead of **אִלֵּי** (which according to the usual explanation would expect a negative answer) read either **עָלַיְמִי** (עֲלִימִי) with the LXX, or better, **אֶן** (אֲנִי) *whither?* with the Targum. In 2 S 23<sup>5</sup> read **הֲלֹא־** **הֲפָצִי** with Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> Quite exceptional is the use of the particle **אִי** *num?* (common in Aramaic) in 1 S 21<sup>9</sup> **וְאִי־יֵשׁ-פֶּה** *num est hic?* The text is, however, undoubtedly corrupt; according to Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Sam.*, the LXX express the reading **וְרִאֵה הַיֵּשׁ**; but cf. the full discussion of the passage by König, *ZAW.* xviii. 239 ff.—The above does not apply to interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns (§ 37) or by the interrogatives compounded with **מָה** *what?* such as **בְּכִמה** *how many?* **לָמָה** *why?* (see § 102 *k*), **מָדַע** *why?* (§ 99 *e*), or by **אִיהָ** *where?* **אִיךָ**, **אִיכָה** *how?* (§ 148), &c. On the transformation of

נָהַל אִם<sup>1</sup> shall we go . . . or shall we forbear? Cf. also אֵי where? whither? אֵיָהּ whither, and J. Barth, *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, i. 13 ff.

d The particular uses are as follows:—

(a) The particle הֲ stands primarily before the simple question, when the questioner is wholly uncertain as to the answer to be expected, and may be used either before noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 43<sup>7</sup> הֲיֵשׁ לָכֶם אָח still is your father yet alive? have ye another brother? for הֲיֵשׁ cf. Gn 24<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>11</sup>; for הֲכִי is it that? Jb 6<sup>22</sup>; for הֲכִי יֵשׁ is there yet? 2 S 9<sup>1</sup> (but in 2 S 23<sup>19</sup> for הֲכִי read הֲנֹ with 1 Ch 11<sup>25</sup>); for הֲאֵין is there not? 1 K 22<sup>7</sup>, &c.; or before verbal-clauses, e.g. Jb 2<sup>3</sup> הֲשָׁמַעְתָּ לְבָבִי hast thou considered (הֲשָׁמַעְתָּ לְבָבִי) my servant Job? In other cases הֲ (= num?) is used before questions, to which, from their tone and contents, a negative answer is expected, e.g. Jb 14<sup>14</sup> הֲיִחְיֶה shall he indeed live again? Sometimes a question is so used only as a rhetorical form instead of a negative assertion, or of a surprised or indignant refusal,<sup>2</sup> e.g. 2 S 7<sup>5</sup> הֲאֶתְּהָ תִּבְנֶה לִּי בַּיִת shalt thou build me an house? (in the parallel passage 1 Ch 17<sup>4</sup> וְגו' לֹא אֶתְּהָ thou shalt not, &c.); Gn 4<sup>9</sup> הֲאֵנִי אָחִי אֲנִי am I my brother's keeper? cf. 2 K 5<sup>7</sup>, and the two passages where הֲ is used before the infinitive (constr. Jb 34<sup>18</sup>, absol. Jb 40<sup>2</sup>; on both, see § 113 ee, with the note).—On the other hand, in 1 K 16<sup>81</sup> for הֲנִקֵּל (after וַיְהִי) read הִנֵּקֵל.

c Rem. 1. A few passages deserve special mention, in which the use of the interrogative is altogether different from our idiom, since it serves merely to express the conviction that the contents of the statement are well known to the hearer, and are unconditionally admitted by him. Thus, Gn 3<sup>11</sup> surely thou hast eaten; Gn 27<sup>36</sup> הֲכִי קָרָא prop. is it so that one names? &c., i.e. of a truth he is rightly named Jacob; Gn 29<sup>15</sup> verily thou art my brother; Dt 11<sup>30</sup>, Ju 4<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>27</sup> I did indeed, &c.; 20<sup>37</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>3</sup> ye know surely . . .; Mi 3<sup>1</sup>, Jb 20<sup>4</sup>.—In 1 S 23<sup>19</sup> (cf. ψ 54<sup>2</sup>) a surprising communication is introduced in this way (הֲלֹא) in order to show it to be absolutely true, and in Am 9<sup>7</sup> a concession is expressed by הֲלֹא I have, it is true, &c. Finally, we may include the formula of quotation הֲלֹא הֵיאָה כְּתוּבָה Jos 10<sup>13</sup> or הֲלֹא הֵיאָה כְּתוּבָה equivalent to surely it is, they are written (the latter in 1 K 11<sup>41</sup>, 14<sup>29</sup>, and very often elsewhere in the books of Kings and Chronicles), synonymous with the simple formula of assertion הֵיאָה כְּתוּבָה 2 S 1<sup>18</sup>, and הֵיאָה כְּתוּבָה 1 K 14<sup>19</sup>, 2 K 15<sup>11</sup>, 2 Ch 27<sup>7</sup>, 32<sup>32</sup>.

Of very frequent occurrence also are questions introduced by לָמָּה, which really contain an affirmation and are used to state the reason for a request or warning, e.g. 2 S 2<sup>22</sup> turn thee aside . . . wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? i.e. otherwise I will (or must) smite, &c.; cf. 1 S 19<sup>17</sup>, and Driver on the passage; 2 Ch 25<sup>16</sup>; also Gn 27<sup>40</sup>, Ex 32<sup>12</sup> (Jo 2<sup>17</sup>, ψ 79<sup>10</sup>, 115<sup>2</sup>); Ct 1<sup>7</sup>, Ec 5<sup>5</sup>, 7<sup>17</sup>, Dn 10<sup>10</sup>.

pronouns and adverbs into interrogative words by means of a prefixed אֵי, see the Lexicon.

<sup>1</sup> On the use of the *imperfect* in deliberative questions, see § 107 t; on the *perfectum confidentiae* in interrogative sentences, see § 106 n.

<sup>2</sup> Analogous to this is the use of the interrogative מָה in the sense of a reproachful remonstrance instead of a prohibition, as Ct 8<sup>4</sup> מָה־תַּעֲרִיר why should ye stir up? i.e. pray, stir not up; cf. also Jb 31<sup>1</sup>; see above, § 148.

2. The rare cases in which a *simple* question is introduced by **אִם** (as sometimes in Latin by *an? is it?*) are really due to the suppression of the first member of a double question; thus 1 K 1<sup>27</sup>, Is 29<sup>16</sup>, Jb 6<sup>12</sup>, 39<sup>13</sup>.

(b) Disjunctive questions are, as a rule, introduced by **אִם—וְ** (*utrum—an?*) *g* or sometimes by **אִם!—וְ**, e. g. Jo 1<sup>2</sup>, Jb 21<sup>4</sup> (even with **וְ** repeated after **אִם!** in a question which implies disbelief, Gn 17<sup>17</sup>). In Jb 34<sup>17</sup>, 40<sup>8 f.</sup> special emphasis is given to the first member by **הֲאִם** prop. *is it even?* The second member is introduced by **וְ** or in 2 K 6<sup>27</sup>, Jb 16<sup>3</sup>, 38<sup>28</sup>, 31<sup>36</sup> (Mal 1<sup>8</sup> **וְ** **אִם**), in each case before **וְ**, and hence no doubt for euphonic reasons, to avoid the combination **וְ אִם**; cf. also Ju 18<sup>19</sup>, Ec 2<sup>19</sup>.

Double questions with (**אִם**) **אִם—וְ** need not always be mutually exclusive; *h* frequently the disjunctive form serves (especially in poetic parallelism; but cf. also e. g. Gn 37<sup>8</sup>) merely to repeat the same question in different words, and thus to express it more emphatically. So Jb 4<sup>17</sup> *shall mortal man be just before God? or (אִם) shall a man be pure before his Maker?* Jb 6<sup>5 f.</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>4 f.</sup>, 11<sup>2,7</sup>, 22<sup>3</sup>, Is 10<sup>15</sup>, Jer 5<sup>29</sup>. The second member may, therefore, just as well be connected by a simple **וְ**, e. g. Jb 13<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>7 f.</sup>, 38<sup>16 f. 22.32.39</sup>; cf. also **וְ** 8<sup>6</sup> after **מָה**; Jb 21<sup>27 f.</sup> after **כִּמֹּה**; or even without a conjunction, Jb 8<sup>11</sup>, 22<sup>4</sup>; after **מָה** **וְ** 144<sup>3</sup>.

(c) With regard to *indirect* questions<sup>2</sup> after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining,<sup>3</sup> &c., simple questions of this kind take either **וְ** *whether*, Gn 8<sup>8,4</sup> or **אִם** Gn 15<sup>5</sup>, 2 K 1<sup>2</sup>, Ct 7<sup>13</sup>; even before a noun-clause, Jer 5<sup>1</sup>; in 1 S 20<sup>10</sup> the indirect question is introduced by **אִם**, i. e. probably *if perchance*. In disjunctives (*whether—or*) **אִם—וְ** Nu 13<sup>18</sup> at the end (or **אִם—וְ** Gn 24<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>21</sup>, 37<sup>32</sup>, Ex 16<sup>4</sup>), and **וְ—וְ** Nu 13<sup>18</sup>, which is followed by **אִם—וְ**; also **אִם—וְ** Ec 2<sup>19</sup>. The formula **אִם יֹדַע מִי** has an affirmative force, *who knows whether...* not, like the Latin *nescio an*, Est 4<sup>14</sup>.

In Jon 1<sup>7,8</sup> the relative pronouns **מִי** and **מִיֶּשֶׁר** owing to the following **לְ** have become also interrogative, *for whose cause?*

(d) **וְ** and **הוּא** (cf. § 136 c) immediately after the interrogative serve to *l* give vividness to the question; so also **אִפֹּא** for which **אִפֹּא** five times in Job) *then, now*, Gn 27<sup>33</sup> **הוּא מִיֶּשֶׁר** *who then is he?* Ju 9<sup>38</sup>, Is 19<sup>12</sup>, Jb 17<sup>16</sup>; **אִיֶּה**

<sup>1</sup> **אִם** occurs in Pr 27<sup>24</sup> after a negative statement; we should, however, with Dyserinck read **וְאִין**. Not less irregular is **וְלֹא** instead of **לֹא אִם** in the second clause of Ju 14<sup>15</sup>, but the text can hardly be correct (cf. Moore, *Ju'ages*, New York, 1895, p. 337); in 1 S 23<sup>11</sup> the second **וְ** introduces a fresh question which is only loosely connected with the first.—In Nu 17<sup>28</sup> and in the third clause of Jb 6<sup>13</sup>, **וְאִם** is best taken with Ewald in the sense of **וְלֹא**, since **אִם** from its use in oaths (see above, § 149 b) may simply mean *verily not*.

<sup>2</sup> It should here be remarked that the distinction between direct and indirect questions cannot have been recognized by the Hebrew mind to the same extent as it is in Latin or English. In Hebrew there is no difference between the two kinds of sentence, either as regards mood (as in Latin) or in tense and position of the words (as in English). Cf. also § 137 c.

<sup>3</sup> In Gn 43<sup>6</sup> the **וְ** after **וְהִנֵּי** is explained from the fact that the latter, according to the context, implies to *give information upon a question*.

<sup>4</sup> Also in Ec 3<sup>21</sup> we should read **וְהִנֵּה** and **וְהִנֵּה** (*whether—whether*) instead of the article which is assumed by the Masora.

where then is . . . ? However, אָפֿאַ may also be placed at the end of the entire question (Ex 33<sup>16</sup>, Is 22<sup>1</sup>; also Ho 13<sup>10</sup>, since either אָפֿאַ is a dialectical form of אָפֿאַ, or אָפֿאַ should be read instead of it) or at the beginning of the question proper, after a strongly emphasized word, as in Gn 27<sup>37</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

m (e) Sometimes one interrogative governs two co-ordinate clauses, the first of which should rather be subordinated to the second, so that the interrogative word strictly speaking affects only the second; thus Is 5<sup>4</sup> after מָדַע *wherefore looked I . . . and it brought forth?* i.e. *wherefore brought it forth*, while I looked, &c.; Is 50<sup>2</sup>; after הָ Nu 32<sup>6</sup>, Jer 8<sup>4</sup>, also Nu 16<sup>22</sup> (read אָפֿאַ); after הָ Jos 22<sup>20</sup>; after הָ Is 58<sup>3</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>4</sup>; after אָפֿאַ Is 40<sup>25</sup>.<sup>2</sup> But הָ Jb 4<sup>2</sup> and אָפֿאַ 4<sup>21</sup> are separated from the verb to which they belong by the insertion of a conditional clause.

n 3. The affirmative answer is generally expressed, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word in the question (or with the second person changed to the first, Gn 24<sup>58</sup>, 27<sup>24</sup>, 29<sup>5</sup>, Ju 13<sup>11</sup>), Gn 29<sup>6</sup>, 37<sup>32 f.</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>11</sup>, 26<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>10</sup>, Jer 37<sup>17</sup>. (On אָפֿאַ *if it be so* in the corrected text of 2 K 10<sup>15</sup>, see § 159 *dd.*) As a negative answer the simple אָ is sometimes sufficient, as in Gn 19<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>22</sup>, &c.; cf. § 152 c; and in Ju 4<sup>20</sup> the simple אָ equivalent to *no* or *no one*.

### § 151. Desiderative Sentences.

a A wish may be expressed not only by the simple imperfect (§ 107 n), cohortative (§ 108, especially with אָ § 108 c), jussive (§ 109; with אָ § 109 b), imperative (§ 110 a), perfect consecutive (§ 112 aa) or by a simple noun-clause (§ 116 r, note, and § 141 g) but also in the following ways:—

1. By exclamations in the form of *interrogative* clauses:<sup>3</sup> especially sentences with מָ followed by the imperfect as being the mood of that which is still unfulfilled but possible, and hence also of that which is desired, e.g. 2 S 15<sup>4</sup> מָ-יִשְׁעֵי שֹׁפֵט *who maketh me judge?* i.e. *O that I were made judge!* 1 S 20<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>15</sup>. On the other hand, מָ with the perfect (Gn 21<sup>7</sup>, Nu 23<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 26<sup>9</sup>, Is 53<sup>1</sup>, &c.) or participle (ψ 59<sup>8</sup>, Pr 24<sup>22</sup>, &c.), rather expresses a rhetorical question, i.e. a denial, cf. § 150 d. Especially frequent is the use of מָ-יֹאֵל (prop. *who gives?*) to introduce all kinds of desiderative clauses (see under b).—In Mal 1<sup>10</sup> the desiderative clause proper is co-ordinated with an interrogative clause,

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in Jb 9<sup>24</sup> and 24<sup>25</sup> אָפֿאַ is not prefixed to the מָ, but appended to the conditional sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the analogous sentences after אָ because, Is 65<sup>12</sup>, Jer 35<sup>17</sup>; after causal אָ 1 S 26<sup>23</sup>; after אָ Is 12<sup>1</sup>; likewise after אָ § 153 at the end; after אָ Dt 8<sup>12-14</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup>, Jos 6<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The transition from a question to a wish may be seen, e.g. in Nu 11<sup>4</sup> *who shall give us flesh to eat?* i.e. *O that we had flesh to eat!*

וְיִסְגְּרוּ דְלָתַיִם וְיִסְגְּרוּ דְלָתַיִם *would that one were among you and would shut the doors*, i. e. O that one would shut the doors!

Rem. Sometimes the original sense of *מִי־יִתֵּן* is still plainly discernible, *b* e. g. Ju 9<sup>29</sup> *מִי־יִתֵּן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי* *who gives this people into my hand?* equivalent to, O that this people were given into my hand! cf. ψ 55<sup>7</sup>. In these examples, however, *מִי־יִתֵּן* is still equivalent to *O had I!* and in numerous other instances the idea of *giving* has entirely disappeared, *מִי־יִתֵּן* having become stereotyped as a mere desiderative particle (*utinam*). Its construction is either—

(a) With the *accusative* (in accordance with its original meaning) of a substantive, Dt 28<sup>67</sup> *would that it were even! . . . morning!* Ju 9<sup>29</sup>, ψ 14<sup>7</sup> (53<sup>7</sup>), 55<sup>7</sup>; with an accusative and a following infinitive, Jb 11<sup>6</sup>; with two accusatives, Nu 11<sup>29</sup>, Jer 8<sup>28</sup>; with the accusative of an infinitive, Ex 16<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>1</sup> *מִי־יִתֵּן* *כִּי־יָחַדֵּם* *would that I had died for thee* (for *אֲנִי* cf. § 135 *f*); of a participle, Jb 31<sup>35</sup>; of a personal pronoun (as a suffix), Jb 29<sup>2</sup> (with a following *כִּי*; but *מִי־יִתֵּן* Is 27<sup>4</sup> and Jer 9<sup>1</sup> with a following accusative is not simply equivalent to *לִי* *מִי־יִתֵּן*, but is properly *who endows me with*, &c.; cf. § 117 *ff*).—With a still greater weakening of the original meaning *מִי־יִתֵּן* is used with an adjective in Jb 14<sup>4</sup> *could a clean thing but come out of an unclean!* i. e. *how can a clean thing come*, &c.; similarly in Jb 31<sup>31</sup> *who can find one that hath not been satisfied!*

(b) With a following perfect, Jb 23<sup>3</sup> (cf. § 120 *e*); with a perfect consecutive, C Dt 5<sup>26</sup> *O that they had such an heart!*

(c) With a following imperfect, Jb 6<sup>3</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 14<sup>13</sup>; in Jb 19<sup>53</sup> the imperfect is *d* twice added with *Wāw* (cf. *a* above, on Mal. 1<sup>10</sup>).

On the cohortative in the apodosis to such desiderative clauses, cf. § 108 *f*.

2. The wish may also be expressed by the particles *אִם* (ψ 81<sup>9</sup>, 95<sup>7</sup>, *e* 139<sup>19</sup>, Pr 24<sup>11</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup>; always with a following imperfect) and *לִי* (for which in ψ 119<sup>5</sup> we have *אִם־לִי*, 2 K 5<sup>3</sup> *אִם־לִי*, from *אִם* *ah!* and *לִי*=*לִי*; both with a following imperfect) *si, o si! utinam*.<sup>1</sup> *לִי* is followed by the imperfect, Gn 17<sup>18</sup>, Jb 6<sup>2</sup>; by the jussive, Gn 30<sup>34</sup> (rather concessive, equivalent to *let it be so*); by the perfect, as the expression of a wish that something might have happened in past time (cf. § 106 *p*), Nu 14<sup>2</sup> *לִי* *כִּי־מָתוּ* *would that we had died*; 20<sup>3</sup> and Jos 7<sup>7</sup> (both times *וְלִי*); on the other hand, Is 48<sup>18</sup> and 63<sup>19</sup> (both times *לִי*) to express a wish that something expected in the future may already have happened.—On *לִי* with the imperative (by an anacoluthon) Gn 23<sup>13</sup> cf. § 110 *e*. On the perfect after *אִם* *כִּי* Gn 40<sup>14</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 106 *n*, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a similar transition from a conditional to a desiderative particle, in consequence of the suppression of the apodosis, in the English, *O if I had!* and the like; e. g. Nu 22<sup>29</sup> *if there were* (*לִי* *יָשַׁע*) *a sword in my hand now had I surely killed thee!*

## § 152. Negative Sentences.

*a* 1. Besides the use of rhetorical questions (§§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*), independent sentences are made negative by the adverbs לֹא (Jb 6<sup>21</sup>, where instead of the *Keth.* לוּ we must evidently read לֹא; perhaps preserved as a substantive)=the Greek οὐ, *not*, לֹא=μὴ (Jb 24<sup>25</sup> as a substantive), וְיִי (it is) *not*; וְיִי not yet, וְיִי not, וְיִי (cf. § 90 *m*) *not*. The forms בִּלְיָ, בִּלְיָ, בִּלְיָ *not* belong almost entirely to poetry.—With regard to לֹא and וְיִי the main distinction is that verbal-clauses (rarely noun-clauses, see *e*) are regularly negated by לֹא (besides its use as negating *single words*<sup>1</sup>), while וְיִי is used exclusively with noun-clauses (see the examples below).

*b* The conjunctions וְיִי and בִּלְיָ *that not*, serve to negative dependent clauses. The particular uses of these particles are as follows:—

(*a*) לֹא (less frequently לוֹא), like οὐ, οὐκ, is used regularly for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence is usually connected with the perfect or imperfect (as indicative); on לֹא with the imperfect to express an unconditional prohibition, see § 107 *o*; on its use with the jussive, see § 109 *d*.—On לֹא for הֲלֹא *nonne*, in interrogative sentences, cf. § 150 *a*. In connexion with כֹּל, כֹּל (= *any*), לֹא is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus, none whatever* (cf. the French *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*), usually in the order כֹּל . . . לֹא. e.g. Gn 3<sup>1</sup> הֲנֵן עֵץ מִכָּל הָעֵץ לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכָּל עֵץ הַגָּן *ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden*; 9<sup>11</sup>. Ex 10<sup>15</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup>, Lv 7<sup>23</sup>, Dt 8<sup>9</sup>, Jer 13<sup>7</sup>, 32<sup>17</sup> (כֹּל-דָּבָר לֹא *nothing at all*; cf. the same statement in the form of a rhetorical question, Jer 32<sup>27</sup>); Pr 12<sup>21</sup>, 30<sup>30</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Especially in compounds, e.g. לֹא-אֱלֹהִים lit. *a no-God* (Germ. *Ungott*) who is indeed called a god, but is not really a god, Dt 32<sup>21</sup>; לֹא אֱלֹהִים verse 17, cf. Jer 5<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 13<sup>9</sup>; לֹא-עָם lit. *a not-people* (Germ. *Unvolk*), Dt 32<sup>21</sup>; לֹא דָבָר *a nothing*, Am 6<sup>13</sup>; לֹא עֵץ lit. *not-wood*, Is 10<sup>15</sup>; לֹא-אִישׁ, לֹא-אָדָם lit. *not-man, superhuman* (of God), Is 31<sup>8</sup>; לֹא-צֶדֶק *unrighteousness*, Jer 22<sup>15</sup>, cf. Ez 22<sup>29</sup>; לֹא-סִדְרִים *disorder*, Jb 10<sup>22</sup>; לֹא-חֲמָס *not-violence*, 16<sup>17</sup>; after לְ Jb 26<sup>21</sup>. לֹא-נֶחֱמָה, לֹא-עֲזָרָה *helplessness, insipientia*; cf. also Is 55<sup>2</sup> לֹא-שָׂבַעָה *for what is unsatisfying*; ψ 44<sup>13</sup>, Jb 8<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>32</sup>, 1 Ch 12<sup>35</sup>.—In Nu 20<sup>5</sup> a construct state with several genitives is negated by לֹא.—Also לֹא is used with an infinitive, Nu 35<sup>23</sup>; with an adjective, לֹא חָכָם *unwise*, Dt 32<sup>6</sup>, Ho 13<sup>13</sup>: לֹא-חַסִּיד *impious*, ψ 43<sup>1</sup>; לֹא-עֲזָרָה and לֹא-עֲזָרָה *not strong*, Pr 30<sup>26</sup>; לֹא-רָצוֹן *unsuitably*, 2 K 7<sup>9</sup>; לֹא-טוֹב *not-good*, Is 65<sup>2</sup>, Ez 20<sup>25</sup>, &c.; לֹא טָהוֹר *not-clean*, 2 Ch 30<sup>17</sup>; with a participle, e.g. Jer 2<sup>2</sup> (unsown); 6<sup>8</sup>, Ez 4<sup>14</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>, Zp 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup>; the Masora, however, requires נֶחֱמָה in Is 54<sup>11</sup>, נֶחֱמָה in 62<sup>12</sup>, נֶחֱמָה in Jer 6<sup>8</sup>, רַחֲמָה in Ho 1<sup>6</sup>, i.e. always 3rd sing. fem. perf. in pause = *she was not comforted*, &c., and consequently not compounds, but either relative clauses or (Is 54<sup>11</sup>, Ho 1<sup>6</sup>, and especially 2<sup>26</sup>) main clauses instead of proper names.—On the above compounds generally, cf. the dissertation mentioned in § 81 *d*, note 2; on their use in sentences expressing a state, to convey attributive ideas, see *u* below.

מִפְּנֵי-כֹל . . . לֹא and turneth *not* away for any; 2 Ch 32<sup>15</sup>; but cf. also the inverted order, Ex 12<sup>16</sup> כָּל-מְלָאכָה לֹא-יַעֲשֶׂה no manner of work shall be done; 12<sup>43</sup>, 15<sup>26</sup>, 22<sup>21</sup>, Lv 16<sup>17</sup>, Jb 33<sup>13</sup>, Dn 11<sup>37</sup>. The meaning is different when כֹּל by being determinate is used in the sense of *whole*, e. g. Nu 23<sup>13</sup> כָּלֹּא תִרְאֶה thou shalt not see them all, but only a part.

Analogous to כֹּל . . . לֹא is the use of לֹא . . . אִישׁ Gn 23<sup>6</sup>, &c., in verbal-clauses in the sense of *no one at all, not a single one*. On אִין-כֹּל nothing at all, see under *p*.

Rem. 1. The examples in which לֹא is used absolutely as a negative answer, *C* equivalent to *certainly not! no!* must be regarded as extremely short verbal-clauses, e. g. Gn 19<sup>2</sup> (לֹא according to the context for נִסְדָּר לֹא &c.); 23<sup>11</sup>, 42<sup>10</sup>, Hag 2<sup>12</sup>, Jb 23<sup>6</sup>, sometimes with a following כִּי but, Gn 19<sup>2</sup> (see above); Jos 5<sup>14</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>22</sup>.

2. The negation of *noun-clauses* by לֹא (as opposed to the regular negation *d* by אִין) always includes a certain emphasis, since the force of the negation falls rather upon a particular word (cf. e. g. Ez 36<sup>32</sup>), than upon the whole clause. In 2 S 3<sup>34</sup> לֹא-תִסְבְּרוּת יָדֶיךָ thy hands were not bound, a participle is thus specially negated by לֹא; cf. ψ 74<sup>9</sup>, where, however, לֹא is separated from the participle by אֶתְנִי, and Jb 12<sup>3</sup>. As a rule, noun-clauses with a pronominal subject are thus negated by לֹא, Gn 20<sup>12</sup>, Nu 35<sup>25</sup> (Dt 4<sup>42</sup>, 19<sup>4</sup>); 1 S 15<sup>29</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>2</sup>, Jer 4<sup>22</sup>, ψ 22<sup>7</sup>, Jb 28<sup>14</sup>, parallel with אִין; generally with לֹא before a substantival predicate, e. g. Ex 4<sup>10</sup> לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים אֶמְכִּי I am not a man of words; Am 5<sup>18</sup>.—Noun-clauses with a substantival subject, Gn 29<sup>7</sup>, Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, Is 22<sup>2</sup>, 44<sup>19</sup>, Hag 1<sup>2</sup>, ψ 22<sup>3</sup>, Jb 9<sup>32</sup>, 18<sup>17</sup>, 21<sup>9</sup>, 22<sup>16</sup>, 36<sup>26</sup> (with *!* of the apodosis); 41<sup>2</sup>; in Jb 9<sup>38</sup> even לֹא יֵשׁ non est is used instead of אִין.—In Pr 18<sup>6</sup> לֹא is used before an adjectival predicate; in 1 S 20<sup>26</sup> (where a preceding noun-clause is negated by אִין) read לֹא טָהוּר with the LXX, for לֹא טָהוּר. On לֹא for אִין in circumstantial clauses to express attributive ideas, see *u* below.

3. As a rule לֹא stands immediately before the verb, but sometimes is *e* separated from it (frequently to bring into special prominence another word which follows it); thus Jb 22<sup>7</sup>, Ec 10<sup>10</sup> before the object and verb; Nu 16<sup>29</sup> before the subject and verb; Dt 8<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>34</sup>, ψ 49<sup>18</sup>, 103<sup>10</sup>, Jb 13<sup>16</sup>, 34<sup>23</sup> before a complementary adjunct. In Dt 32<sup>5</sup> לֹא according to the accentuation even stands at the end of the clause (*they offend him not*); but undoubtedly לֹא בָנִין are to be taken together.—On the position of לֹא with the infinitive absolute, see § 113 *v*.

(b) לֹא is used like *μη* and *ne* to express a *subjective* and *conditional* negation, *f* and hence especially in connexion with the jussive (§ 109 *c* and *e*) to introduce prohibitions, warnings, negative desires, and requests. On לֹא- with the imperfect, see § 107 *p*; with the cohortative, see § 108 *c*; on 2 K 6<sup>27</sup>, see § 109 *h*.

Rem. 1. לֹא- (like לֹא, see note on *a* above) may be used to form a compound *g* word, as in Pr 12<sup>28</sup> לֹא-מָוֶת not-death (immortality); though all the early versions read מָוֶת. The instances in which לֹא- appears to stand absolutely, equivalent to *no, certainly not* (like *μη* for *μη ἐνέγκαι*), e. g. Ru 1<sup>13</sup> לֹא-בָנִי nay, my daughters, and Gn 19<sup>18</sup>, 33<sup>10</sup> (לֹא-נָא), are also due (see under *c*) to extreme shortening of a full clause (in 2 S 13<sup>25</sup> such a clause is repeated immediately

afterwards); thus in 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>, Is 62<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  83<sup>2</sup>  $\text{יְהִי}$  is evidently to be supplied, and in Jo 2<sup>13</sup>, Am 5<sup>14</sup>, Pr 8<sup>10</sup> the corresponding jussive from the preceding imperatives, in Pr 17<sup>12</sup> from the preceding infinitive absolute.

h 2.  $\text{אֵל}$ , like  $\text{לֵא}$ , regularly stands immediately before the verb, but in Is 64<sup>8</sup>, Jer 10<sup>24</sup>, 15<sup>15</sup>,  $\psi$  6<sup>2</sup>, 38<sup>2</sup> before another strongly emphasized member of the sentence.<sup>1</sup>

i (c)  $\text{אֵין}$  construct state (unless it be sometimes merely a contracted connective form, cf.  $\text{שְׁנִים}$  for  $\text{שְׁנַיִם}$  § 97 d) of  $\text{אֵין}$  non-existence (as also the absolute state, see below) is the negative of  $\text{יֵשׁ}$  existence; cf. e.g. Gn 31<sup>29</sup> with Neh 5<sup>5</sup>. As  $\text{יֵשׁ}$  (he, she, it is, was, &c.) includes the idea of being in all tenses, so  $\text{אֵין}$ ,  $\text{אֵין}$  includes the idea of not being in all tenses. Hence—

k (1) The absolute state  $\text{אֵין}$ , with an evident transition to the meaning of a verbal predicate, *there does not exist*, always follows the word negated, e.g. Is 37<sup>3</sup> (2 K 19<sup>3</sup>)  $\text{וְכֹחַ אֵין לְלָדָה}$  and strength does not exist to bring forth; Gn 2<sup>5</sup>  $\text{אֵין}$  was not present; Ex 17<sup>7</sup>  $\text{אֵם-אֵין}$  or is he not? after  $\text{הִי־שׁ}$  is he...? (cf. Nu 13<sup>20</sup>); Lv 26<sup>37</sup>, Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup> ( $\text{אֵין}$  no). In 1 S 9<sup>4</sup> and 10<sup>14</sup>  $\text{אֵין}$  is used in reference to a plural; 1 K 18<sup>10</sup>, Is 41<sup>17</sup>, 45<sup>21</sup>, 59<sup>11</sup>, Mi 7<sup>2</sup>, Pr 13<sup>4</sup>, 25<sup>14</sup>, Jb 3<sup>9</sup>  $\text{וְאֵין}$  and let there be none, let none come! Ec 3<sup>19</sup>.—Cf. finally  $\text{אֵם-אֵין}$  if it be not so, Gn 30<sup>1</sup>, Ex 32<sup>32</sup>, Ju 9<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>10</sup>.—Quite anomalous is  $\text{אֵין}$  Jb 35<sup>15</sup> before a perfect as an emphatic negation; the text, however, can hardly be correct.

l (2) The construct state  $\text{אֵין}$  stands in its natural position immediately before the substantive whose non-existence it predicates, or before the subject of the sentence which is to be negated. To the former class belong also the very numerous instances in which  $\text{אֵין}$  is joined to a participle, e.g. 1 S 26<sup>12</sup>  $\text{וְאֵין רֹאֶה וְאֵין יוֹדֵעַ וְאֵין מִקִּין}$  and there was not one seeing, &c., i.e. and no man saw it, nor knew it, neither did any awake; so especially  $\text{וְאֵין}$  with a participle in subordinate circumstantial or descriptive clauses, such as Is 5<sup>29</sup>  $\text{וְאֵין מְצִיל}$  and he shall carry it away, while there is none delivering, i.e. without any one's delivering it;  $\psi$  7<sup>3</sup>, &c.; Lv 26<sup>6</sup> &c.,  $\text{וְאֵין מְחַרֵּד}$  without any one's making you afraid; cf. § 141 e.  $\text{אֵין}$  is used as the negation of an entire noun-clause, e.g. in Gn 39<sup>23</sup>, Nu 14<sup>42</sup>  $\text{אֵין יְהוָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם}$  the Lord is not among you; Gn 37<sup>29</sup>  $\text{אֵין-יוֹסֵף בְּבֹר}$  Joseph was not in the pit.

m (3) When the subject which is to be negated is a personal pronoun, it is joined as a suffix to  $\text{אֵין}$ , according to § 100 o, e.g.  $\text{אֵינִי}$  I am not, was not, shall not be;  $\text{אֵינְךָ}$ , fem.  $\text{אֵינְךָ}$ , thou art not, &c.;  $\text{אֵינָהּ}$ , fem.  $\text{אֵינָהּ}$  he, she is not, &c.; also absolutely, Gn 42<sup>13</sup> he is (5<sup>24</sup> he was) no longer alive;  $\text{אֵינֵם}$  they are not, &c. When the accompanying predicate is a verb, it follows again (see l) in the form of a participle, since  $\text{אֵין}$  always introduces a noun-clause, e.g. Ex 5<sup>10</sup>  $\text{אֵינִי נָתֵן}$  I will not give; 8<sup>17</sup>, Dt 1<sup>32</sup>.

n Rem. In Neh 4<sup>17</sup>  $\text{אֵין אֵינִי}$  is due to its being co-ordinate with three other (substantial) subjects; these are again expressly summed up in  $\text{אֵין-אֲנַחְנֵנו}$ .—In Hag 2<sup>17</sup>  $\text{אֵין אַתְּבֶם}$  the pronominal complement of  $\text{אֵין}$  appears

<sup>1</sup> In Jer 51<sup>3</sup> the pointing  $\text{אֵל}$  occurs twice instead of  $\text{אֵל}$ , and is thus, in the opinion of the Masoretes, equivalent to *against him that bendeth*; but undoubtedly we should read  $\text{אֵל}$ .

to follow with the sign of the accusative;<sup>1</sup> but most probably we should read with the LXX אַתְּכֶם for שִׁכְכֶם.

(4) The fact that אֵין (like אֵין) always includes the idea of a verb (*is not, O was not, &c.*) led finally to such a predominance of the verbal element, that the original character of אֵין as a construct state (but cf. *i* above) was forgotten, and accordingly it is very frequently separated from its noun (substantive or participle); especially so by the insertion of shorter words (of the nature of enclitics), e.g. בּוֹ Is 1<sup>6</sup>, לוֹ Lv 11<sup>10,12</sup>, לָהּ Gn 11<sup>30</sup>, נָם ψ 14<sup>3</sup>, שָׁם Ju 18<sup>10</sup>, Ex 12<sup>30</sup>; but cf. also ψ 5<sup>10</sup>, 6<sup>6</sup>, 32<sup>2</sup>, and אֵין used absolutely in Ex 22<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>9</sup>, Ru 4<sup>4</sup>.—Hence, finally, even the transposition of אֵין and its noun became possible, e.g. Gn 40<sup>8</sup> and 41<sup>15</sup> אֵין אֹתוֹ וּפֶתֶר אֵין and *an interpreter there is not of it*; Gn 47<sup>13</sup>, Ju 14<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup>, Is 1<sup>30</sup>, Jer 30<sup>13</sup>, Hb 2<sup>19</sup>, Pr 5<sup>17</sup> (אֵין) = *neve sint*; cf. *k* above, on Jb 3<sup>9</sup>); 3c<sup>27</sup>.—In Gn 19<sup>31</sup>, Ex 5<sup>16</sup> אֵין is placed between the subject and predicate.

Rem. 1. Like בּל . . . לֹא or לֹא . . . בּל (see *b* above) so also אֵין פּ expresses an *absolute* negation, e.g. Ec 1<sup>9</sup> אֵין כֶּל-חַדָּשׁ there is no new thing, &c.; 2 S 12<sup>3</sup>, Dn 1<sup>4</sup> (cf. also מֵאַיִם אֵין there is nothing, 1 K 18<sup>43</sup>, Ec 5<sup>13</sup>); as also אֵין . . . כֶּל- Hb 2<sup>19</sup>; cf. מֵאַיִם אֵין Ju 14<sup>6</sup>.

2. Undoubtedly akin to אֵין in origin is the negative syllable אֵ occurring *q* in the two compounds אֵ כְבוֹד אֵ (as a proper name, 1 S 4<sup>21</sup>; Baer אֵ-כְבוֹד) and אֵ-נָקִי not innocent, Jb 22<sup>30</sup>; but the proper name אֵ-יִחְמֶר is doubtful, and the fem. אֵ-נָקִי very doubtful. In Ethiopic this אֵ is the most common form of negation, prefixed even to verbs.

(d) אֵינִי not yet, when referring to past time is used, as a rule (§ 107 c), *γ* with the imperfect, Gn 2<sup>5</sup> אֵינִי בּל none . . . yet; see *b* and *p* above; Gn 19<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>45</sup>, Jos 2<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>3</sup>; with the imperfect in the sense of a present, Ex 10<sup>7</sup> הֲיָרָע הָיָרָע knowest thou not yet? Ex 9<sup>30</sup>; but cf. Gn 24<sup>15</sup>, and בִּטָּרָם with the perfect in ψ 90<sup>3</sup> (but see § 107 c), Pr 8<sup>25</sup>.

(e) אֵפֶס (prop. a substantive, *cessation*) no longer, including the verbal idea *s* of existing, cf. Dt 32<sup>36</sup>, Is 45<sup>6,14</sup>, 46<sup>9</sup>; used absolutely, Am 6<sup>10</sup> in the question הֲאֵפֶס עוֹד אִישׁ is there none left? &c., 2 S 9<sup>3</sup>; frequently also in the sense of *non nisi*; with '— paragogic (§ 90 m) אֵפֶסִי Is 47<sup>8,10</sup>, Zp 2<sup>15</sup> אֵפֶסִי עוֹד I am, and there is none else.

(f) בּל<sup>2</sup>, in poetic and prophetic style, and with a certain emphasis, = לֹא, *t* is used with the imperfect, e.g. Is 26<sup>14</sup>, 33<sup>20,23</sup> (immediately afterwards with a perfect); Ho 7<sup>2</sup>, ψ 49<sup>13</sup>, Pr 10<sup>30</sup> (but Is 14<sup>21</sup> before the jussive, = אֵל); before an adjective, Pr 24<sup>23</sup>; before a preposition, ψ 16<sup>2</sup>, Pr 23<sup>7</sup>.

(g) בּלִי with a perfect, Gn 31<sup>20</sup>, Is 14<sup>6</sup>; with an imperfect, Jb 41<sup>18</sup>; to negative a participle, Ho 7<sup>8</sup>, ψ 19<sup>4</sup>; to negative an adjective, 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>.

(h) בּלִיתִי to negative an adjective, 1 S 20<sup>26</sup>; on בּלִיתִי Ez 13<sup>3</sup>, see *x*; on

<sup>1</sup> According to De Lagarde, *Novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen*, p. 26, ψ 3<sup>3</sup> is also an accusative after אֵין.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently from בָּלָה to waste away, from which stem also בָּלִי and בָּלָת (whence בּלִיתִי § 90 m), originally substantives, are formed.

לֹא־לִבְלִיתִי as the regular negative with the infinitive construct, see § 114 s; on לֹא־לִבְלִיתִי as a conjunction, see x below.

On אֵין as a negative particle in oaths (*verily not*), see § 149 c above.

- u Rem. on לֹא, אֵין, בְּלִי. To the category of negative sentences belongs also the expression of negative attributes by means of לֹא, בְּלִי *not* (both so used almost exclusively in poetic language) or אֵין with a following substantive, mostly in the simplest form of circumstantial clause; e.g. 2 S 23<sup>4</sup> בֹּקֶר לֹא עָבוֹת *a morning when there are not clouds, i.e. a cloudless morning*; cf. Jb 12<sup>24</sup>, 26<sup>2b</sup>, 38<sup>26</sup> לֹא־אִישׁ (where no man is, i.e. uninhabited); 1 Ch 230.32 לֹא בָנִים *childless*; so also בְּלִי e.g. Jb 24<sup>10</sup> and אֵין e.g. ψ 88<sup>5</sup> *I am as a man אֵין־אֵיל there is not help, i.e. like a helpless man*; Is 9<sup>6</sup> אֵין־קֶץ *endless*; 47<sup>1</sup>, Ho 7<sup>11</sup>; אֵין־מִסְפָּר *countless*, Ct 6<sup>8</sup>, &c., but usually (ψ 104<sup>25</sup>, &c.) like a proper circumstantial clause (cf. § 141 e) connected by *Wāw*, וְאֵין־מִסְפָּר.—Less frequently such periphrases take the form of relative clauses (cf. § 155 e), e.g. Jb 30<sup>13</sup> לֹא עֹזֵר לָמוֹ they for whom there is no helper, i.e. the helpless (but probably עֹזֵר is only an intrusion from 29<sup>12</sup>, and we should read עֲזָר *without any one's restraining them*; in 29<sup>12</sup> translate *the fatherless and him that had none to help him*; in ψ 72<sup>12</sup> וְאֵין־עַז is used in the same sense); Hb 1<sup>14</sup>, with אֵין Is 45<sup>9</sup> *thy work is that of a man who hath no hands*; Zc 9<sup>11</sup> *out of the waterless pit*.<sup>1</sup>

- v How far such compounds finally came to be regarded by the language simply as negative adjectives, may be seen partly from the fact that they (as also relative clauses analogous to the above) are frequently co-ordinated with real adjectives, Jo 1<sup>6</sup>, ψ 72<sup>12</sup>, Jb 29<sup>12</sup>; cf. also Is 59<sup>10</sup>, where בְּאֵין־עֵינַיִם is parallel with בְּעֹרְרִים; partly from their being introduced by the sign of the dative ל, e.g. Is 40<sup>29</sup> (= *and to the powerless*); Jb 26<sup>2a,3</sup>, Neh 8<sup>10</sup>.

- w (i) פֶּן *lest, that not*, at the beginning of a clause expressing a fear or precaution, hence especially after such ideas as *fearing*, Gn 32<sup>12</sup>, &c. (cf. δειδῶς *μή, vereor ne*), taking heed, frequently after הִשָּׁמֵר, Gn 24<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>24</sup>, &c., taking care, 2 K 10<sup>23</sup>, &c. Not infrequently the idea on which פֶּן depends, is only virtually contained in the main clause, e.g. Gn 19<sup>19</sup> *I cannot escape to the mountain* (because I am afraid), פֶּן־תִּבְרַכְנִי הָרָעָה *lest some evil overtake me*; Gn 26<sup>9</sup>, 38<sup>11</sup>; also in Gn 44<sup>34</sup> from the rhetorical question *how shall I . . . ?* we must understand *I cannot*, governing פֶּן. This is especially the case after an appeal to do or not to do an action by which something may be prevented (in which case פֶּן is simply equivalent to the final *ne*); cf. e.g. Gn 11<sup>4</sup>, 19<sup>15</sup>, Nu 20<sup>18</sup> (where פֶּן *lest* is separated from the verb by a strongly emphasized substantive); Ju 15<sup>12</sup> *after swear unto me*; Pr 24<sup>18</sup>.—In Gn 3<sup>22</sup> *and now, lest he put forth his hand*, &c., פֶּן is to be regarded as virtually dependent on a cohortative, which immediately afterwards (verse 23) is changed into an historic tense; cf. also Gn 26<sup>7</sup>, 31<sup>31</sup>, 42<sup>4</sup> Ex 13<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>19</sup>, 27<sup>11</sup>, ψ 38<sup>17</sup>, in every case after כִּי אָמַרְתִּי, כִּי אָמַר, &c. = *I thought, &c., I must beware lest, &c.*

Rem. According to § 107 q, פֶּן is naturally followed by the imperfect; for the exceptions, 2 S 20<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>16</sup>, see § 107 q, note 3; cf. moreover, 2 K 10<sup>23</sup> רָאוּ פֶּן־יֵשְׁפָה *look lest there be here, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> In Pr 9<sup>13</sup> (perhaps also 14<sup>7</sup>; but see Delitzsch on the passage) a verbal clause is used co-ordinately in this way as a periphrasis for an adjective.

(k) לְבִלְתִּי *that . . . not*, with the imperfect, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>14</sup> (in Jer 23<sup>14</sup> *x* read the infinitive שָׁב for שָׁבוּ, in 27<sup>8</sup> יָבֹאוּ for בָּאוּ). In Ez 13<sup>3</sup> רָאוּ בְלִיתִי is a relative clause governed by לְ = *according to things which they have not seen*.

2. Two negatives in the same sentence do not neutralize each other *y* (as in *nonnulli, non nemo*), but make the negation the more emphatic (like οὐκ οὐδεὶς, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς, *nulli—non, nemo non*); e. g. Zp 2<sup>2</sup> (if the text is correct) לֹא־יָבוֹא בְּתָרָם *before there shall (not) come*.<sup>1</sup> This especially applies to the compounds formed by the union of מִן or בְּלִי with מִן *without* (§ 119 *y*), e. g. Is 5<sup>9</sup> (6<sup>11</sup>) מִיֵּשֶׁב מִן־מִקְבְּלִי *(for which in Jer 2<sup>15</sup> מִקְבְּלִי יֵשֶׁב, prop. without no inhabitant, i. e. so that no inhabitant is left there. On the other hand, in Is 50<sup>2</sup> מִיֵּשֶׁב מִן־מִקְבְּלִי the מִן is causative, because there is no water; as also in Ex 14<sup>11</sup> הָיָה מִקְבְּלִי אֵין is it because there were no . . . ? 2 K 1<sup>3.6.16</sup>. In Ec 3<sup>11</sup> לֹא־יָשֵׁר מִקְבְּלִי אֵין except that (yet so that man cannot, &c.).*

3. The negative sometimes extends its influence from the first to *z* a second negative sentence parallel with it (which may or may not have *Wāw*); e. g. 1 S 2<sup>3</sup> *talk not so much arrogancy; let (not) boasting come out of your mouth*; Ex 28<sup>43</sup>, Lv 19<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>9.15 f.</sup>, Nu 16<sup>14</sup>, 23<sup>19</sup>, Dt 7<sup>25</sup>, Is 23<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>27</sup>, 38<sup>18</sup>, 47<sup>14</sup>, Ez 16<sup>47</sup>, ψ 9<sup>19</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 35<sup>19</sup>, 38<sup>2</sup>, 44<sup>19</sup>, 75<sup>6</sup>, Jb 28<sup>17</sup> (so לָמָּה לֹא־ *why . . . not ?* in Jb 3<sup>11</sup> also affects the parallel clause),

### § 153. Restrictive and Intensive Clauses.

The particles אֲנִי, רַק *only*, serve to introduce restrictive clauses, and אֲנִי, אֲנִי *also, besides, even*, intensive clauses. It is to be observed that the force of these particles does not necessarily affect the word which immediately follows (as is the case with אֲנִי Gn 7<sup>23</sup>, 34<sup>16</sup>; רַק Gn 6<sup>5</sup>, Am 3<sup>2</sup>; even אֲנִי הָרַק *hath he indeed only ?* Nu 12<sup>2</sup>; אֲנִי Gn 27<sup>34</sup>, Jb 7<sup>11</sup>; אֲנִי Dt 15<sup>17</sup>), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with אֲנִי, e. g. Nu 14<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 17<sup>13</sup>, Pr 17<sup>11</sup>, Jb 13<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>22</sup>, 16<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>6</sup>; רַק Gn 20<sup>11</sup>, 24<sup>8</sup>, ψ 32<sup>6</sup>, Pr 13<sup>10</sup>; אֲנִי Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 32<sup>21</sup> (אֲנִי הָיָה), 44<sup>10</sup>; 1 S 22<sup>7</sup>, 28<sup>20</sup>, Zc 9<sup>11</sup>, Pr 17<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>11</sup>; אֲנִי Jb 14<sup>3</sup>, 15<sup>4</sup>.—In Mal 1<sup>10</sup> and Jb 2<sup>10</sup> אֲנִי is placed before two co-ordinate sentences, although, strictly speaking, it applies only to the second. Cf. the analogous examples in § 150 *m*.

<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 10<sup>21</sup> אֲנִי־כֹסֶף goes with what precedes and must be emended, with the LXX and Lucian, to כֹּסֶף הָיָה־כִּי.

§ 154. Sentences connected by *Wāw*.

- a* *Wāw copulativum*<sup>1</sup> (!) serves to connect two or more sentences, or single words (on its various vocalization, cf. § 104 *d-g*). Its use, however, is by no means restricted merely to joining sentences which

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars of the use of *wāw copulativum*, see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, i. 393 ff. On its use in the co-ordination of similar tenses and moods (e.g. five imperfects consecutive in Gn 25<sup>34</sup>, five perfects with וַיְהִי) as well as of dissimilar tenses and moods, the remarks made in the treatment of the tenses will suffice. With regard to the connexion of single nouns by ו (which strictly speaking is always really a contraction of so many clauses into a single sentence) the following observations may be made:—

(a) Contrary to English usage, which in lengthy enumerations uses the *and* to connect only the last member of the series, in Hebrew *polysyndeton* is customary, as in Gn 12<sup>16</sup> *wāw copulativum* six times, 24<sup>35</sup> seven times, 15<sup>19a</sup> nine times, and in Jos 7<sup>24</sup> ten times. Sometimes, however, only the last two words are joined (so in a series of three members, Gn 5<sup>32</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>26</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, 30<sup>39</sup>, &c.; the last three out of a series of four, Jer 2<sup>26</sup>); less frequently only the first two, ψ 45<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 132 *d*. The formula תְּמוֹל שֶׁשֶׁשׁ yesterday (and) the day before yesterday, Ex 5<sup>8</sup>, &c., is always without the copula. On the other hand, the *constructio asyndetos* in a series of verbs is used as a rhetorical expedient to produce a hurried and so an impassioned description; e.g. Ju 5<sup>27</sup> at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay; Ex 15<sup>9</sup>, Dt 32<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>, Jer 4<sup>7</sup>, Am 5<sup>21</sup>, ψ 10<sup>10</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, 45<sup>5</sup>, Jb 20<sup>19</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, 29<sup>8</sup>, Ct 2<sup>11</sup>, 5<sup>6</sup>, &c.

(b) Frequently *wāw copulativum* is also explanatory (like *isque*, *et—quidem*, and the German *und zwar*, English *to wit*), and is then called *wāw explicativum*, e.g. Gn 4<sup>4</sup> and (i.e. namely) of the fat thereof (unless it is simply copulative); Ex 24<sup>12</sup>, 25<sup>12</sup> (to wit two); 27<sup>14</sup>, 28<sup>23</sup>, Ju 17<sup>3</sup> (in וַיִּסְכְּהוּ here as often elsewhere, to introduce an explanatory gloss, cf. Is 17<sup>8</sup>, Ez 3<sup>15</sup>, and especially P. Haupt, *SBOT*. Isaiah, p. 90, l. 21 ff.), 1 S 17<sup>34</sup> and that too with the bear; 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, Is 57<sup>11</sup>, Jer 17<sup>10</sup>, Am 3<sup>11</sup>, 4<sup>10</sup>, Ze 9<sup>9</sup>, Pr 3<sup>12</sup>, Neh 8<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>10</sup> (but in 1 S 28<sup>3</sup> the ו before בָּעִירִי is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as וַיֵּצֵא—מִן from . . . and even to . . . , Gn 13<sup>3</sup>, 14<sup>23</sup>, 19<sup>4,11</sup>, &c.—In 1 S 6<sup>11</sup> (see Driver on the passage), 2 S 1<sup>23</sup>, &c., ו is equivalent to *yea*, *and*; in Is 32<sup>7</sup> *even*.

ו is used to express emphasis (=and especially), e.g. in Gn 3<sup>16</sup> וְהָרִינָה; Is 2<sup>1</sup>, ψ 18<sup>1</sup>, perhaps also in Jb 10<sup>17</sup> *yea*, a whole host; 2 Ch 16<sup>14</sup>.—An undoubted example of what is called *wāw concomitantiae* occurs in Jb 41<sup>12</sup> a seething pot וַאֲנָמֶן with burning rushes; cf. Ex 10<sup>10</sup> (with your little ones), 12<sup>8</sup>, Lv 1<sup>12</sup>, Is 42<sup>5</sup>. In Arabic this *wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

ו—ו is used in the sense of *both—and* in ψ 76<sup>7</sup>, Dn 1<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>13</sup>. On ו—ו as meaning *sive—sive*, cf. § 162 *b*.

(c) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as אֲדָם also, moreover, summing up a number, e.g. Gn 27<sup>45</sup>, Pr 17<sup>15</sup>; אֲדָם all together; as an intensive *and*, e.g. Gn 30<sup>8</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>8</sup>; cf. also such examples as 1 S 24<sup>12</sup> *see, yea see!* אֲדָם—אֲדָם or אֲדָם—אֲדָם Gn 24<sup>44</sup>=both—and; אֲדָם occurs three times in Gn 24<sup>25</sup> and 32<sup>20</sup>; also אֲדָם, which is generally still more intensive, in the sense of *also*, *in addition to this*, *even*, and belongs rather to poetry, and to the later language; frequently also equivalent to a mere *and*, but sometimes adversative *but now*, ψ 44<sup>10</sup>, &c.; and אֲדָם—אֲדָם (also three times), equivalent to *both—and*; cf. אֲדָם and even, Lv 26<sup>44</sup>; אֲדָם prop. *add to this also that*, equivalent to *not to mention*, according to the context either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*.

are actually co-ordinate. Frequently the language employs merely the simple connexion by *Wāw*, even to introduce an antithesis (Gn 17<sup>21</sup>, 19<sup>19</sup>, Lv 2<sup>12</sup>, Jb 6<sup>25</sup>, and very frequently in circumstantial noun-clauses), or when one of the two clauses is not co-ordinated, but subordinated to the other. On the use of ׀ to introduce circumstantial clauses, cf. especially § 141 e and § 142 d; introducing causal clauses, § 158 a; comparative clauses, § 161 a; final clauses, § 165 a; consecutive clauses, § 166 a. On *wāw apodosis*, cf. § 143 d, and the sections there cited; on the use of *Wāw* in numerical sayings, cf. § 134 s.

Rem. Sometimes *wāw copulativum* joins a sentence apparently to what immediately precedes, but in reality to a sentence which is suppressed and which must, therefore, be supplied from the context. So especially ׀ with imperatives to express inferences, e.g. 1 K 2<sup>22</sup> אֲשַׁלֵּא ask now rather; Ez 18<sup>2</sup> for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth . . . , וְהִשִּׁיבוּ wherefore turn yourselves. Also at the beginning of a speech in loose connexion with an act or speech of another person, e.g. Ex 2<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>11</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>14,41</sup>, 7<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>9</sup>; cf. also Jos 7<sup>7</sup> (וְלִי), ψ 2<sup>10</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, Is 8<sup>7</sup>. Sometimes the suppression of the protasis is due to passionate excitement or haste, which does not allow time for full expression; this is especially illustrated by Nu 12<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>8</sup> (וְלִי), 1 S 10<sup>12</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, 28<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>12</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>22</sup> (וְלִי), 2 K 1<sup>10</sup>, 7<sup>19</sup> (cf. verse 2); Is 3<sup>14</sup>, Zc 2<sup>10</sup>, ψ 2<sup>6</sup> (at the same time a circumstantial clause *whereas I=and yet I have, &c.*); cf. also a new clause beginning with the formula of wishing וְיִי Nu 11<sup>29</sup>; Ju 9<sup>29</sup>; on the disconnected use of ׀ and ׀ cf. § 159 dd.

## § 155. *Relative Clauses.*

See V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894 (cf. the heading of § 138 above); G. Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Prefix ׀', ZATW. 1909, p. 40 ff.<sup>1</sup>

1. By § 138 a, e, relative clauses are divided into two classes: those *a* which are used for the nearer definition of a noun (substantive or pronoun), and those which are not dependent on a noun. The former may be called *incomplete*, the latter *complete* relative clauses.

Complete relative clauses, as a rule (see the exceptions under n), *b* are introduced by the originally demonstrative pronoun אֲשֶׁר; see further in § 138 e. Similarly, incomplete relative clauses may also be introduced by אֲשֶׁר, or by some other demonstrative pronoun; see further in § 138 a and g-k. Very frequently, however, especially

<sup>1</sup> In this exhaustive article the author shows that between ׀ (on the pronunciation see § 36) and אֲשֶׁר there is syntactically no primary difference, but only a secondary distinction which arose in the course of the development of the language, namely that אֲשֶׁר is preferred in combinations which are customary in the old literary language, and ׀ in those which are derived from the popular language or from Aramaic.

in poetic style, the attributive relation is expressed by simple co-ordination.<sup>1</sup>

- c** The governing substantive or pronoun is frequently (in certain cases *always*) resumed by a pronominal suffix or an adverb. The resumption may, however, be omitted, just as in relative clauses introduced by **אֲשֶׁר**, &c.; see § 138 f.

- d** In Arabic a distinction is made between relative clauses used for the nearer definition of a *determinate* substantive (*ḡila*), and those which are attached to an *indeterminate* substantive (*sifa*). The former must be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *alladī*, the latter are always simply co-ordinated. The same distinction was no doubt originally observed in Hebrew, since simply co-ordinated relative clauses are most commonly found after *indeterminate* substantives (see the examples below), and in cases like Dt 28<sup>49</sup> (**לֹא-תִשְׁמַע לְשׁוֹנוֹ** **אֲשֶׁר** **גּוֹי** *a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand*; cf. Is 66<sup>13</sup>, and especially 1 S 3<sup>11</sup>), the addition of **אֲשֶׁר** is explained from the special stress laid on the indeterminate substantive,<sup>2</sup> *a nation of such a kind, thou understandest not their tongue*. On the other hand, in poetic style at least, **אֲשֶׁר** is somewhat frequently omitted even after a determinate noun, but only rarely in prose (except by the Chronicler; cf. 1 Ch 9<sup>22</sup>, 12<sup>23</sup>, 29<sup>1</sup> (read prob. **אֲשֶׁר** for **אֲחֶר**), 2 Ch 15<sup>11</sup>; after **כָּל־** 1 Ch 29<sup>3</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>23</sup>, 30<sup>17</sup>, 31<sup>19</sup>, Ezr 1<sup>6</sup>, but also Gn 39<sup>4</sup>; for further instances, see Driver, *Introd.*<sup>8</sup>, p. 537, no. 30); so Ex 18<sup>20</sup>, Ju 8<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>15</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>12</sup> (= which way), so 2 K 3<sup>8</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>23</sup>; Neh 13<sup>23</sup>; after a pronominal subject, 1 S 6<sup>9</sup>. In Jer 52<sup>12</sup> for **עָמַר** read **עָמַר** with the LXX.

- e** 2. If the nearer definition of a substantive or pronoun is effected by simple co-ordination of the relative clause, it may take the form—

(a) Of a noun-clause, e.g. 2 S 20<sup>21</sup> *a man of the hill country of Ephraim* **שֵׁבַע** **שְׁמוֹ** *whose name was Sheba*; Zc 6<sup>12</sup>, Jb 1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>15</sup> *with princes* **וְהָב לָהֶם** *that had gold*; **וְהָב לָהֶם** **אֲשֶׁר** **לָמוֹ** *this is the way of them who have* (self-)confidence.—On periphrases of this kind to express negative attributes, as in Jb 38<sup>26</sup> **עַל-אֶרֶץ לֹא-אִישׁ** *on a land where no man is*, see § 152 u, and cf. for this very short form of the relative clause, Gn 15<sup>13</sup> **לֹא לָהֶם בְּאֶרֶץ** *in a land that belongs not to them*; Dt 32<sup>17</sup> (**לֹא-יִלְווּ** **לֹא-אֶלֶּהֶם**); Hb 1<sup>6</sup>, Pr 26<sup>17</sup> (**לֹא-יִלְווּ**).

- f** (b) Of a verbal clause.

Here we must distinguish the cases in which the retrospective pronoun—

- (1) Is the subject of the relative clause, and is contained in the

<sup>1</sup> The old view that all these cases arise from the omission of **אֲשֶׁר** is incorrect. These co-ordinated attributive clauses are rather a mere subdivision of the various kinds of circumstantial clauses (see § 156) which may be attached to a *nomen regens*. Cf. in English *this is the letter (which) he wrote to me*.

<sup>2</sup> So Baumann, op. cit., p. 14 f., following Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, ii. 80.

verb; so after a determinate substantive,  $\psi$  34<sup>9</sup> *happy is the man* יְחַסְדֵּיבוֹ *that trusteth in him*; Jb 3<sup>3b</sup> הַלַּיְלָה אָמַר *the night which said*; after  $\psi$  71<sup>18</sup> פֶּלֶל referring to a vocative, which is determinate in itself even without the article, Is 54<sup>1</sup>, or to a noun-suffix (see under *e*),  $\psi$  16<sup>4</sup>; after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Jb 31<sup>12</sup> *it is a fire* (that) *devoureth unto Abaddon*; Dt 32<sup>17b</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>9</sup>, Is 55<sup>13</sup>, 56<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>31</sup>, 78<sup>6</sup>, Pr 30<sup>17</sup>, La 1<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>9</sup>; referring to the suffix in הִנְנִי Is 28<sup>16</sup>, *prop. behold me, who have laid, &c.*, but perhaps the participle יֹסֵר is to be read; 29<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup> (but probably again the participle יוֹסֵף should be read instead of the imperfect); Ez 25<sup>7</sup>. The relative clause is used in this way especially to supply the place of an adjective, e.g. Gn 49<sup>27</sup> וְאֵבֶר יִטְרֹף *a wolf that ravineth, i. e. a ravining wolf*; Is 51<sup>12</sup>; to express a negative quality, e.g. Is 40<sup>20</sup>, Ho 4<sup>14</sup> וְעַם לֹא-יָבִין *an undiscerning people*.

Rem. Very frequently such relative sentences are attached to substantives *g* which have the particle of comparison בְּ, e.g. Jb 7<sup>2</sup> בְּעֶבֶר יִשְׁאָף-עַל בְּ *as a servant that earnestly desireth the shadow, &c.*; Dt 32<sup>11</sup>, Is 62<sup>1</sup>, Jer 23<sup>29</sup>, Ho 6<sup>3</sup>,  $\psi$  42<sup>2</sup>, 83<sup>15</sup>, Jb 9<sup>26</sup>, 11<sup>16</sup>; so also after כִּמּוֹ  $\psi$  58<sup>5</sup>; after a determinate substantive, e.g. Is 53<sup>7</sup> (but the better reading is כִּשְׁוֹ without the article), 61<sup>10f</sup>, Hb 2<sup>14</sup>,  $\psi$  49<sup>13,21</sup>, 125<sup>1</sup>; see also the examples under *h*. Sometimes it seems simpler in such cases, to take the verb directly as predicate to the preceding substantive, and to explain בְּ (for בְּאִשֶּׁר; see *Comparative Clauses*, § 161 b) as a conjunction—a view which even Hupfeld was ready to accept, at least as regards  $\psi$  90<sup>5</sup>, 125<sup>1</sup>, Is 53<sup>7</sup>, 61<sup>11</sup>, but it can hardly be right.

(2) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun represents an *h* accusative of the object, or would do so if not suppressed, as it usually is in such cases in relative clauses with אֲשֶׁר, cf. § 138 b. Examples with the retrospective pronoun are, Dt 32<sup>17</sup> וְיָדְעוּם לֹא יָדְעוּם *gods whom they knew not* (see also the end of the verse); after a substantive with בְּ (see above, *g*), Jer 23<sup>9</sup>, Jb 13<sup>28</sup>. Without a retrospective pronoun, after a determinate substantive, Ju 8<sup>1</sup>,  $\psi$  33<sup>12</sup> (preceded by a relative clause with אֲשֶׁר); Jb 28<sup>1</sup>. Other examples of this kind, though the article is omitted according to poetic usage, are Is 15<sup>7</sup> וְיִתְּרָה עִשְׂיָה *for which Jer 48<sup>36</sup> יִתְּרָה עִשְׂיָה with the substantive in the construct state governing the relative clause, see § 130 d),  $\psi$  7<sup>16</sup>, 51<sup>10</sup>, La 1<sup>21</sup>.—Without the retrospective pronoun, after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Is 6<sup>6</sup> רֹצֵפָה בְּמִלְקָתָהִים לָקַח מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ *a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar*; Ex 15<sup>17</sup>, Is 42<sup>16</sup> (48<sup>17</sup>,  $\psi$  25<sup>12</sup>, all after בְּדִרְיָה; but  $\psi$  32<sup>8</sup> בְּדִרְיָה-וּ חִלְיָה); Is 64<sup>2</sup>; Ec 10<sup>5</sup> (in 6<sup>1</sup> the same clause with אֲשֶׁר); moreover, in Jer 14<sup>18</sup> read with the LXX אֶל-אֶרֶץ לֹא יָדְעוּ *into a land (that) they know not*.*

(3) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun is dependent on *i* a preposition, or its place is taken by the adverb שָׁם, as in Jer 2<sup>6</sup> end.

Thus after a determinate substantive,  $\psi$  18<sup>3</sup> צִיּוֹרִי אֲחֶסְדִּיבוּ *my rock in which I take refuge*; Ex 18<sup>20</sup>, Is 42<sup>1</sup>; in Jb 3<sup>3a</sup> also, the omission of the article with יוֹם is only a poetic licence. After an indeterminate substantive, Jer 2<sup>6</sup>, last clause but one;  $\psi$  32<sup>2</sup>.

**k** In this case also the retrospective word is not infrequently suppressed, giving rise to extremely short, bold expressions, such as Is 51<sup>1</sup> *look unto the rock* הַצִּבְתָּם (whence) *ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit* הַנִּקְרְתָּם (whence) *ye were digged*; Jb 21<sup>27</sup> *the devices* (where-with) *ye act violently against me*.—A retrospective adverb is suppressed in Jb 38<sup>19</sup> *where is the way* (to the place where) *the light dwelleth?* cf. 38<sup>24</sup>.

**l** Rem. 1. The omission of the retrospective word occurs most frequently in relative clauses which are governed by the construct state of a preceding substantive (especially an expression of time) and hence are virtually in the genitive. In addition to the instances already given in § 130 d, cf. the following: after בַּיּוֹם Lv 7<sup>35</sup>,  $\psi$  56<sup>10</sup>; after מִיּוֹם Jer 36<sup>2</sup>; after simple יוֹם  $\psi$  56<sup>4</sup> (בַּיּוֹם אִירָא on the day when I am afraid); after בָּעֵת 2 Ch 29<sup>27</sup> הָעוֹלָה (at the time when the burnt offering began); 20<sup>22</sup>, 24<sup>11</sup>, Jb 61<sup>7</sup>; after לַעֵת Dt 32<sup>35</sup>; after עֲרֵצֶת Mi 5<sup>2</sup>; after מִעֵת  $\psi$  4<sup>8</sup> *thou hast put gladness in my heart more than* (their gladness) *at the time (when) their corn and their wine are increased*.

**m** 2. The agreement (§ 138 d) of the retrospective pronoun with a pronominal regens in the 1st or 2nd person also takes place in a simple co-ordinated relative clause in 1 S 26<sup>14</sup> *who art thou* (that) *criest?* Cf., however, Is 63<sup>19</sup> *we are become as they over whom* (בָּפָנִי not בָּנִי) *thou no longer bearest rule*.

**n** 3. Occasionally—chiefly in poetic or otherwise elevated style—even independent relative clauses are simply co-ordinated with a regens, whereas we should expect them always to be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, on the analogy of the examples in § 138 e. The suppressed pronoun would stand—

(a) As subject, Is 41<sup>24</sup> *an abomination* (is he) *that chooseth you* (but read perhaps לִבְחֹר); Jb 30<sup>18</sup>, cf. § 152 u.

(b) As object, Is 41<sup>2</sup>, with a retrospective pronoun; Mal 2<sup>16</sup> וְכִסָּה and him *that covereth* (or read וְכִסָּה?); Jb 29<sup>12</sup> *I delivered . . . the fatherless also, and him that had none to help him*.

(c) In the genitive governed by a substantive (cf. § 130 d), Ex 4<sup>13</sup> בְּיַד־הַשֵּׁלֶחָנָה שְׁלַח־נָא *send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*, i.e. by the hand of some one else;  $\psi$  65<sup>5</sup> and Pr 8<sup>32</sup>, verbal-clauses after אִשְׁרֵי *O the happiness of the man, &c.*;  $\psi$  81<sup>6</sup>, 141<sup>9</sup>, Jb 29<sup>16</sup>, La 1<sup>14</sup>; after כָּל Gn 39<sup>4</sup>, but we must certainly read here, with the Samaritan and LXX, כָּל־אִשְׁרֵי as in verses 5 and 8; Ex 9<sup>4</sup>; verbal-clauses after כָּל 1 Ch 29<sup>3</sup>, 2 Ch 30<sup>19</sup>, 31<sup>19</sup>, Ezr 1<sup>5</sup>.

(d) Governed by a preposition; so verbal-clauses after אַחֲרֵי Jer 2<sup>8</sup>; after אֵל (= *to the place where*), 1 Ch 15<sup>12</sup>, but Ex 23<sup>20</sup> before the same

verb אֶשֶׁר הַמָּקוֹם אֵשֶׁר; after בְּ Jer 2<sup>11</sup>, 2 Ch 1<sup>4</sup> (בְּהָהָה = 'בְּהָהָה' = *to the place where*); after לְ Is 65<sup>1</sup> שָׁאֵלוּ לִי by them *that asked not* for me . . . בָּקִשְׁנִי לִי them *that sought me not*; Ez 13<sup>3</sup> that which *they have not seen*, but the text is hardly correct; after עַל ψ 119<sup>186</sup>, cf. § 158 b; after עַם 2 Ch 16<sup>9</sup>.—A noun-clause follows לְ in Neh 8<sup>10</sup>. An analogous instance in Aramaic is Ezr 5<sup>14</sup> *to one whose name was Sheshbazzar* [so in the papyri, see the Lexicon, p. 1116<sup>a</sup>].

### § 156. Circumstantial Clauses.

1. The statement of the particular circumstances under 'which *a* a subject appears as performing some action, or under which an action (or an occurrence) is accomplished, is made especially (apart from relative clauses, see § 155) by means of noun-clauses connected by *Wāw* with a following subject (see further on this kind of *circumstantial clause* in § 141 *e*), and by verbal-clauses (see § 142 *d*). Very frequently, however, such statements of the particular circumstances are subordinated to the main clause by being simply attached, without *Wāw*, either as noun-clauses, sometimes extremely short (see *c*), or as verbal-clauses (see *d-g*).

Rem. Among relative clauses of this kind the commonest are the various *b* noun-clauses, which are most closely subordinated to a preceding substantive without אֶשֶׁר, e.g. Gn 16<sup>12</sup>; also statements of weight, Gn 24<sup>22</sup>; of name, Jb 1<sup>1</sup> (also introduced by וְשֵׁמוֹ Gn 24<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>1</sup>, &c., or וְשִׁמְקָה Gn 16<sup>1</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>, &c.); of a condition of body, Ju 1<sup>7</sup>, and others.—Noun-clauses which begin with *wāw* and the predicate have a somewhat more independent character than those introduced by *wāw* and the subject<sup>1</sup> (Gn 19<sup>1</sup>, &c.). The former, however, are also to be regarded as circumstantial clauses, in so far as they describe a state which is simultaneous with the principal action; thus Is 3<sup>7</sup> *I will not be an healer*, לֹחֶם וּבִכְיֹתִי אֵין לִּי *while in my house is neither bread nor clothing*; Is 6<sup>6</sup> (Am 7<sup>7</sup>); 2 S 13<sup>18</sup>, 16<sup>1</sup>. Cf. also the instances in § 152 *l* of וְאֵין followed by a participle, as וְאֵין מַצִּיל, &c.

2. Characteristic examples of circumstantial *noun-clauses* are Gn 12<sup>8</sup> *c* and pitched his tent בֵּית־אֵל מִיָּם וְהָעֵי מִבְּרֶגֶת with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east; Nu 22<sup>24</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>14</sup> through the heart of Absalom, עוֹדֶנָּה חַי while he was yet alive; Jer 30<sup>6</sup>, Ez 9<sup>2</sup> (cf. Ct 3<sup>8</sup>), Na 3<sup>8</sup>, Zc 14<sup>5</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>10</sup>; with the predicate preceding, e.g. 1 S 26<sup>13</sup>, ψ 32<sup>8</sup>.—In Gn 41<sup>29</sup> a noun-clause serves to announce a state in the future.—We may also include here certain set phrases, as אֶל-פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים *face to face* (prop. while face was turned towards face), Gn 32<sup>31</sup>, Ex 33<sup>11</sup>, Dt 34<sup>10</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> In Dt 32<sup>31</sup> this form of sequence appears to be selected for another purpose, and indeed our enemies are judges thereof, with *wāw* emphatic; to take it as a circumstantial clause is too artificial.

&c.;<sup>1</sup> so also *to cast oneself down*, אָרָצָה אַפִּים *the face being turned to the earth*, Gn 19<sup>1</sup>, &c. (for אָרָצָה we find אָרָץ in 1 K 1<sup>31</sup>, Is 49<sup>23</sup>).<sup>2</sup>—Cf. finally the formula אִם עַל־בָּנִים אִם *mother with children*, Gn 32<sup>12</sup>; cf. Ho 10<sup>14</sup> and § 119 aa note 2.

Rem. On circumlocutions of this kind to express negative attributes by means of short noun-clauses (complete or incomplete), cf. § 152 u.

- d 3. As circumstantial verbal-clauses,<sup>3</sup> we find (1) sometimes affirmative clauses (see below), but far more frequently (2) negative clauses (see f), and among these (3) a certain number of expressions which may be regarded simply as equivalent to negative adverbial ideas (see g).

Examples of (1) Is 5<sup>11b</sup> woe unto them, that tarry late in the evening, יֵין יִדְלִיקֵם *while wine inflames them*; Is 1<sup>5</sup>, 10<sup>24</sup>, 30<sup>31</sup>, Jer 7<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>15</sup>, ψ 4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>12</sup>, 21<sup>13</sup>, 62<sup>5</sup>. The circumstantial verbal-clause is used to particularize an action which has before been expressed generally, in Gn 44<sup>12</sup>, 48<sup>14</sup> = *crossing his hands*; Dt 2<sup>27</sup>, Ju 6<sup>19</sup>; antithetically, 1 K 13<sup>18</sup> לֹא כִּחַשׁ לוֹ *wherewith however he lied unto him*. The verbal-clause seems to assign a reason in ψ 7 *מִשְׁפָּטִים צִוִּיתָ* *since thou hast commanded judgement*; a consequence in ψ 103<sup>5,4</sup>.

- e Rem. On the cases in which an imperfect in the sense of a final clause is subordinated to a verb of motion (generally קָם), see § 120 c.

f Of (2), subordinate verbal-clauses with לֹא (in English usually rendered by *without* and the gerund, if the subject be the same as in the principal clause), e.g. Lv 1<sup>17</sup> לֹא יַבְדִּיל *without dividing it asunder*; Jb 31<sup>34</sup>; לֹא with the perfect is so used in Gn 44<sup>4</sup>, Ex 34<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>2</sup>, Jb 20<sup>26</sup> (*without its being blown upon it*). With a different subject, equivalent to a consecutive clause in English, Is 27<sup>9</sup> לֹא־יָקֻמוּ *so that they shall rise up no more*.—Moreover, verbal-clauses in the same sense (*without doing, &c.*) are frequently connected by וְלֹא; cf. 1 S 20<sup>2</sup>, Jb 24<sup>22</sup>, 42<sup>3</sup>; in a concessive sense, Is 33<sup>1</sup>, ψ 44<sup>18</sup>.

g Of (3), cf. יָדַע לֹא (prop. *he knows it not*) *unawares*, ψ 35<sup>6</sup>, Pr 5<sup>6</sup> לֹא יַחַמֵּל *unsparingly*, Is 30<sup>14</sup> (after an infinitive absolute); Hb 1<sup>7</sup>, Jb 6<sup>10</sup> (but לֹא יַחַמֵּל Jb 16<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>22</sup>; see f at the end); לֹא כִּחַדּוּ (prop. *they hide not*) *openly*, Is 3<sup>9</sup> (but

<sup>1</sup> The expression הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים *to look one another in the face* (i. e. to contend in combat) 2 K 14<sup>8,11</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17,21</sup>, is probably only a shortened form for הִתְרָאָה הַפָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים.

<sup>2</sup> That אָרָצָה (אָרָץ) is really to be regarded as a virtual predicate to אַפִּים, and not אַפִּים as a *casus instrumenti*, is seen from Is 49<sup>23</sup>, where אָרָץ precedes the verb.

<sup>3</sup> Some examples of these have been already discussed in another connexion above, § 120 a-c.

<sup>4</sup> In Gn 21<sup>14</sup> the circumstantial verbal-clause שָׁם עַל־שִׁכְמָה is only due to a harmonizing transposition; read וְאֶת־הַיֶּלֶד שָׁם עַל שֵׁשׁ. According to the source used in cap. 21 Ishmael was still a young child; according to 17<sup>25</sup> he was about 16 or 17 years old.

Jb 15<sup>18</sup> בְּלִי חֲשֹׁךְ; (prop. *he restrains not*) *unceasingly*, Is 14<sup>6</sup>; בְּלִי-יָמוּט; Jb 41<sup>15</sup> (ψ 93<sup>1</sup> בְּלִי-תַמּוּט) and לֹא יָמוּט Is 40<sup>20</sup> (*without tottering*) *immovably*; cf. also לֹא אֲמַעַד *without wavering*, ψ 26<sup>1</sup>.

### § 157. Object-Clauses (Oratio Obliqua).

Clauses which depend on a transitive verb, especially on what are *a* called *verba cordis*, i. e. verbs denoting any mental act, such as *to see, to hear, to know, to perceive, to believe, to remember, to forget, to say, to think, &c.*, may be subordinated to the governing verb without the help of a conjunction by simple juxtaposition (§ 120 *a*), or they may be co-ordinated with it either with or without *wāw copulative* (§ 120 *d-h*). As a rule, however, the objective clause is introduced by the conjunction כִּי *that*, less frequently by אֲשֶׁר *that*.<sup>1</sup>

#### Examples:—

(a) Object-clauses without a conjunction. Besides the passages mentioned in § 120 (especially under *e*) there are a number of examples, in which a clause depending on a *verbum dicendi* or *sentienti* (the *oratio obliqua* of the Latin and English Grammar) is added in the form of an independent noun-clause or verbal-clause; e. g. Gn 12<sup>13</sup> אֲמַרְיָנָא אֶחָתִי אֵמֶת say, *I pray thee, thou art my sister*; ψ 10<sup>13</sup>, Jb 25<sup>2a.14</sup>, Neh 6<sup>6</sup>; Zc 8<sup>23</sup> (after נִשְׁמַע); ψ 9<sup>21</sup> (after יָדַע); verbal-clauses, e. g. ψ 50<sup>21</sup> thou thoughtest כְּמֹדֶה הָיִיתָ-אֱהִיָּהּ *I was surely like thyself* [but read הָיִיתָ כְּמֹדֶה]; Gn 41<sup>15</sup>, Ju 9<sup>48</sup> what ye have seen me do; Is 48<sup>8</sup>, Ho 7<sup>2</sup>.

(b) Object-clauses introduced by כִּי, e. g. Gn 6<sup>5</sup> וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם *and the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great, &c.*—Direct narration also is very frequently introduced by כִּי (analogous to the *ŕecitativum*; frequently, indeed, with the secondary idea of a particle of asseveration, as in Gn 26<sup>9</sup>, 27<sup>20</sup>), e. g. Gn 21<sup>30</sup>, 22<sup>16 f.</sup>, 26<sup>22</sup>, 29<sup>32</sup>, 37<sup>36</sup>, Jos 2<sup>24</sup>, &c., even when the direct narration is not expressly indicated, Gn 4<sup>25</sup>, 32<sup>31</sup>, 41<sup>51 f.</sup>, Ex 18<sup>4</sup>.—On the expression of a second object by means of a clause introduced by כִּי, see § 117 *h*.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Object-clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Est 3<sup>4</sup> אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה לָהֶם *C* כִּי-הִגִּיד לָהֶם *for he had told them that he was a Jew*; 1 S 18<sup>15</sup>, Ez 20<sup>26</sup>, Ec 8<sup>12</sup>,<sup>3</sup> even before direct narration, 1 S 15<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>4</sup>. Somewhat frequently אֲשֶׁר is preceded by

<sup>1</sup> On these clauses with כִּי and אֲשֶׁר and generally on clauses which we should render as subordinate, cf. P. Dörwald 'Zur hebr. Syntax' in *Neue Jahrb. für Philol. und Pädag.* 1890, p. 115 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of a complete objective clause we sometimes find a kind of accusative and infinitive construction, especially after נָתַן (prop. *to give up*) in the sense of *to allow*, e. g. Nu 21<sup>23</sup> וְלֹא-נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל עָבַר בְּגִבְלוֹ *and Sihon did not suffer Israel to pass through his border*; 20<sup>21</sup>; followed by an infinitive with ל, e. g. Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>7</sup>, Ex 3<sup>19</sup>.—Cf. also the analogous examples in Dt 28<sup>56</sup> (after נָסָה *to venture*; see § 113 *d*); Ju 11<sup>20</sup> (after הֶאֱמִין *to trust*); 1 K 19<sup>4</sup> (after שָׁאַל *to request*).

<sup>3</sup> In Jer 28<sup>9</sup> a subject-clause is thus introduced by אֲשֶׁר instead of the usual כִּי.

the *nota accusativi* אַתָּה (equivalent to *the circumstance, the fact, that*), e.g. Jos 2<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>11,19</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>20</sup>, Is 38<sup>3</sup>, but in Gn 30<sup>29</sup>, Dt 29<sup>15</sup> equivalent to *the way in which*.

### § 158. Causal Clauses.

**a** A complete clause, assigning the reason for statements, demands, threats, &c., sometimes follows with the simple *wāw copulative*, e.g. ψ 60<sup>13</sup> *give us help against the adversary, and (for) vain is the help of man*; Gn 6<sup>17</sup> (וְאֵינִי), 22<sup>12</sup>, Ex 23<sup>9</sup>, Jb 22<sup>12</sup>, perhaps also ψ 7<sup>10</sup>; or even without *Wāw*, e.g. Gn 17<sup>14</sup>. As a rule, however, special conjunctions in various combinations are used to introduce causal clauses.

**b** The most common causal conjunctions are יָעַן Is 3<sup>16</sup>, &c., and אֲשֶׁר יָעַן *because*, prop. *on account of the fact that*; both, however, may also be shortened to the simple יָעַן Nu 20<sup>12</sup>, &c., or to כִּי *because*, Gn 3<sup>14,17</sup>, &c., or to אֲשֶׁר Gn 30<sup>18</sup>, 31<sup>49</sup>, 34<sup>13,27</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>15</sup>, 20<sup>42</sup>, 26<sup>16,23</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>19</sup>, 8<sup>33</sup>, Ho 14<sup>4</sup>, Zc 1<sup>15</sup>; also בְּאֲשֶׁר Gn 39<sup>9,23</sup>. On the other hand, the simple יָעַן is sometimes repeated for emphasis, יָעַן וְיָעַן (something like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*) Lv 26<sup>43</sup>, Ez 13<sup>10</sup> (without וְ 36<sup>3</sup>); also עַל-אֲשֶׁר 2 S 3<sup>30</sup>, and עַל-כֵּי Dt 31<sup>17</sup>, Ju 3<sup>12</sup>, Mal 2<sup>14</sup> *on the ground that*; עַל-דִּבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר *because of the circumstance that*, Dt 23<sup>5</sup>; עַל-כֵּל-אֲדֹת אֲשֶׁר *for this very cause that*, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>. But just as the simple יָעַן is used for אֲשֶׁר, so also the simple עַל- with the perfect stands for אֲשֶׁר ψ 119<sup>136</sup>, Ezr 3<sup>11</sup>; cf. עַל-בְּלִי Gn 31<sup>20</sup> and מְבִלִי Dt 28<sup>55</sup> both with the perfect, equivalent to *because . . . not*.—Cf. further עָקֵב אֲשֶׁר Gn 22<sup>18</sup>, 26<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>, all with the perfect, and כִּי עָקֵב (2 S 12<sup>10</sup> with the perfect; Am 4<sup>12</sup> with the imperfect) prop. *in return for the fact that*; similarly again the simple עָקֵב Nu 14<sup>24</sup> with the perfect, and Dt 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>30</sup> with the imperfect; finally, מֵאֲשֶׁר Is 43<sup>4</sup> *arising from the fact that, = because*; תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר 1 S 26<sup>21</sup>, &c., and כִּי תַחַת Dt 4<sup>37</sup>, Pr 1<sup>29</sup> *for the reason that*.

**c** Rem. 1. The preposition עַל- (*because of, on account of*) with the infinitive (§ 114 e) is frequently used as the equivalent of a full causal clause; cf. e.g. Am 1<sup>3,6,13</sup>, 2<sup>1,6</sup>. Such a construction with the infinitive may, however, according to § 114 r, be continued by means of a finite verb, in which case עַל- governs the verb as a conjunction; e.g. Am 1<sup>9</sup> וְלֹא זָכְרוּ . . . עַל-הַסִּיּוּרִים *because they delivered up . . . and remembered not, &c.*; 1<sup>11</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>; without *Wāw*, Is 30<sup>14</sup>.

**d** 2. The choice of tense is regulated by the general principles stated in § 106 ff., viz. the perfect (cf. especially § 106 f) refers to causes already brought fully into effect, the imperfect to those which may contingently arise; cf. e.g. Dt 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>30</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>33</sup>, where the imperfect leaves the possibility still open that the persons addressed will perhaps escape the threatened punishments by avoiding disobedience.—Cf. further, § 111 h on the imperfect consecutive, and § 112 nn on the perfect consecutive in the apodosis to causal clauses.

<sup>1</sup> Also כִּי-עַל-כֵּן prop. *for therefore*, Gn 18<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>10</sup>, 38<sup>28</sup>, Nu 10<sup>31</sup>, 14<sup>43</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>20</sup> *quod*, and אֲשֶׁר עַל-כֵּן Jb 34<sup>27</sup>, always mean *forasmuch as*.

## § 159. Conditional Sentences.

Cf. H. Ferguson, 'The Use of the Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew' (*Journal of the Society of Bibl. Lit. and Exeg.*, Middletown, Conn., June and September, 1882).—P. Friedrich, *Die hebr. Conditionalsätze*, Königsberg, 1884 (Inaug.-Diss.).—Driver, *Use of the Tenses*, 3rd ed., p. 174 ff.

1. The great variety of construction in conditional sentences is *a* owing to the fact that it frequently depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker, whether he wishes a condition to be regarded as *capable of fulfilment* (absolutely, or at least possibly), thus including those already fulfilled, or as *incapable of fulfilment*. On this distinction depends the choice both of the conditional particle to be used (see below), and especially (as also in Greek and Latin) of the tense. The use of the latter is naturally determined according to the general principles laid down in § 106 ff.<sup>1</sup> In the following sketch, for the sake of clearness, conditional sentences *without* conditional particles will be first discussed (under *b*), and afterwards sentences *with* these particles (under *l*).

2. The relation between condition and consequence may be expressed, *b* as in English, by the simple juxtaposition of two clauses. At the same time, it is to be observed in general as a fundamental rule (in accordance with the original character of the two tenses), that the *imperfect*, with its equivalents (the jussive, cohortative, imperative, perfect consecutive, and participle), is used to express a condition and consequence which are regarded as being *capable of fulfilment* in present or future time, while the *perfect* represents a condition already fulfilled in the past, and its consequence as an accomplished fact. The other use of the perfect—to represent conditions regarded as *impossible*—occurs only in connexion with particles.

Examples:—

(a) *Imperfect* (cf. § 107 *x*) in protasis and apodosis, Jos 22<sup>18</sup>, ψ 104<sup>28 ff.</sup> *C* יִלְקְטוּן<sup>2</sup> לָהֶם הָתֵן אֲנִי (if) thou givest unto them, they gather, &c.; ψ 139<sup>18</sup>, Pr 12<sup>17</sup>, Jb 20<sup>24</sup>, Ec 1<sup>18</sup>, Neh 1<sup>8</sup>; with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis, Ju 13<sup>12</sup>; with the jussive, Jb 10<sup>16</sup>; with the cohortative, Pr. 1<sup>23</sup>; with the perfect, Is 26<sup>10</sup> (yet will he not learn righteousness; the apodosis forcibly denies

<sup>1</sup> It may, moreover, happen that a different idea is introduced in the apodosis, from that with which the protasis started—a source of many further variations.

<sup>2</sup> On the termination יִ- cf. § 47 *m*. In verse 28 *b* also יִשְׁבְּעוּן is probably to be explained from its immediately preceding the greater *pause*. These terminations in verses 28–30 and ψ 139<sup>18</sup> can scarcely have any connexion with the conditional sentence, although it is strange that יִ- in Nu 32<sup>23</sup> appears after אִל־אֵם in the protasis. In Nu 16<sup>29</sup>, 32<sup>20</sup> יִ- as before אֵם (as in Jb 31<sup>10</sup> in the apodosis) is to be explained from the dislike of hiatus.

what the imperfect in the protasis had represented as still conceivable; cf. Ho 8<sup>12</sup>); with the perfect consecutive, Gn 47<sup>25</sup>, Ex 33<sup>6</sup>; with the protasis suppressed, Jb 5<sup>8</sup> (see § 107 x).

*d* (b) *Jussive* in protasis (cf. § 109 h, i) and apodosis,  $\psi$  104<sup>10</sup>  $\text{הַשְׁתַּחֲשֵׁךְ}$   $\text{לַיְלָה}$  (if) *thou makest darkness, it is night*; imperfect in the apodosis,  $\psi$  104<sup>29b</sup>; cohortative Pr 1<sup>23</sup>. Also in Ex 7<sup>9</sup>  $\text{יְהִי לְתַנִּין}$  *it shall become a serpent*, is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis *if thou cast it down*; so in 2 K 5<sup>10</sup>  $\text{וַיִּשָׁב}$  is the apodosis to a protasis *if thou wash*, contained in what precedes.

*e* (c) *Cohortative* (see § 108 e) in the protasis; perfect in the apodosis,  $\psi$  40<sup>6</sup>; imperfect consecutive, Jb 19<sup>18</sup>  $\text{וַיִּדְבְּרֻבֵּי אֱלֹהִים}$  (if) *I arise, they speak against me*; on the cohortative in the apodosis, cf. § 108 f.

*f* (d) *Imperfect consecutive* in the protasis (§ 111 x),  $\psi$  139<sup>11</sup>  $\text{וְאָמַר}$  *if I say*, &c. (with a noun-clause as the apodosis); with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, 1 S 2<sup>26</sup>.

*g* (e) *Perfect consecutive* in the protasis and apodosis (see the examples, § 112 kk and ll), Gn 44<sup>22</sup>  $\text{וַיַּעַב אָבִיו וַיֵּחַד}$  *and should he leave his father, his father would die*; 9<sup>15</sup>, 44<sup>29</sup>, Ex 4<sup>14</sup>, 12<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>2</sup>, 19<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>28</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>30</sup>; with frequentative perfects, Ex 16<sup>21</sup> (referring to the past, Jer 20<sup>9</sup>); with imperfect in the apodosis (being separated from the *Wāw* by  $\text{לֵא}$ ), Nu 23<sup>20</sup>, Jb 5<sup>24</sup>; introduced by an infinitive absolute, 1 K 2<sup>37</sup>; an interrogative clause in the apodosis, Lv 10<sup>19</sup>; a noun-clause,  $\psi$  37<sup>10</sup>, Jb 7<sup>21</sup>.

*h* (f) *A simple perfect* (to represent actions which are to be regarded as completed) in the protasis and apodosis, Pr 18<sup>22</sup>  $\text{מָצָא אִשָּׁה טָעָא טוֹב}$  *has one found a wife, he has found a good thing*; an imperfect in the apodosis, Jb 19<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>: an imperfect consecutive, Ex 20<sup>26</sup>, Pr 11<sup>2</sup>, Jb 3<sup>25</sup>, 23<sup>13b</sup>, 29<sup>11</sup>; an interrogative clause, Nu 12<sup>14</sup>, Jb 7<sup>20</sup> *if I have sinned* (prop., well, now I have sinned!) *what can I do unto thee?* 21<sup>31</sup>, 35<sup>6</sup>, Am 3<sup>8</sup>; a noun-clause, Jb 27<sup>19</sup>.

*i* (g) *A participle as casus pendens* (cf. § 143 d, and the sections of the Grammar there cited, esp. § 116 w) or a complete noun-clause in the protasis; the apodosis mostly introduced by *wāw* apodosis, e.g. Pr 23<sup>24</sup>  $\text{כִּי יֵלֶךְ חָכָם}$   $\text{וַיִּשְׂמַח בּוֹ}$  *if one begetteth a wise child, he shall have joy of him*; with perfect frequentative in the apodosis, 1 S 2<sup>13</sup>, &c.; but also with a simple imperfect, e.g. Ex 21<sup>12</sup> (cf. § 112 n); with an interrogative imperfect, 2 K 7<sup>2,19</sup>; with an interrogative perfect, Ju 6<sup>13</sup>.

*k* (h) *Infinitive with preposition* (also as the equivalent of a conditional clause) in the protasis, and a perfect consecutive in the apodosis (cf. § 112 mm), e.g. 2 S 7<sup>14</sup>  $\text{וְגַם בְּהִיעוֹתוֹ וְהִכָּתְתִּיו וְגַם}$  *if he commit iniquity, I will correct him*; Ex 34<sup>34</sup>  $\text{וְגַם}$  (with imperfect, followed by perfects frequentative in the apodosis).

Rem. On the expression of condition and consequence by means of two co-ordinate imperatives, see § 110 f.

*l* 3. Particles used to introduce conditional sentences are  $\text{אִם}$  (for which in the later and latest Books sometimes  $\text{הִנֵּן}$ , see below, under *w*) and  $\text{וְאִם}$  (1 S 14<sup>30</sup>, Is 63<sup>19</sup>  $\text{וְאִם}$ ; Ec 6<sup>6</sup>, Est 7<sup>4</sup>  $\text{אִם}$ , from  $\text{אִם לֹא}$ ) *if*, negative  $\text{אִם לֹא}$  and  $\text{לֹא אִם}$  ( $\text{לֹא אִם}$ ) *unless*;  $\text{כִּי}$  *supposing that* (Lat. *ut*), *in case that*, sometimes used almost in the same sense as  $\text{אִם}$ . With regard to the difference between  $\text{אִם}$  ( $\text{אִם לֹא}$ ) and  $\text{לֹא}$  ( $\text{לֹא אִם}$ ), the fundamental rule is that  $\text{אִם}$  is used if the condition be regarded either as already fulfilled, or if it, together with its consequence, be thought of as possibly (or

<sup>1</sup> On  $\text{וְאִם}$  cf. Kohler in Geiger's *Zeitschr. für Wiss. und Leben*, vi (1868), p. 21 ff.

probably) occurring in the present or future. In the former case,  $\text{DN}$  is followed by the perfect, in the latter (corresponding to the Greek  $\epsilon\alpha\nu$  with the present subjunctive) by the imperfect or its equivalent (frequently in the apodosis also). On the other hand,  $\text{לִי}$  ( $\text{לִי־לֵא}$ ) is used when the condition is to be represented as *not fulfilled* in the past, or as *not capable of fulfilment* in the present or future, and the consequence accordingly as not having occurred or never occurring. In the former case,  $\text{לִי}$  and  $\text{לִי־לֵא}$  are necessarily followed by the perfect (mostly also in the apodosis) corresponding to the Greek  $\epsilon\iota$  with the indicative of an historic tense, and the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. In the latter case (which is extremely rare) the perfect, or the participle, or even the imperfect, may be used.

Rem. Since it again frequently depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker (see under *a*), whether a condition is to be regarded as possible or impossible, we cannot wonder that the distinction between  $\text{DN}$  and  $\text{לִי}$  is not always consistently observed. Although naturally  $\text{לִי}$  and  $\text{לִי־לֵא}$  cannot take the place of  $\text{DN}$  and  $\text{לִי־לֵא}$  (on the strange use of  $\text{לִי}$  in Gn 50<sup>15</sup> see below), yet conversely  $\text{DN}$  is sometimes used where  $\text{לִי}$  would certainly be expected; cf. e.g.  $\psi$  50<sup>12</sup>, 137<sup>5</sup>, 139<sup>8</sup>, Ho 9<sup>12</sup> (cf. verse 11). These examples, indeed ( $\text{DN}$  with the imperfect), may without difficulty be explained from the fact that the connexion of  $\text{לִי}$  with the imperfect was evidently avoided, because the imperfect by its nature indicates a still unfinished action, and consequently (as opposed to  $\text{לִי}$ ) a still open possibility. But  $\text{DN}$  is also used for  $\text{לִי}$  in connexion with the perfect, especially when an imprecation is attached by the apodosis to the condition introduced by  $\text{DN}$ , e.g.  $\psi$  74<sup>11</sup>. . .  $\text{אֲמַעֲשֶׂיתִי וְזֹאת . . . יִרְדֶּף וְנִי}$  if I have done this . . . , let the enemy pursue my soul, &c., cf. Jb 31<sup>10</sup>. The speaker assumes for a moment as possible and even actual, that which he really rejects as inconceivable, in order to invoke the most severe punishment on himself, if it should prove to be the case.

On the frequent addition of an infinitive absolute to the verb in clauses with  $\text{DN}$  see § 113 o above.

Examples:—

A.  $\text{DN}$  1. with *perfect* in the protasis to express conditions, &c., which have *been* completely fulfilled in the past or which will be completely fulfilled in the future (the perfect is here equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, § 106 o). The apodosis<sup>1</sup> takes—

(a) A *perfect* also, e.g. Pr 9<sup>12</sup>  $\text{אִם־חָכָמָה תִּכְמָתָהּ לָךְ}$  if thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself;  $\psi$  73<sup>15</sup> (see below on  $\text{לִי}$ ).

(b) *Imperfect*, e.g. Dt 32<sup>41</sup>  $\text{אֲשִׁיב אֶם־שִׁנּוֹתִי}$  if I whet my glittering sword . . .  $\text{אֲשִׁיב}$  I will render vengeance, &c.; Jb 9<sup>15 f. 30</sup> (in both cases we should expect  $\text{לִי}$  rather than  $\text{אֶם}$ ; so also in  $\psi$  44<sup>21 f.</sup>, with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis); Jb 11<sup>13</sup> (the apodosis is in verse 15).

(c) *Jussive* (or *optative*), e.g. Jb 31<sup>9</sup>. (see m above); Gn 18<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> We are not here concerned with the fact that the logical apodosis (the consequence of the condition) is sometimes mentioned before the condition; as in Gn 18<sup>28.30</sup>, Ju 11<sup>10</sup>,  $\psi$  63<sup>6 f.</sup>, 137<sup>6</sup>, and according to Dillmann Is 4<sup>4</sup>.

**O** (d) *Perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 gg), e.g. Gn 43<sup>9</sup> אֲמַלְאֵהְיָאֵתִיּוֹן if I bring him not . . . then I shall have sinned, &c.; Ju 16<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>33</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, e.g. Gn 47<sup>6</sup>, Mi 5<sup>7</sup>, Jb 7<sup>4</sup> refer to actions already completed; in Gn 38<sup>9</sup> and Nu 21<sup>9</sup> the perfect with י is a perfect frequentative and refers to past time.

(e) *Imperfect consecutive* (see § 111 q), e.g. Jb 8<sup>4</sup> if thy children have sinned (חָטְאוּ) . . . , וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם he has delivered them, &c.

(f) *Imperative*, e.g. Gn 50<sup>4</sup> וְגַם תִּשְׁמַעְנִי אֵלֶיךָ if now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, &c.; the imperative precedes in Gn 47<sup>16</sup> and Jb 38<sup>4,18</sup>.

**P** (g) A (complete or incomplete) noun-clause, e.g. Jer 14<sup>18</sup> (a vivid realization of the future) if I have gone forth into the field (= if I go, &c.), then, behold, the slain with the sword! &c.; Pr 24<sup>14</sup> (apodosis with wāw apodosis).

**Q** 2. אִם with *imperfect* in the protasis, to express what is possible in the present or future, as well as (according to § 107 b) what has continued or been repeated in the past. The apodosis takes—

(a) The *perfect*, e.g. Nu 32<sup>23</sup> וְאִם-לֹא תַעֲשֶׂוּן בְּנֵי הָהָא חַטָּאתֵם but if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned; here the apodosis represents the time when the consequence has already taken place; so also Jb 20<sup>12-14</sup>. On the other hand, Nu 16<sup>29</sup> (as also 1 S 6<sup>9</sup> and 1 K 22<sup>28</sup>) is a case of a pregnant construction, if these men die as all men die, then (it will follow from this) the Lord hath not sent me.

**R** (b) The *imperfect*, e.g. 2 K 7<sup>4</sup> אִם-יִחְיֶינָה נַחִיהָ if they save us alive, we shall live, &c.; Gn 13<sup>16</sup>, 18<sup>28,30</sup>, 28<sup>20</sup> π, Ex 20<sup>26</sup> (the second imperfect is equivalent to a jussive); Is 1<sup>18</sup>, 10<sup>22</sup>, Am 9<sup>2-4</sup>, ψ 50<sup>12</sup> (where אִם ironically represents an impossibility as possible); Jb 8<sup>5</sup> f. (with the insertion of a second condition in the form of a noun-clause); ψ 3<sup>20</sup>, 14<sup>7</sup>; a frequentative imperfect referring to the past, Gn 31<sup>8</sup> אִם-כֵּן יֹאמַר if (ever) he said thus . . . , וַיִּלְדוּ then they bare . . . ; Ex 40<sup>37</sup>. In Gn 42<sup>37</sup> the consequence (on חַמִּית cf. § 107 s) precedes the condition.

(c) The *jussive* (or *optative*), e.g. ψ 137<sup>8</sup>; cf. § 109 h.

(d) The *cohortative*, e.g. Gn 13<sup>9</sup>, Jb 31<sup>7</sup>; cf. § 108 f.

**S** (e) The *perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 ff and gg), e.g. 1 S 20<sup>6</sup> אִם-פָּלַךְ יִפְקְדֵנִי אָבִיךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ if thy father miss me at all, then shall thou say, &c.; Gn 24<sup>41</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>; with a frequentative perfect consecutive, Gn 31<sup>8</sup> if he said (as often happened) . . . , then, &c.

(f) The *imperfect consecutive*; so perhaps ψ 59<sup>16</sup>, if וַיִּלְכֶּנָּה is to be explained according to § 111 t.

(g) The *imperative*, e.g. Gn 31<sup>50</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>21</sup> (with wāw apodosis, but in verse 22 simply לֵךְ), 21<sup>10</sup>, Jb 33<sup>6</sup>.

**T** (h) A noun-clause, e.g. Gn 4<sup>7</sup>, ψ 139<sup>8</sup>, Jb 8<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>26</sup> f.

3. אִם with *cohortative*, e.g. Gn 30<sup>31</sup>; cf. the passages in § 108 e.

**U** 4. אִם with *infinitive*, Jb 9<sup>27</sup> אִם-אֶמְרִי אֲמַר prop. if my saying is (but probably we should read אֶמְרִי אֶמְרִי).

**V** 5. אִם with a noun-clause, e.g. Dt 5<sup>22</sup> (in the apodosis a perfect with wāw apodosis), Gn 27<sup>46</sup>, Ju 9<sup>15</sup> (imperative in the apodosis); 11<sup>9</sup> (imperfect in the apodosis); 2 S 12<sup>8</sup> (cohortative in the apodosis); Ho 12<sup>12</sup>; especially if the subject of the conditional clause be a personal pronoun. In an affirmative sentence this pronoun is often joined to שׁ, in a negative sentence to אֵין (cf. on both, § 100 o), while the predicate (cf. § 116 q) is represented by a participle, usually expressing the future, e.g. Ju 6<sup>36</sup> f. אִם-יִשְׁעַר מוֹשִׁיעַ

if thou wilt save, &c.; Gn 24<sup>49</sup> **אִם-יִשְׁכַּם עֵשָׂא** if ye will deal, &c.; 1 S 23<sup>23</sup>. In Gn 24<sup>42 f.</sup> the condition is expressed in a more humble form by the addition of **אֵין**. With **אֵין** Gn 43<sup>5</sup> **וְאִם-אֵינְךָ מִשְׁלַחַם** but if thou wilt not send, &c.; 20<sup>7</sup> (with imperative in the apodosis); Ex 8<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>2 f.</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>11</sup> (all with a participle also in the apodosis). But **יֵשׁ** and **אֵין** may also be used after **אִם** without a suffix; thus **יֵשׁ** Gn 23<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>13</sup>, &c., **אִם-אֵין** (if it be not the case) Gn 30<sup>1</sup>, Ex 32<sup>32</sup>, Ju 9<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>10</sup>; cf. also **אִם-כֵּן** if it be so, Gn 25<sup>22</sup>.

**ב. הֵן** if, generally supposed to be originally identical with **הֵן** behold!<sup>1</sup> **ו** Probably, however, **הֵן** if, is a pure Aramaism, and since the Aramaic word never has the meaning *behold*, it is at least improbable that it had originally any connexion with **הֵן** or **הֵנָּה**. Cf. Ex 8<sup>22</sup>, Lv 25<sup>20</sup>, Is 54<sup>15</sup>, Jer 3<sup>1</sup>, Hag 2<sup>12</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>13</sup>, and frequently in Job, as 9<sup>11,12</sup>, 12<sup>14,15</sup>, 19<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>8</sup>, 40<sup>23</sup>, always with *wāw* apodosis following, except in 13<sup>15</sup>, where consequently the meaning *see* is no doubt preferable.

**צ. לֹא** if, **לֹא-אֵין** (לֹא-יֵשׁ) if not. x

1. With *perfect* in the protasis and apodosis (cf. § 106 p), e.g. Ju 8<sup>19</sup>; **אֵלֹהִים** is used in the same sense as **לֹא** in Est 7<sup>4</sup>, cf. Ec 6<sup>6</sup> (with a question in the apodosis).—With the perfect in protasis and apodosis after **לֹא-אֵין** Gn 31<sup>42</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup>, Ju 14<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>34</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>27</sup>, Is 1<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand, in Dt 32<sup>29</sup> **לֹא** with a perfect is followed by an imperfect in the apodosis, *if they were wise, they would understand this*; in Mi 2<sup>11</sup> by a perfect consecutive.

2. With *imperfect* after **לֹא-אֵין** Dt 32<sup>27</sup>, **אֲנִי** probably as the *modus rei repetitae*, *y* *were it not that I ever and again feared, &c.*; so also the imperfect after **לֹא** with the apodosis suppressed, Gn 50<sup>15</sup> *supposing that Joseph should hate us*; since, according to the context, the danger was real, the use of **לֹא** here is strange; conversely in other cases, e.g. ψ 73<sup>15</sup>, Jb 9<sup>15 f. 30</sup>, **לֹא** would be more natural than **אִם**.

3. A noun-clause occurs after **לֹא** 2 S 18<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>14</sup>, ψ 81<sup>14</sup>, all with imperfect **ז** in the apodosis; Jb 16<sup>4</sup> **לֹא יֵשׁ**, with cohortative in the apodosis.

**ד. כִּי** supposing that, if:—

1. **כִּי** with *perfect* in the protasis, e.g. Nu 5<sup>20</sup> **כִּי שָׁמַיִת** but thou, if thou *aa* *hast gone astray, &c.*; with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Jb 7<sup>13 f.</sup>; with an imperfect consecutive, Jb 22<sup>29</sup>.

2. **כִּי** with *imperfect* in the protasis, e.g. ψ 23<sup>4</sup> **כִּי-אֵלֶךְ** yea, though I walk *bb* (have to walk) . . . , I will fear no (לֹא-אֵירָא) evil; 37<sup>24</sup>; Ex 21<sup>2</sup> **כִּי-תִקְנֶה עֶבֶד** בִּיתְךָ if thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve (but in verses 3–5 a series of definite conditions with definite consequences is introduced by **אִם**; so also the **כִּי** in verse 7 is followed in verses 8–11 by the special cases with **אִם**; cf. also verse 17 ff.); cf. Gn 4<sup>24</sup>, 24<sup>41</sup>, Jb 38<sup>5</sup>; with a perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Gn 32<sup>18 f.</sup>, Ex 18<sup>16</sup>; with a noun-clause, Is 1<sup>15</sup>.

3. **כִּי** with a noun-clause (and imperfect in the apodosis), 2 S 19<sup>8</sup>.

#### REMARKS.

1. In 2 K 5<sup>13</sup> the particle **אֲבִי** (Masora **אֲבִי**, probably in the sense of *my CC father*) appears exceptionally for **לֹא**; its meaning here is unquestionable, but

<sup>1</sup> There could be no doubt of their identity if **וְהֵנָּה** in 1 S 9<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>11</sup>, simply meant *if*. We must, however, keep to the meaning *but behold*.

its origin is obscure. Cf. the exhaustive discussion of Delitzsch and Wetzstein on Jb 34<sup>36</sup>, where this אִם appears to be used as a desiderative particle.—Sometimes when one case has been already discussed, another of the same character is added by means of אִם or, e.g. Ex 21<sup>26</sup> אִם נִדְרָע וְנִ' or (another possible case) *it is known that, &c., i.e. but if it be known, &c.*, LXX εἰδὼς δέ, Vulg. *sin autem*; cf. Lv 4<sup>23,28</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 25<sup>49</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>13</sup>; with a following imperfect, Ez 14<sup>17f</sup>.—On the hypothetical use of אִם (which is interchangeable with כִּי in other senses also) Lv 4<sup>22</sup> (in verses 3 and 27 אִם), Dt 11<sup>27</sup> (verse 28 אִם), Jos 4<sup>21</sup>, see the Lexicon.

**dd** 2. The conditional sentence is frequently found in an abridged form, where the suppressed clauses can be easily supplied from the context; cf. Gn 13<sup>9</sup>, 24<sup>49</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>16</sup> וְאִם-לֹא *and if not, i.e. and if thou wilt not give it to me, then I take it* (perfect according to § 106 n) *by force*; cf. 1 S 6<sup>9</sup>. The use of וַיֵּשׁ alone in Ju 6<sup>13</sup> is peculiar, as also וַיֵּשׁ in 2 K 10<sup>15</sup> (where read with the LXX וַיֵּשׁ) in the sense of *if it be so*.—In 2 S 13<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>17</sup> וְלֹא alone appears to be used in the sense of *if really . . . not*, in each case with a following jussive equivalent to *may there at least, &c.* (cf. § 143 d); but perhaps with Matthes, ZAW. 1903, p. 122 ff., following Kuipers, we should read וְלֹא *would that!*—In 1 S 13<sup>13</sup>, Jb 3<sup>13</sup> the condition must be supplied from the preceding clause to complete the sentence introduced by כִּי עָתָה, in Jb 31<sup>28</sup> by כִּי, in 2 K 13<sup>19</sup> by אִם.—The apodosis also appears sometimes in an abridged form (e.g. Gn 4<sup>24</sup>, Is 43<sup>2</sup>) or is entirely suppressed, e.g. Gn 30<sup>27</sup>, 38<sup>17</sup>, 50<sup>15</sup> (see *y* above), Ex 32<sup>32</sup>, ψ 27<sup>13</sup>, Jb 38<sup>5</sup>, where properly הִנֵּה must be supplied with תֵּרַע כִּי as in verses 4 and 18; cf. § 167 a.—In ψ 8<sup>4</sup>, instead of the apodosis *I* exclaim which we should expect, the exclamation itself follows.

**ee** 3. The absolute certainty with which a result is to be expected is frequently emphasized by the insertion of כִּי Is 7<sup>9</sup>; אִם כִּי 2 S 2<sup>27</sup>, 19<sup>7</sup>, Jb 11<sup>15</sup>; or עָתָה כִּי *now verily*, Nu 22<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>30</sup> after לֹא, Gn 31<sup>42</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup> after לִלְבִּי, Jb 8<sup>6</sup> after אִם. On this corroborative כִּי cf. such passages as Gn 18<sup>20</sup>, &c., and § 148 d. On אִם כִּי after an oath cf. 163 d.

**ff** 4. Sometimes the force of a hypothetical particle extends beyond the apodosis to a second conditional clause, as in the case of אִם Pr 9<sup>12</sup>, Jb 10<sup>15</sup>, 16<sup>6</sup>, 22<sup>23</sup>, and כִּי Is 43<sup>2</sup>.

**gg** 5. In Ex 33<sup>20</sup> a negative statement takes the place of a condition with a negative consequence, *for a man doth not see me and live*, instead of *for if a man sees me, he does not live*; cf. the similar passages, Dt 22<sup>1,4</sup> *thou shalt not see . . . and hide thyself*, instead of *if thou seest . . . thou shalt not hide thyself*.

## § 160. Concessive Clauses.

**a** Besides the use of the imperative in the sense of a concession, meant either seriously (§ 110 a) or mockingly (§ 110 f), and of concessive circumstantial clauses (§ 141 e, § 142 d, and § 156 f), concessive clauses may be introduced—

(a) By a simple אִם *if*: thus Jb 9<sup>15</sup> with perfect, *if (=though) I had been in the right*; Is 1<sup>18</sup> and 10<sup>22</sup> with imperfect in reference to a contingent event.

**b** (b) By כִּי יָם *yea though*, Is 1<sup>10</sup> with imperfect; for which we find simply יָם in Is 49<sup>16</sup> with imperfect, *yea, though these may forget, yet . . .*; on the other hand, with perfect, Jer 36<sup>26</sup>, ψ 95<sup>9</sup>, Neh 6<sup>1</sup>; finally יָם כִּי *even if, though*, Ec 4<sup>14</sup>.

(c) By the preposition על governing a complete noun-clause, as Jb 16<sup>17</sup> C על־לֹא־חַמַּס בְּיָדַי notwithstanding that no violence is in mine hands, or a verbal-clause, Is 53<sup>9</sup>. On על with the infinitive in a similar sense (equivalent to in addition to the fact that = notwithstanding that), cf. § 119 aa, note 2.

### § 161. Comparative Clauses.

1. A comparison between two facts is sometimes established by *a* simply uniting them with *wāw* copulative, especially in gnomic poetry, when facts of a moral nature are compared with those of the physical world, e. g. Jb 5<sup>7</sup> *man is born unto trouble, and the sons of flame fly upward*, i. e. as the sparks by nature fly upward, so man, &c.; Jb 12<sup>11</sup> (in an interrogative form; in 34<sup>3</sup> the same comparison as a statement); 14<sup>11f</sup>, Pr 17<sup>3</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup>, 26<sup>3,9,14</sup>, 27<sup>21</sup>, &c.<sup>1</sup> Even without the connecting ו Jb 24<sup>19</sup> *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, חֹמֶר וְשֶׁלֶת so doth Sheol those who have sinned (cf. § 155 n); cf. Jer 17<sup>11</sup>.

2. The conjunction כַּאֲשֶׁר (cf. § 155 g; the simple אֲשֶׁר occurs in the *b* same sense in Ex 10<sup>6</sup>, 14<sup>13</sup>, 34<sup>18</sup>) *as, quemadmodum*, is used as a comparative conjunction (Ob<sup>15</sup>), frequently with כֵּן *so*, corresponding to it in the apodosis, Is 31<sup>4</sup>, 52<sup>14f</sup>. Sometimes, however, כֵּן (*so also*) occurs even after independent statements, Is 55<sup>9</sup>, Jer 3<sup>20</sup>.—Exact coincidence of two facts is expressed in Ec 5<sup>15</sup> by כָּל־עֲמֻתָּ שֵׁ *in all points as*.

Rem. On the use of כֵּן *as*, with single nouns or pronouns to introduce *C* comparisons, cf. 118 s; on the alleged use of כֵּן as a conjunction (equivalent to כַּאֲשֶׁר), cf. § 155 g.—It is to be further remarked that כֵּן—כֵּן when used in correspondence with one another, *as—so* (e. g. Lv 7<sup>7</sup>, Ju 8<sup>18</sup>, Is 24<sup>2</sup>, Ho 4<sup>9</sup>; also *so—as*, Gn 18<sup>25</sup>, 44<sup>18</sup>, Dt 17<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>4</sup>; in Jos 14<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>24</sup> וְכֵן—כֵּן; ψ 127<sup>4</sup> and often, כֵּן—כֵּן, cf. Jo 2<sup>4</sup>), are not to be regarded as conjunctions, but as virtual substantives with a following genitive; כָּכָם כִּי יִהְיֶה Nu 15<sup>15</sup> properly means *the like of you shall be the like of the stranger*, i. e. *your duty shall be (also) the stranger's duty*; cf. Lv 24<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On this *wāw* *adaequationis*, and in general on these proverbial comparisons, see Delitzsch, *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*, p. 9 f. Moreover, instead of entire clauses, the nouns alone (without predicates) are frequently grouped together, e. g. Pr 25<sup>25</sup>, 26<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>21</sup> (called by Delitzsch, the 'emblematic Mashal'). The expressions עִם נְחִישָׁב prop. *to be counted with some one*, ψ 88<sup>5</sup>, and עִם נְמִשָּׁל *to be likened with some one*, ψ 28<sup>1</sup>, 143<sup>7</sup>, also arise from the idea of comparison implied in grouping things together. On this use of עִם cf. Jb 9<sup>28</sup>, where *with* is equivalent to *like*.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of its form this particle has originally nothing to do with כֵּן, כָּל־כָּל. The expression is compounded of כֵּן and לְעֲמֻתָּ, like the Aramaic כָּל־קָבָל for כָּל־קָבָל; cf. M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxx. 47.

## § 162. Disjunctive Sentences.

- a* The introduction of another possible case, excluding that which preceded, is effected by **וְ** *or*, e.g. Ex 21<sup>26</sup>, equivalent to the Latin *vel*; but also equivalent to *aut* with an exclusive antithesis, 2 K 2<sup>16</sup>; so Is 27<sup>5</sup> **וְ** = *it would then happen that*, for which elsewhere **כִּי וְ**.
- b* In the sense of *sive—sive* we find **וְ**—**וְ**, or **וְ**—**וְ**, or **וְ**—**וְ** (see the examples in the Lexicon), also **וְ**—**וְ** Lv 5<sup>3</sup>, Nu 9<sup>14</sup>, Dt 24<sup>7</sup>, Is 2<sup>13a</sup>, Jer 32<sup>20</sup>, ψ 76<sup>7</sup>, Jb 34<sup>29</sup>, perhaps also Ex 21<sup>16</sup> (but not Pr 29<sup>9</sup>; cf. Delitzsch on the passage), and **וְ**—**וְ** (see § 143 e); cf. also **וְ**—**וְ** (in Gn 24<sup>44</sup> **וְ**—**וְ**) *both—and*; but **וְ**—**וְ** **וְ** (in Gn 21<sup>26</sup> **וְ**—**וְ**) *neither—nor*. On disjunctive questions, see § 150 g.

## § 163. Adversative and Exceptive Clauses.

- a* 1. After negative sentences (especially after prohibitions) the antithesis (*but*) is introduced by **וְ** **כִּי**, e.g. 1 S 8<sup>19</sup> *and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us*; ψ 1<sup>2</sup>, &c.; frequently also by **כִּי** alone, e.g. Gn 18<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>, or even simply connected with **וְ**, Gn 17<sup>5</sup>, וְהָיָה as perfect consecutive; 42<sup>10</sup>; cf. Ex 5<sup>18</sup>.
- b* Rem. Sometimes the negation is only virtually contained in the preceding sentence, e.g. in the form of a rhetorical question (Mi 6<sup>3f.</sup>) or of conditions which are to be regarded as not having been fulfilled (Jb 31<sup>18</sup>); **כִּי** or **וְ** **כִּי** in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*.
- c* 2. Exceptive clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by **כִּי וְ** **כִּי** *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see *a* above) **וְ** **כִּי** *unless*; especially **וְ** **כִּי** with the perfect (equivalent to *unless previously*) after imperfects which contain a declaration, e.g. Gn 32<sup>27</sup> *I will not let thee go, except thou hast previously blessed me*; Lv 22<sup>6</sup>, Is 55<sup>10</sup>, 65<sup>6</sup>, Am 3<sup>7</sup>, Ru 3<sup>18</sup>. Finally, **וְ** **כִּי** *unless*, Am 3<sup>4</sup> (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply **כִּי** Gn 43<sup>3</sup> with a noun-clause, *except your brother be with you*; Is 10<sup>4</sup> after a rhetorical question, with a verbal-clause.

<sup>1</sup> Very probably this use of **וְ** **כִּי** arises from the original meaning *for if, surely if* (**כִּי** in an affirmative sense); so evidently in Ex 22<sup>22</sup> as a forcible resumption of the preceding **וְ**. Thus, e.g. Ju 15<sup>7</sup> is simply *surely when I have been avenged of you, after that I will cease*, equivalent to, *I will not cease, until I have, &c.* When the exception follows, an ellipse must be assumed, e.g. Ru 3<sup>18</sup> *surely (or for) when he has finished it (then the man will rest)*. It is far less natural to assume such an ellipse with **וְ** **כִּי** *but* (before entire clauses as before single nouns); see *a* above.

Rem. The principal statement, to which **אֲנִי כִּי** appends an exception, *d* must sometimes be supplied from the context; thus, Gn 40<sup>14</sup> (I desire nothing else) *except that thou remember me*, equivalent to *only do thou remember*, &c. (cf. § 106 n, note 2; but it is probably better to read **אֲנִי** for **כִּי**). Cf. Mi 6<sup>8</sup>, where **אֲנִי כִּי**, equivalent to *nothing but*, is used before an infinitive, and Jb 42<sup>8</sup>, equivalent to *only*, before a noun. Similarly when **אֲנִי כִּי** after an oath introduces an emphatic assurance, e.g. in 2 K 5<sup>20</sup> *as the Lord liveth* (I can do nothing else) *except I run after him*, &c.; cf. 2 S 15<sup>21</sup> *Keth.*, Jer 51<sup>14</sup>, Ru 3<sup>12</sup> *Keth.*, and even without the oath, Ju 15<sup>7</sup>; cf. the Rem. on c.

## § 164. Temporal Clauses.

1. The relations of time existing between two different actions or *a* events are frequently expressed without the aid of a conjunction simply by juxtaposition:—

(a) Actions or events are represented as wholly or in part *simultaneous* by connecting a noun-clause with another noun-clause or verbal-clause introduced by **וְ** (or **וְהָיָה**), e.g. Gn 7<sup>6</sup> *and Noah was six hundred years old* (prop. *a son of six hundred years*), **וְהַפְּבֹל הָיָה** and (i.e. *when*) *the flood was*. This is especially the case when the predicate of the noun-clause (frequently introduced by **עוֹד** *still*) is expressed by an active participle, e.g. Jb 1<sup>16</sup> **וְהָיָה עוֹד וְהָיָה** *he was yet speaking, and there came another*, &c.; see the numerous examples in § 111 g and § 116 u. Instead of a complete noun-clause there often occurs a simple *casus pendens* after **כִּלְ** with a participial attribute in the sense of *whenever any one . . .*, e.g. 1 S 2<sup>13</sup> **כִּלְ אִישׁ וְזָבַח וְזָבַח** *whenever any man offered sacrifice, then came*, &c.; 2 S 2<sup>23</sup>, &c.; see the examples (in which the second member is generally introduced by *wāw apodosis*) in § 116 w.

(b) Sequence is expressed by the juxtaposition

(1) of two imperfects consecutive, e.g. Gn 24<sup>19</sup> **וְהָיָה לְהִשְׁתָּתוֹ וְהָאִמָּר** *and when she had done giving him drink, she said*, &c.; 28<sup>6</sup>, 29<sup>21</sup>, 30<sup>9</sup>, 32<sup>26</sup>, &c.; cf. § 111 d;

(2) of a noun-clause with a passive participle as predicate, and a verbal-clause attached by **וְ**, e.g. Gn 38<sup>23</sup>; cf. § 116 v; in Gn 49<sup>29</sup> an imperative follows without **וְ**;

(3) of two perfects (frequently with the secondary idea of rapid succession<sup>1</sup> of the two actions or events in past time), e.g. Gn 19<sup>23</sup> **וְהָיָה כִּי יָרָא לוֹט וְהָיָה** *the sun was just risen . . . and (=when) Lot came*, &c., cf. 1 S 9<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>24</sup>; Gn 44<sup>3</sup>, Ju 3<sup>24</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>39</sup>.—In all these examples the subject follows immediately after the connective *Wāw*, and then the (simple) perfect. On the other hand,

(4) a perfect consecutive follows another perfect consecutive to express the contingent succession of future actions, e.g. Gn 44<sup>4</sup> **וְהָיָה אִם** *and if*, &c.

<sup>1</sup> This secondary idea is implied here by the mere co-ordination of two independent *verbal*-clauses, just as the idea of simultaneous occurrence (according to § 116 u, note 1) is implied in the co-ordination of a *noun*-clause with another clause. In Gn 27<sup>30</sup> the immediate succession is especially emphasized by **אֲנִי** and the infinitive absolute, *Jacob was yet scarce gone out . . . then Esau his brother came*; in 1 K 9<sup>24</sup> by **אֲנִי** only. In ψ 48<sup>6</sup> by **כִּי** and the addition of two more perfects without **וְ**.

and when thou dost overtake them (as soon as thou shalt have overtaken), thou shalt say unto them. Naturally, examples of this kind are very closely related to conditional sentences; see, therefore, the examples in § 112 *hk* and § 159 *g*. On the connexion of an imperfect consecutive or a perfect with detached expressions of time (as equivalent to complete clauses), cf. § 111 *b*; on the imperfect consecutive after וַיְהִי and a statement of time, cf. § 111 *g*; on the perfect consecutive following a detached statement of time, as in Ex 16<sup>e</sup>, cf. § 112 *oo*.—In 1 S 29<sup>10</sup> an imperative with י follows the perfect consecutive.

- C** (5) The fact that one action or event has not yet taken place on the occurrence of another, is expressed by הָיָה (an adverb, not a conjunction) with the imperfect (according to § 107 *c*). The apodosis, which may consist of a subject and perfect or even of a noun-clause (Gn 24<sup>15</sup>,<sup>1</sup> is then connected by וְ (or הַיְהִי) as in the examples above, under no. 3, e.g. Gn 19<sup>4</sup> (cf. Jos 2<sup>8</sup>) וְנָפְלוּ וְגו' . . . יִשְׁכְּבוּ וְאֲנָשֵׁי הָעִיר they had not yet lain down, and (= when) the men of the city . . . compassed, &c.; Gn 24<sup>25</sup>.

**d** 2. Conjunctions used to introduce temporal clauses are כִּי (with perfect, e.g. Gn 6<sup>1</sup>, Ju 1<sup>28</sup>, 16<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>12</sup>; with imperfect, Gn 4<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup>, 24<sup>41</sup>, Ex 3<sup>21</sup>, Lv 21<sup>9</sup>, Dt 31<sup>21</sup>, Is 1<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>19</sup>) and אֲשֶׁר<sup>2</sup> when (כִּי with the imperfect also = *as often as*, ψ 8<sup>4</sup>; with perfect Jb 1<sup>5</sup>); less frequently אַחֲרָם<sup>3</sup> (joined with a perfect), e.g. Gn 38<sup>3</sup>, Nu 21<sup>9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>3</sup>, ψ 41<sup>7</sup>, 94<sup>18</sup>, cf. also Is 24<sup>13</sup> = *quotiescunque*; also in the same sense with an imperfect, Nu 36<sup>4</sup>; with a perfect, equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, Is 4<sup>1</sup>. Other conjunctions of time are the compounds בְּמֹ when, Gn 19<sup>15</sup>; כַּאֲשֶׁר when, after that; עַד-אֲשֶׁר until (also the simple עַד, e.g. Gn 38<sup>11</sup>, Jos 2<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>22</sup> [with the imperfect = *only when*, as in 2 S 10<sup>5</sup>]); 2<sup>5</sup>, &c.; especially in the formula לֹא עֹד-בָּלְתִּי הַשְׂאִיר לוֹ until there was none left remaining to him (where indeed it would be very natural to read הַשְׂאִיר the infin. constr., as elsewhere after בָּלְתִּי, § 114 *s*) Nu 21<sup>25</sup>, Dt 3<sup>3</sup>, Jos 8<sup>22</sup>, 11<sup>8</sup> (but 1 S 14<sup>19</sup> while, as long as); עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא before that, Ec 12<sup>1.2.6</sup> with an imperfect, as in Pr 8<sup>26</sup> עַד with a perfect; עַד-אֲמַם, אַחֲרֵי-אֲשֶׁר until the time when; אַחֲרֵי-אֲשֶׁר (for which in Ez 40<sup>1</sup> אַחֲרֵי-אֲשֶׁר; Lv 25<sup>48</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>9</sup> simply אַחֲרֵי; Lv 14<sup>43</sup>, Jer 41<sup>16</sup>, Jb 42<sup>7</sup> simply אַחֲרֵי) after that; מֵאָז (prop. since that time; the dependent clause is attached to it in the same way as the attributive clause to the demonstrative אֲשֶׁר § 138 *e*) since, Gn 39<sup>5</sup>; בְּתָרֵם (and simply תָּרֵם § 107 *c*) before; קִדְמָת (for קִדְמַת אֲשֶׁר) before, ψ 129<sup>6</sup>.

- e** Rem. 1. With regard to the tenses used with the above conjunctions, the rules are practically the same as those given in § 158 *d* for causal clauses. The perfect indicates actions completed in the past or future (in the former case corresponding to the Latin pluperfect, § 106 *f*, and in the latter to the

<sup>1</sup> On the perfect in the protasis, which is critically doubtful, cf. § 107 *c*.

<sup>2</sup> On אֲשֶׁר as an original demonstrative, cf. § 138 *a*; hence עַד-אֲשֶׁר נָשׁוּב is properly up to that (moment)—we shall return.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the frequent use of wenn [prop. if] for wann [= when] in German.

Latin *futurum exactum*, § 106 *o*), the imperfect denotes actions occurring contingently in the future. On עָרַם, בָּטָרָם, and עָרַ with the imperfect as a *tempus historicum*, cf. 107 *c*.

2. Clauses introduced by עָרַ, עָרַכִּי, or עָרַאֲשֶׁר, sometimes express a limit *f* which is not absolute (terminating the preceding action), but only relative, beyond which the action or state described in the principal clause still continues; thus, עָרַ with the imperfect, ψ 110<sup>1</sup>; עָרַכִּי with the perfect, Gn 26<sup>13</sup>, with i.npf. 49<sup>10</sup>; עָרַאֲשֶׁר with the perfect, Gn 28<sup>15</sup>; with the imperfect, ψ 112<sup>8</sup>.—Like the Arab. حَتَّى, עָרַ may even introduce a main clause; e.g. Ex 15<sup>16</sup> עָרַיִעֶבֶר prop. no doubt = thus it came to this—they passed through, i.e. so they passed through.

3. The infinitive construct governed by a preposition (§ 114 *d, e*) is very *g* frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause; the infinitive with בְּ may usually be rendered by *when, as, or whilst*; the infinitive with בְּ by *when, as soon as* (in Pr 10<sup>25</sup> followed by a noun-clause introduced by *wāw apodosis*), or, when referring to the future, by *if*; the infinitive after מִן by *since*. According to § 111 *g* such statements of time are generally preceded by וַיְהִי and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 S 17<sup>55</sup> (cf. Driver on the passage) וַיִּכְרְאוּת with a simple perfect following, is unusual. On the continuation of these infinitival constructions by means of the perfect consecutive, cf. § 112 *v*, and in general, § 114 *r*.—With the participle, בְּ appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in בְּמִשִּׁיב as he drew back, Gn 38<sup>29</sup> (unless we should read בְּהִשִּׁיב [or בְּמִוּ הִשִּׁיב, cf. Gn 19<sup>15</sup>]), and in כַּבְּרָתָה *when it budded*, 40<sup>10</sup>.

### § 165. Final Clauses.<sup>1</sup>

1. Like most of the dependent clauses hitherto treated, the final *α* clause may also be joined by a simple *wāw copulative* to the main clause, unless the final clause is directly subordinated to the governing verb.

Examples of the connexion: (α) of a final imperfect (or jussive?) with a perfect by means of וַ, La 1<sup>19</sup>, see § 107 *g*; with an interrogative sentence, 2 S 9<sup>1,3</sup>, Jb 35<sup>24</sup>; with an optative, ψ 51<sup>9</sup>; with an imperative, 1 K 11<sup>21</sup>; (β) of a cohortative with an imperative by וַ, Gn 29<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>16</sup>, or a jussive, Neh 2<sup>5</sup> (§ 108 *d*); (γ) of a jussive with an imperative by וַ, Ex 9<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>20</sup>, ψ 59<sup>14</sup>, 86<sup>17</sup>; with a jussive, Jb 21<sup>19</sup>, or cohortative, § 109 *f, g* (cf. also 2 S 24<sup>21</sup> the infinitive with וַ, Jon 1<sup>11</sup> מָה with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Ch 29<sup>10</sup> עָם-לִבְבִי, which are equivalent to cohortatives); (δ) of an imperative with a jussive, cohortative, or interrogative sentence by וַ, § 110 *i*; (ε) of a perfect consecutive after another perfect consecutive, Lv 14<sup>36</sup>; after an imperfect, § 112 *m* and *p*; similarly after a jussive, § 112 *q*; after an imperative, § 112 *r*.—On negative final clauses joined by וְלֹא to the imperfect (so Ex 28<sup>43</sup>, 30<sup>20</sup>; and 2 S 13<sup>25</sup> after אֶל-לֹא with a jussive in the main clause) see the Rem. on § 109 *g*. In Ex 28<sup>32</sup>, 39<sup>23</sup> the negative final clause is simply connected by לֹא.—On the use of an historical statement after verbs of command-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. G. T. Mitchell, *Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipzig, 1879.

ing, where we should expect a final clause (e.g. Neh 13<sup>9</sup> *then I commanded, and they cleansed*, equivalent to *that they should cleanse, and they cleansed*; in Jb 9<sup>7</sup> a negative final clause is connected in this way by וְלֹא, cf. § 120 f.

For examples of the direct subordination of the final imperfect (without וְ) see § 120 c.

b 2. Final conjunctions are לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *to the end that*; also simply לְמַעַן Gn 12<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>25</sup>, Ex 4<sup>5</sup>, ψ 51<sup>6</sup>, &c.; אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר prop. *for the purpose that*, Gn 27<sup>10</sup>, and simply בְּעֵבֶר Gn 27<sup>4</sup>, Ex 9<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>20</sup>; also the simple אֲשֶׁר<sup>1</sup> Dt 4<sup>10,40</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>, 32<sup>46</sup>, Jos 3<sup>7</sup>, Neh 8<sup>14f</sup>; negatively, לֹא אֲשֶׁר Gn 11<sup>7</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>16</sup>; or שֶׁ Ec 3<sup>14</sup>; also negatively, לֹא עַל־דְּבַר שֶׁלֹא *for the matter (purpose) that . . . not*, Ec 7<sup>14</sup>; לְבִלְתִּי with imperfect, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>14</sup> *that . . . not*.—Quite exceptional is the use of מִן (if the text be right) in Dt 33<sup>11</sup> מִן־יְקִימוּן, with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, מִקִּים].

c Rem. All the conjunctions here mentioned are naturally always used with the imperfect, see § 107 g (on the apparent exception in Jos 4<sup>24</sup>, see § 74 g).—On the negative conjunctions לֹא and כִּי *that not, lest*, see § 152 f and w. On the infinitive with לְ (also לְמַעַן Gn 18<sup>19</sup>, 37<sup>22</sup>, &c.) as the equivalent of a final clause (Gn 11<sup>5</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, &c.), see § 114 f, h, p. On the continuation of such infinitival constructions by means of the finite verb, see § 114 r. On the negation of the final infinitive by לְבִלְתִּי, § 114 s. On the preposition מִן with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a negative final clause (Gn 31<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>28</sup>, &c.), see § 119 x and y.

### § 166. Consecutive Clauses.

a 1. Consecutive clauses are added by means of simple *wāw copulative* with the jussive,<sup>3</sup> especially after negative and interrogative sentences, e.g. Nu 23<sup>19</sup> לֹא אִישׁ אֶל וְיִכָּזֵב וּבֶן־אָדָם וַיִּתְנַחֵם *God is not a man, that he should lie, and (i. e. neither) the son of man, that he should repent*; Is 53<sup>2</sup> וְנִחְמָהוּ; Ho 14<sup>10</sup> מִי חָכֵם וַיִּבֶן אֱלֹהִים נָבוֹן וַיִּדְעֵם *who is wise, that he may understand these things? prudent, that he may know them?* Jb 5<sup>12</sup> וְלֹא=so that . . . not; in Pr 30<sup>3</sup> וְ is separated from the predicate by the object. In Gn 16<sup>10</sup> a negative consecutive clause comes after a cohortative, and in Ex 10<sup>5</sup> after a perfect consecutive.—On the other hand, in Jb 9<sup>32,33</sup> the jussive in the sense of a consecutive clause is attached without *Wāw* to the preceding negative sentence (in

<sup>1</sup> In Ez 36<sup>27</sup> a final clause is introduced by אֲשֶׁר אֵת, thus at the same time taking the form of an object-clause.

<sup>2</sup> On לְ as a supposed conjunction (equivalent to the Arabic *li*) 1 K 6<sup>19</sup>, see § 66 i.

<sup>3</sup> That such examples as וְיִכָּזֵב are to be regarded as jussive is probable from the analogy of Ho 14<sup>10</sup> and Jb 9<sup>32</sup>.

verse 32 a second jussive follows, likewise without *Wāw*, for *he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, that we should come together in judgement*). On the imperfect consecutive as expressing a logical consequence, see § 111 l; on the perfect consecutive as a consecutive clause after a participle, see § 112 n.

2. Conjunctions introducing consecutive clauses are again (see *b* § 157 c, note 3) וְ and וְכֵן=so that; especially again after interrogative sentences, according to § 107 u; cf. Nu 16<sup>11</sup>, וְ with the imperfect, *that ye murmur*; but in Gn 20<sup>10</sup> with the perfect, in reference to an action already completed. On וְכֵן with the imperfect (or jussive) equivalent to *so that*, cf. further Gn 13<sup>16</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>; with perfect and imperfect, 1 K 3<sup>12f.</sup>, with the demonstrative force clearly discernible, depending on כֵּן; on וְכֵן=ut non, cf. Dt 28<sup>35</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>37</sup>.

On וְ with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a consecutive clause, see § 119 y.

### § 167. *Aposiopesis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences.*

1. *Aposiopesis* is the concealment or suppression of entire sentences *a* or clauses, which are of themselves necessary to complete the sense,<sup>1</sup> and therefore must be supplied from the context. This is especially frequent after conditional clauses; besides the examples already given in § 159 dd, cf. also Ex 32<sup>32</sup> (the LXX and Samaritan supply וְכֵן); Nu 5<sup>20</sup>, Ju 9<sup>16</sup> (in verse 19, after a long parenthesis, an imperative follows as the apodosis to this conditional clause); 1 S 12<sup>14f.</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>8</sup> (where indeed the text is probably very corrupt; cf. the addition in 1 Ch 11<sup>6</sup>); 2 S 23<sup>17</sup>, ψ 27<sup>13</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup>. For other examples of various kinds, see § 117 l, and especially § 147; in Aramaic, Dn 3<sup>15</sup>.—On Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, cf. § 152 w at the end.

2. *Anacoluthon* is the change from a construction which has been *b* already begun to one of a different kind. It is found especially after long parentheses, because the speaker has either lost sight of the beginning of his sentence, or for the sake of clearness purposely makes a new beginning; thus Gn 20<sup>13</sup>, 31<sup>52</sup> and Ez 34<sup>10</sup> (cf. § 149 at the end); Nu 14<sup>21ff.</sup>, 32<sup>20ff.</sup>, Dt 17<sup>2ff.</sup>, 24<sup>1ff.</sup>, 29<sup>21ff.</sup>, Ju 10<sup>11</sup> (where, after a series of intermediate sentences, the predicate *I saved you* is sup-

<sup>1</sup> But those cases are not to be regarded as examples of aposiopesis, in which the answer, being closely connected with the question, is given simply in the infinitive with ל; cf. § 147 a, note 1.

pressed; but the text can hardly be correct); perhaps also Is 66<sup>18</sup> (cf., however, Delitzsch on the passage, which is certainly corrupt).<sup>1</sup> On Gn 23<sup>13</sup> (<sup>15</sup> with the imperative), see § 110 e.

c 3. We may mention as instructive examples of *involved series* of sentences Gn 24<sup>14</sup> and <sup>42</sup> π, and Gn 28<sup>6</sup> π.

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<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, from the Semitic point of view the various kinds of compound sentences are *not* to be regarded as instances of anacoluthon, e.g. Gn 17<sup>14,17</sup>, nor even Gn 31<sup>40</sup> (cf. § 143).

## THE PARADIGMS.

IN the paradigms of the verbs, those forms which are to be especially noticed by the beginner are marked throughout by an asterisk as model forms. Thus e.g. in the strong verb the 3rd *sing. fem.* קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלֵי, which likewise has only a vocalic affirmative, and קָטְלָתִי is the model for קָטְלָתְךָ, קָטְלָתֵנוּ and קָטְלָתֵם, which in the same way have a toneless affirmative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms קָטְלָתְךָ and קָטְלָתֵנוּ, where the affix beginning with a consonant has the tone, stand by themselves.—In the table of the pronouns the asterisk has a different meaning; see the footnote there.—The bracketed forms (from Paradigm G onwards) are merely analogous formations not occurring in the Old Testament.

The newly added paradigm (Q) consists of forms actually found, belonging to various verbs.

## A. The Personal

Nominative of the Pronoun,  
or *Pronomen separatum*.

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

Simple form.

*Sing. I. comm.* אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי;   
אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי I.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי me.

2. { m. אַתָּה (אַתָּה), in pause }   
אַתָּה } thou.   
f. אַתָּה (אַתָּה)

אַתָּה; אַתָּה, in pause אַתָּה, }   
אַתָּה } thee.   
אַתָּה; אַתָּה; אַתָּה, אַתָּה

3. { m. הוּא he.   
f. הִיא she.

הוּא; הוּא; הוּא (הוּ), הוּ; הוּ him.

הִיא; הִיא; הִיא her (eam).

*Plur. I. comm.* אֲנִיחֵנו (נִחֵנוּ), in   
pause אֲנִיחֵנו (נִחֵנוּ) we.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי us.

2. { m. אַתֶּם   
f. אַתֶּנּוּ, אַתֶּנּוּ } you.

אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם }   
[אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם] } you.

3. { m. הֵם, הֵם   
f. הֵנָּה } they.

(הֵם), הֵם; הֵם, הֵם, הֵם \*; הֵם,   
(הֵם), הֵם \* them (eos).   
[הֵם], הֵם; הֵם, (הֵם); [הֵם] them (eas).

Pronoun.<sup>1</sup>

or *Suffixum Verbi*.

Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffixum Nominis*  
(*Pron. possessivum*).

B.	A.	B.
With <i>Nûn energicum</i> .	Attached to a sing. noun.	Attached to a noun plur. or dual.
אֲנִי; אַתָּה	אֲנִי <i>my</i> (prop. gen. <i>mei</i> ).	אֲנִי <i>my</i> .
אָתָּה, (אַתָּה)	אָתָּה, אַתָּה, in } <i>thy</i> pause אָתָּה } (prop. אָתָּה, (אַתָּה) } <i>thi</i> .	אָתָּה } <i>thy</i> . אַתָּה }
not found.		
(הוּא), הוּא; (הִיא)	הוּא, הִיא; הוּא, הִיא (הִיא) <i>his</i> ( <i>eius</i> and <i>suus</i> ).	הוּא, הִיא, (הוּא * ) <i>his</i> .
הִיא	הִיא; הִיא; הִיא <i>her</i> .	הִיא <i>her</i> .
הֵם (see § 58 k)	הֵם; הֵם; (הֵם) <i>our</i> .	הֵם <i>our</i> .
these forms are not found.	הֵם; הֵם } <i>your</i> . הֵם; הֵם }	הֵם } <i>your</i> . הֵם }
	הֵם; הֵם, } <i>their</i> . הֵם * }	הֵם, הֵם * } <i>their</i> . הֵם }

<sup>1</sup> Forms with an asterisk are exclusively poetic, those in parentheses ( ) are rare, those in brackets [ ] do not occur (cf. § 58 a, note).

			Qal.	Niph'al.	Pi'el.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	קָטַל*	כָּבַד*	קָטַן*	קָטַל, קָטַל*
	3. f.	קָטַלָּה*	כָּבְדָּה*	קָטְנָה*	קָטַלָּה*
	2. m.	קָטַלְתָּ*	כָּבַדְתָּ*	קָטַנְתָּ*	קָטַלְתָּ*
	2. f.	קָטַלְתְּ*	כָּבַדְתְּ*	קָטַנְתְּ*	קָטַלְתְּ*
	1. c.	קָטַלְתִּי	כָּבַדְתִּי	קָטַנְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי
	<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	קָטַלוּ	כָּבְדוּ	קָטְנוּ	קָטַלוּ
	2. m.	קָטַלְתֶּם*	כָּבְדֶּם*	קָטַנְתֶּם*	קָטַלְתֶּם*
	2. f.	קָטַלְתֶּן	כָּבְדֶּן	קָטַנְתֶּן	קָטַלְתֶּן
	1. c.	קָטַלְנוּ	כָּבְדְנוּ	קָטַנְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>		שָׁבַב, קָטַל*		הִקָּטַל*	קָטַל*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		קָטוּל*		הִקָּטַל, נִקָּטַל	קָטַל, קָטַל*
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	2. m.	קָטַל*	כָּבֵד*	הִקָּטַל*	קָטַל*
	2. f.	קָטַלִּי*	כָּבְדִי*	הִקָּטַלִּי*	קָטַלִּי*
	<i>Plur.</i> 2. m.	קָטַלוּ	כָּבְדוּ	הִקָּטַלוּ	קָטַלוּ
	2. f.	קָטַלְנָה*	כָּבְדְנָה*	הִקָּטַלְנָה*	קָטַלְנָה*
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִקְטַל*	יִכְבֵּד*	יִקְטַן*	יִקְטַל*
	3. f.	תִּקְטַל	תִּכְבֵּד	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל
	2. m.	תִּקְטַל	תִּכְבֵּד	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל
	2. f.	תִּקְטַלִּי*	תִּכְבְּדִי*	תִּקְטַלִּי*	תִּקְטַלִּי*
	1. c.	אִקְטַל	אִכְבֵּד	אִקְטַל	אִקְטַל
	<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִקְטְלוּ	יִכְבְּדוּ	יִקְטְלוּ	יִקְטְלוּ
	3. f.	תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּכְבְּדְנָה*	תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּקְטַלְנָה*
	2. m.	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּכְבְּדוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ
	2. f.	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּכְבְּדְנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה
	1. c.	נִקְטַל	נִכְבֵּד	נִקְטַל	נִקְטַל

*Shortened Impf. (Jussive).*

<i>Part. act.</i>	קָטַל*	כָּבֵד	קָטַן	יִקְטַל*	מִקְטַל*
<i>pass.</i>	קָטוּל*				

Verb.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל*	הִקְטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל*
קָטְלָה*	הִקְטִילָה*	הִקְטַלָּה*	הִתְקַטַּלָּה*
קָטַלְתָּ*	הִקְטַלְתָּ*	הִקְטַלְתָּ*	הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ*
קָטַלְתָּ	הִקְטַלְתָּ	הִקְטַלְתָּ	הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ
קָטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי
קָטְלוּ	הִקְטִילוּ	הִקְטַלוּ	הִתְקַטַּלוּ
קָטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם
קָטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן
קָטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הִתְקַטַּלְנוּ
wanting.	הִקְטִיל*	wanting.	הִתְקַטַּל*
קָטַל*	הִקְטַל*	הִקְטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטַל*		הִתְקַטַּל*
wanting.	הִקְטִילי*	wanting.	הִתְקַטַּלִּי*
	הִקְטִילוּ		הִתְקַטַּלוּ
	הִקְטַלְנָה*		הִתְקַטַּלְנָה*
יִקְטַל*	יִקְטִיל*	יִקְטַל*	יִתְקַטַּל*
תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטַּל
תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטַּל
יִתְקַטַּל*	יִתְקַטַּל*	יִתְקַטַּל*	יִתְקַטַּל*
אִקְטַל	אִקְטִיל	אִקְטַל	אִתְקַטַּל
יִקְטְלוּ	יִקְטִילוּ	יִקְטְלוּ	יִתְקַטַּלוּ
תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה*
תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּקְטִילוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּתְקַטַּלוּ
תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה
נִקְטַל	נִקְטִיל	נִקְטַל	נִתְקַטַּל
	יִקְטַל*		
	מִקְטִיל*		מִתְקַטַּל*
מִקְטַל*		מִקְטַל*	

## C. Strong Verb

		Suffixes	1 Sing.	2 Sing. m.	2 Sing. f.	3 Sing. m.
Perf. Qal	3. m.	{ קָטַלְנִי שָׁבַחְנִי }	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְךָ	{ קָטַלְהוּ קָטַלְוּ }	
	3. f.	קָטַלְתִּנִּי	קָטַלְתְּךָ	קָטַלְתְּךָ	{ קָטַלְתֶּהוּ קָטַלְתֶּוּ }	
	2. m.	קָטַלְתִּי	—	—	{ קָטַלְתֶּהוּ קָטַלְתֶּוּ }	
	2. f.	קָטַלְתִּינִי	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּיהוּ	
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְתִּיךָ	קָטַלְתִּיךָ	{ קָטַלְתִּיו קָטַלְתִּיהוּ }	
	Plur. 3. c.	קָטַלְנוּנִי	{ קָטַלְוּךָ אָהַבְוּךָ }	קָטַלְוּךָ	קָטַלְוּהוּ	
	2. m.	קָטַלְתִּינוּ	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּוּהוּ	
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְנוּךָ	קָטַלְנוּךָ	קָטַלְנוּהוּ	
Inf. Qal		{ קָטַלִּי קָטַלְנִי }	{ בָּחַבְךָ קָטַלְךָ }	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְוּ	
Imp. Qal 2.		קָטַלְנִי	—	—	קָטַלְהוּ	
(from an Imperf. in a שָׁמַעְנִי, שָׁלַחְנִי)						
Imperf. Qal	3. m.	{ יִקְטַלְנִי יִלְבַּשְׁנִי }	{ יִקְטַלְךָ יִלְבַּשְׁךָ }	{ יִקְטַלְךָ יִלְבַּשְׁךָ }	{ יִקְטַלְהוּ יִלְבַּשְׁהוּ }	
	3. m. with <i>Nūn</i> energ. }	יִקְטַלְנִי	יִקְטַלְךָ	—	יִקְטַלְנוּ	
	Plur. 3. m.	יִקְטַלְנוּנִי	יִקְטַלְוּךָ	יִקְטַלְוּךָ	{ יִקְטַלְוּהוּ יִנְאָלְוּהוּ }	
Perf. Pī'el		3. m.	קָטַלְנִי	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְוּ

with Suffixes.

3 Sing. f.	1 Plur.	2 Plur. m.	2 Plur. f.	3 Plur. m.	3 Plur. f.
קטלה	קטלנו	wanting.	wanting.	{ קטלם לְבָשָׁם }	קטלו
קטלתה	קטלתנו	—	—	קטלתם	wanting.
קטלתיה	קטלתינו	—	—	קטלתם	wanting.
קטלתיה	—	קטלתים	wanting.	קטלתים	קטלתין
קטלנה	קטלנו	wanting.	wanting.	קטלום	קטלון
wanting.	קטלנו	—	—	wanting.	wanting.
קטלנה	—	קטלנוכם	wanting.	קטלונם	wanting.
קטלה	קטלנו	{ קְתַבְכֶּם קְתַלְכֶּם }	wanting.	קטלם	קטלו
{ קטלה קטלה }	קטלנו	—	—	קטלם	—
{ יקטלה יִלְבֹּשֶׁה יקטלה }	{ יקטלנו יִלְבֹּשֶׁנו }	יקטלכם	wanting.	יקטלם	wanting.
יקטלנה	יקטלנו	—	—	—	—
יקטלנה	יקטלנו	יקטלונכם	wanting.	יקטלום	wanting.
קטלה	קטלנו	wanting.	wanting.	קטלם	קטלו

## D. Verbs primae gutturalis

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	עָמַד	*נִעְמַד	*הֶעֱמִיד	*הֶעֱמַד
3. f.	עָמְדָה	*נִעְמְדָה	הֶעֱמִידָה	*הֶעֱמַדָה
2. m.	עָמַדְתָּ	נִעְמַדְתָּ	הֶעֱמַדְתָּ	הֶעֱמַדְתָּ
2. f.	עָמַדְתְּ	נִעְמַדְתְּ	הֶעֱמַדְתְּ	הֶעֱמַדְתְּ
1. c.	עָמַדְתִּי	נִעְמַדְתִּי	הֶעֱמַדְתִּי	הֶעֱמַדְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָמְדוּ	נִעְמְדוּ	הֶעֱמִידוּ	הֶעֱמַדוּ
2. m.	*עָמַדְתֶּם	נִעְמַדְתֶּם	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם
2. f.	*עָמַדְתֶּן	נִעְמַדְתֶּן	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן
1. c.	עָמַדְנוּ	נִעְמַדְנוּ	הֶעֱמַדְנוּ	הֶעֱמַדְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	עָמַד*	*הֶעֱמַד	*הֶעֱמִיד	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	עֹמֵד	*הֶעֱמֹד, הָאֶסֶף	*הֶעֱמַד	*הֶעֱמַד
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	*עֹמֵד	*חֹק	*הֶעֱמַד	הֶעֱמַד
f.	עֹמְדִי	חֹקִי	הֶעֱמִידִי	הֶעֱמִידִי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	עֹמְדוּ	חֹקוּ	הֶעֱמְדוּ	הֶעֱמִידוּ
f.	*עֹמְדָנָה	*חֹקָנָה	הֶעֱמְדָנָה	הֶעֱמִידָנָה
<i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	*יַעֲמַד	*יִחְזַק	*יַעֲמֹד	*יַעֲמִיד
3. f.	תַּעֲמֹד	תִּחְזַק	תַּעֲמֹד	תַּעֲמִיד
2. m.	תַּעֲמַד	תִּחְזַק	תַּעֲמֹד	תַּעֲמִיד
2. f.	*תַּעֲמִידִי	*תִּחְזֹקִי	תַּעֲמִידִי	*תַּעֲמִידִי
1. c.	*אֶעֱמַד	אֶחְזַק	אֶעֱמֹד	אֶעֱמִיד
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	*יַעֲמְדוּ	*יִחְזְקוּ	יַעֲמְדוּ	יַעֲמִידוּ
3. f.	תַּעֲמִידָנָה	תִּחְזְקָנָה	תַּעֲמִידָנָה	תַּעֲמִידָנָה
2. m.	תַּעֲמְדוּ	תִּחְזְקוּ	תַּעֲמִידוּ	תַּעֲמִידוּ
2. f.	תַּעֲמִידָנָה	תִּחְזְקָנָה	תַּעֲמִידָנָה	תַּעֲמִידָנָה
1. c.	נִעְמַד	נִחְזַק	נִעְמַד	נִעְמִיד
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			יַעֲמַד	
<i>Part. act.</i>	עֹמֵד	*נִעְמֵד	*מַעֲמִיד	
<i>pass.</i>	עֹמֵד			מַעֲמֵד

E. Verbs mediae gutturalis.

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>	<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*	בִּרְךָ*	הִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. f.	שָׁחַטָה*	נִשְׁחַטָה*	בָּרַכָה	[בִּרְכָה]	הִתְבָּרַכָה
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	בִּרְכָתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	בִּרְכָתְּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ
1. c.	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	בִּרְכָתִי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	שָׁחַטוּ*	נִשְׁחַטוּ*	בָּרְכוּ	בִּרְכוּ	הִתְבָּרְכוּ
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	בִּרְכְּתֶם	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	[בָּרַכְתֶּן]	בִּרְכְּתֶן	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
1. c.	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	בִּרְכְּנוּ	הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁחֹט	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*	wanting.	הִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שָׁחוֹט	נִשְׁחֹט	בָּרַךְ*		
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	שָׁחַט*	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*		הִתְבָּרַךְ*
f.	שָׁחַטִי*	הִשְׁחַטִי*	בָּרַכִי*	wanting.	[הִתְבָּרַכִי]
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	שָׁחַטוּ	הִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרְכוּ		[הִתְבָּרְכוּ]
f.	שָׁחַטְנָה	הִשְׁחַטְנָה	בָּרַכְנָה*		הִתְבָּרַכְנָה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁחַט*	יִשְׁחַט	יִבְרַךְ*	יִבְרַךְ*	יִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַטְתָּ	תִּשְׁחַטְתָּ	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְתִּי*	תִּשְׁחַטְתִּי*	תִּבְרַכִּי	[תִּבְרַכִּי]	[תִּתְבָּרַכִּי]
1. c.	אִשְׁחַט	אִשְׁחַט	אִבְרַךְ	אִבְרַךְ	אִתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תִּבְרַכְתֶּן	תִּבְרַכְתֶּן	תִּתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תִּבְרַכְתֶּן	תִּבְרַכְתֶּן	תִּתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
1. c.	נִשְׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	נִבְרַךְ	נִבְרַךְ	נִתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁחַטְהוּ				
<i>Part. act.</i>	שֹׁחֵט	נֹשְׁחָט	מְבָרַךְ*		מִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>pass.</i>	שָׁחוּט			מְבָרָךְ*	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח*
3. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלַחָה	שִׁלְחָה
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלַחְתְּ*	נִשְׁלַחְתְּ*	שִׁלַּחְתְּ*
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שָׁלוּחַ	נִשְׁלוּחַ	שִׁלּוּחַ
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
<i>f.</i>	שָׁלְחִי	הִשְׁלְחִי	שִׁלְחִי*
<i>Plur. m.</i>	שָׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
<i>f.</i>	שָׁלְחֵנָה*	הִשְׁלְחֵנָה	שִׁלְחֵנָה*
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי
1. <i>c.</i>	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁלַחְנִי		
<i>Part. act.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ*	נִשְׁלֵחַ	מְשַׁלֵּחַ*
<i>pass.</i>	שָׁלוּחַ*		

tertia gutturalis.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
שָׁלַח	*הִשְׁלִיחַ	הִשְׁלַח	*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
שִׁלְחָהּ	הִשְׁלִיחָהּ	הִשְׁלַחָהּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָהּ
שִׁלְחָתָהּ	הִשְׁלִיחָתָהּ	הִשְׁלַחָתָהּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָהּ
*שִׁלְחָתָהּ	*הִשְׁלִיחָתָהּ	*הִשְׁלַחָתָהּ	*הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָהּ
שִׁלְחָתִי	הִשְׁלִיחָתִי	הִשְׁלַחָתִי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתִי
שִׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁלִיחוּ	הִשְׁלַחוּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
שִׁלְחוּם	הִשְׁלִיחוּם	הִשְׁלַחוּם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּם
שִׁלְחוּן	הִשְׁלִיחוּן	הִשְׁלַחוּן	הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּן
שִׁלְחוּנִי	הִשְׁלִיחוּנִי	הִשְׁלַחוּנִי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּנִי
	*הִשְׁלִיחַ		*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
	*הִשְׁלַח	*הִשְׁלַח	
	הִשְׁלַח		*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
	הִשְׁלִיחַ		הִשְׁתַּלַּחִי
wanting.	הִשְׁלִיחוּ	wanting.	הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
	הִשְׁלַחְנָה		*הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
יִשְׁלַח	*יִשְׁלִיחַ	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁלִיחַ	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁתַּלַּח
הִשְׁלַחִי	הִשְׁלִיחִי	הִשְׁלַחִי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחִי
אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלִיחַ	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁלִיחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	*תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלִיחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלִיחַ	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁתַּלַּח
	יִשְׁלַח		
	*מִשְׁלִיחַ		*מִשְׁתַּלַּח
מִשְׁלַח		מִשְׁלַח	

## G. Verbs mediae geminatae

	Qal.	Niph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	סָבַב, תָּם	נָסַב, נָסַם*
3. f.	סָבְבָה, תָּמָה	נָסְבָה
2. m.	סָבֹות*	נָסְבֹות*
2. f.	סָבוֹת	נָסְבוֹת
1. c.	סָבוֹתִי	נָסְבוֹתִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	סָבְבוּ, תָּמוּ	נָסְבוּ
2. m.	סָבוֹתֶם	נָסְבוֹתֶם
2. f.	סָבוֹתֵינָן	נָסְבוֹתֵינָן
1. c.	סָבוֹנוּ	נָסְבוֹנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	סָב*	הִסָּב*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	סָבוֹב	הִסָּם, הִסָּבוֹב
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	סָב*	הִסָּב
f.	סָבִי*	הִסָּבִי*
<i>Plur.</i> m.	סָבוּ	הִסָּבוּ
f.	[סָבִינָה]	[הִסָּבִינָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3.-m.	יָסַב (p. 67 § יסל) יָסַב*	
3. f.	תָּסַב	תָּסַב
2. m.	תָּסַב	תָּסַב
2. f.	תָּסְבִי*	תָּסְבִי*
1. c.	אָסַב	אָסַב
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יָסְבוּ	יָסְבוּ
3. f.	תָּסְבִינָה*	[תָּסְבִינָה]
2. m.	תָּסְבוּ	תָּסְבוּ
2. f.	[תָּסְבִינָה]	[תָּסְבִינָה]
1. c.	נָסַב	נָסַב
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	וַיָּסַב (pause וַיָּסַב)	
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יָסְבִי*	
<i>Part. act.</i>	סָבֵב	נָסֵב
<i>pass.</i>	סָבוֹב*	(fem. נָסְבָה)

or double v.

<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Po'el.</i>	<i>Po'al.</i>
*הִסָּב, הִסָּב	*הוֹסָב	*סוֹבֵב	*סוֹבֵב
*הִסָּבָה	הוֹסָבָה	סוֹבֵבָה	[סוֹבֵבָה]
*הִסָּבוֹת	[הוֹסָבוֹת]	סוֹבֵבֶת	סוֹבֵבֶת
הִסָּבוֹת	הוֹסָבוֹת	סוֹבֵבֶת	סוֹבֵבֶת
הִסָּבוֹתִי	[הוֹסָבוֹתִי]	סוֹבֵבֶתִי	סוֹבֵבֶתִי
הִסָּבוּ, הִלָּלוּ	הוֹסָבוּ	סוֹבְּבוּ	סוֹבְּבוּ
הִסָּבוּתָם	[הוֹסָבוּתָם]	סוֹבְּבָתָם	סוֹבְּבָתָם
הִסָּבוּתָן	הוֹסָבוּתָן	סוֹבְּבָתָן	סוֹבְּבָתָן
הִסָּבוּנוּ	[הוֹסָבוּנוּ]	סוֹבְּבָנוּ	[סוֹבְּבָנוּ]
*הָסָב		סוֹבֵב	
הָסָב	הִשָּׁמָה	סוֹבֵב	[סוֹבֵב]
*הָסָב		סוֹבֵב	
הָסָבִי	wanting.	[סוֹבֵבִי]	wanting.
הָסָבוּ		סוֹבְּבוּ	
[הִסָּבִינָה]		סוֹבְּבָנָה	
*יָסָב, יָסָב	*יּוֹסָב	יְסוֹבֵב	[יְסוֹבֵב]
תָּסָב	[תּוֹסָב]	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבֵב
תָּסָב	תּוֹסָב	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבֵב
[תָּסָבִי]	*תּוֹסָבִי	[תְּסוֹבְּבִי]	תְּסוֹבְּבִי
אָסָב	[איוֹסָב]	אֲסוֹבֵב	אֲסוֹבֵב
יָסָבוּ, יָסָבוּ	יוֹסָבוּ	יְסוֹבְּבוּ	יְסוֹבְּבוּ
*תָּסָבִינָה	*תּוֹסָבִינָה	[תְּסוֹבְּבָנָה]	תְּסוֹבְּבָנָה
תָּסָבוּ	תּוֹסָבוּ	תְּסוֹבְּבוּ	תְּסוֹבְּבוּ
תָּסָבִינָה	תּוֹסָבִינָה	[תְּסוֹבְּבָנָה]	תְּסוֹבְּבָנָה
נָסָב	[נוֹסָב]	נִסְבֵּב	[נִסְבֵּב]
וְיָסָב			
*יָסָבִי (יָסָבָם)		יְסוֹבְּבִי	
*מָסָב		מְסוֹבֵב	
	מיוֹסָב		מְסוֹבֵב

H. Verbs 1<sup>st</sup>.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	נָפַל [נָפַשׁ]	נָפַשׁ*	הִנָּשׁ*	הִנָּשׁ*
3. f.		נָפְשָׁה	הִנָּשָׁה	הִנָּשָׁה
2. m.		נָפַשְׁתָּ	הִנָּשַׁתָּ	הִנָּשַׁתָּ
2. f.		נָפַשְׁתְּ	הִנָּשַׁתְּ	הִנָּשַׁתְּ
1. c.	regular.	נָפַשְׁתִּי	הִנָּשַׁתִּי	הִנָּשַׁתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>		נָפְשׁוּ	הִנָּשׁוּ	הִנָּשׁוּ
2. m.		נָפַשְׁתֶּם	הִנָּשַׁתֶּם	הִנָּשַׁתֶּם
2. f.		נָפַשְׁתֶּן	הִנָּשַׁתֶּן	הִנָּשַׁתֶּן
1. c.		נָפַשְׁנוּ	הִנָּשַׁנוּ	הִנָּשַׁנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	נָפַשְׁתָּ*	נָפַל*	הִנָּשׁ	הִנָּשׁ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	נָפַשׁ	נָפַל, הִנָּפַשׁ	הִנָּשׁ	הִנָּשׁ*
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	נָפַשׁ*	נָפַל*	הִנָּפַשׁ	הִנָּשׁ*
f.	נָפְשִׁי	נָפְלִי	הִנָּפְשִׁי	הִנָּשִׁי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	נָפְשׁוּ	נָפְלוּ	הִנָּפְשׁוּ	הִנָּשׁוּ
f.	נָפְשֶׁנָּה	נָפְלֶנָּה	הִנָּפְשֶׁנָּה	הִנָּשֶׁנָּה
<i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	יִנָּשׁ*	יִפֹּל*	[יִנָּשׁ]	יִנָּשׁ*
3. f.	תִּנָּשׁ	תִּפֹּל		תִּנָּשׁ
2. m.	תִּנָּשׁ	תִּפֹּל		תִּנָּשׁ
2. f.	תִּנָּשִׁי	תִּפֹּלִי		תִּנָּשִׁי
1. c.	אִנָּשׁ	אִפֹּל		אִנָּשׁ
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִנָּשׁוּ	יִפְּלוּ	regular.	יִנָּשׁוּ
3. f.	תִּנָּשְׁנָה	תִּפְּלֶנָּה		תִּנָּשְׁנָה
2. m.	תִּנָּשׁוּ	תִּפְּלוּ		תִּנָּשׁוּ
2. f.	[תִּנָּשְׁנָה]	[תִּפְּלֶנָּה]		[תִּנָּשְׁנָה]
1. c.	נִנָּשׁ	נִפֹּל		נִנָּשׁ
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			יִנָּשׁ*	
<i>Part. act.</i>	נָפֵשׁ		נָפַשׁ*	מִנָּשׁ*
<i>pass.</i>	נָפֻשׁ			מִנָּשׁ

## I. Weak Verbs, ע"א.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
Perf.	אָכַל	*נָאֲכַל	*הִאֲכִיל	*הִאֲכַל

Like Verbs *primae gutturalis*.

Inf.	אָכַל, אֲכַל*	הִאֲכַל	הִאֲכִיל	הִאֲכַל
Inf. absol.	אָכַל	הִאֲכַל	wanting.	wanting.
Imp. Sing. m.	אָכַל*	הִאֲכַל	הִאֲכִיל	
f.	אָכְלִי	&c.	&c.	wanting.
Plur. m.	אָכְלוּ			
f.	[אָכְלָנָה]			

Impf. Sing.	3. m.	יֹאכַל* (in pause	יֹאכַל*	יֹאכִיל*	יֹאכַל*
	3. f.	תֹּאכַל (יֹאכַל)	&c.	&c.	&c.
	2. m.	תֹּאכַל			
	2. f.	תֹּאכְלִי			
	1. c.	אֲכַל*			
Plur.	3. m.	יֹאכְלוּ			
	3. f.	תֹּאכְלָנָה			
	2. m.	תֹּאכְלוּ			
	2. f.	[תֹּאכְלָנָה]			
	1. c.	נֹאכַל			

Impf. with	Wāw }	יֹאמַר*
consec.		יֹאמַר*

Part. act.	אֹכֵל	נֹאכֵל	מֵאֲכִיל	
pass.	אָכַל			מֵאֲכַל

		Qal.	Niph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing</i>	3. m.	יָשַׁב	נִשְׁבַּ*
	3. f.		נִשְׁבְּה*
	2. m.		נִשְׁבַּת
	2. f.		נִשְׁבְּת
	1. c.	regular.	נִשְׁבְּחִי
<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.		נִשְׁבְּכוּ
	2. m.		נִשְׁבְּתֶם
	2. f.		נִשְׁבְּתֹן
	1. c.		נִשְׁבְּנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>		יֹשֵׁב, יֹשֶׁבֶת, שֹׁבֵת	הַיֹּשֵׁב*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		יָשׁוּב	wanting.
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	יָשֵׁב, דַּע	הַיֹּשֵׁב*
	f.	יֹשְׁבִי	הַיֹּשְׁבִי
<i>Plur. m.</i>		יָשׁוּבוּ	הַיֹּשְׁבִי
	f.	יֹשְׁבֶנָּה	[הַיֹּשְׁבֶנָּה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יֹשֵׁב*	יֹשֵׁב*
	3. f.	תֵּשֵׁב	תֵּשֵׁב
	2. m.	תֵּשֵׁב	תֵּשֵׁב
	2. f.	תֵּשְׁבִי	תֵּשְׁבִי
	1. c.	אֵשֵׁב	אֵשֵׁב*
<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יֹשְׁבוּ	יֹשְׁבוּ
	3. f.	תֵּשְׁבֶנָּה	[תֵּשְׁבֶנָּה]
	2. m.	תֵּשְׁבוּ	תֵּשְׁבוּ
	2. f.	[תֵּשְׁבֶנָּה]	[תֵּשְׁבֶנָּה]
	1. c.	נִשְׁבַּ	נִשְׁבַּ
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>		יֹשְׁבִי*	
<i>Part. act.</i>		יֹשֵׁב	נִשְׁבַּ*
<i>pass.</i>		יָשׁוּב	

פ"י (for פ"י).

L. Verbs properly פ"י.

<i>Hiph'el.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Hiph'el.</i>
הוֹשִׁיב*	הוֹשֵׁב*	יָטַב	*הִיטִיב
הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוֹשֵׁבָה		הִיטִיבָה
הוֹשִׁיבְתָּ	הוֹשֵׁבְתָּ		הִיטִיבְתָּ
הוֹשִׁיבְתִּי	הוֹשֵׁבְתִּי		הִיטִיבְתִּי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ	הוֹשִׁיבוּ	regular.	הִיטִיבוּ
הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּם	הוֹשֵׁבְתֶּם		הִיטִיבְתֶּם
הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּן	הוֹשֵׁבְתֶּן		הִיטִיבְתֶּן
הוֹשִׁיבֻּ	הוֹשֵׁבֻּ		הִיטִיבֻּ
הוֹשִׁיב*	הוֹשֵׁב*	יָטַב	*הִיטִיב
הוֹשֵׁב*		יָטוּב	*הִיטִיב
*הוֹשֵׁב			*הִיטִיב
הוֹשִׁיבִי	wanting.		הִיטִיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ			הִיטִיבוּ
[הוֹשִׁיבְנָה]			[הִיטִיבְנָה]
יוֹשִׁיב	*יוֹשֵׁב	*יוֹיטַב	*יוֹיטִיב
תוֹשִׁיב	תוֹשֵׁב	תִּיטַב	תִּיטִיב
תוֹשִׁיבִי	תוֹשֵׁבִי	תִּיטִיבִי	תִּיטִיבִי
אֹשִׁיב	אֹשֵׁב	אִיטַב	אִיטִיב
יוֹשִׁיבוּ	יוֹשִׁיבוּ	יִיטַבוּ	יִיטִיבוּ
[תוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	תוֹשִׁיבְנָה	תִּיטִיבְנָה	[תִּיטִיבְנָה]
תוֹשִׁיבוּ	תוֹשִׁיבוּ	תִּיטִיבוּ	תִּיטִיבוּ
[תוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	[תוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	[תִּיטִיבְנָה]	[תִּיטִיבְנָה]
נוֹשִׁיב	נוֹשֵׁב	נִיטַב	נִיטִיב
*יוֹשֵׁב			יִיטַב
יֹאשֵׁב		וַיִּטַּב	וַיִּטִּיב
*מוֹשִׁיב		יָטַב	מִיטִיב
	*מוֹשֵׁב	יָטוּב	

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	קָם*	מָת*	נָקֹם*
	3. f.	קָמָה*	מָתָה*	נָקֹמָה*
	2. m.	קָמַת*	מָתָה*	נָקֹמֹת
	2. f.	קָמַת	[מָת]	נָקֹמֹת
	1. c.	קָמַתִּי	מָתִי	נָקֹמֹתִי
<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קָמוּ	מָתוּ	נָקֹמוּ
	2. m.	קָמַתֶּם	[מָתֶם]	נָקֹמֹתֶם
	2. f.	[קָמַתְנָן]	[מָתְנָן]	[נָקֹמֹתְנָן]
	1. c.	קָמַנּוּ	מָתְנוּ	נָקֹמַנּוּ
<i>Inf.</i>		קֹם*	הִקֹּם*	הִקֵּם*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		קֹם*	הִקֹּם, נָסֹג	הִקֵּם*
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	קֹם*	הִקֹּם*	הִקֵּם*
	f.	קֹמִי*	[הִקֹּמִי]	הִקֵּמִי*
<i>Plur.</i>	m.	קֹמוּ	הִקֹּמוּ	הִקֵּמוּ
	f.	קֹמְנָה*		[הִקֵּמְנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יָקֹם, יָבֹא*	יִקֹּם*	יִקֵּם*
	3. f.	תִּקֹּם	תִּקֹּם	תִּקֵּם
	2. m.	תִּקֹּם	תִּקֹּם	תִּקֵּם
	2. f.	תִּקְוִי*	[תִּקְוִי]	תִּקְוִי*
	1. c.	אִקֹּם	אִקֹּם	אִקֵּם
<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִקְמוּ	יִקְמוּ	יִקְמוּ
	3. f.	תִּקְוִינָה, תִּשְׁבְּנָה*		תִּקְוִינָה, תִּקְמִינָה*
	2. m.	תִּקְמוּ	תִּקְמוּ	תִּקְמוּ
	2. f.	תִּקְוִינָה		[תִּקְמִינָה]
	1. c.	נִקֹּם	נִקֹּם	נִקֵּם
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>		יִקֵּם*		יִקֵּם*
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>		וַיִּקֵּם (pause וַיִּקֵּם)		וַיִּקֵּם*
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִשְׁוֶנִי*		יִקְמִינִי*
<i>Part. act.</i>		קֹם*	נִקְוֹם*	מִקֵּם*
<i>pass.</i>		קֹם*		

Verbs, ע"י.

N. Weak Verbs, ע"י.

<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Pôlêl.</i>	<i>Pôlal.</i>	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>
הִקָּחַם *	קִיָּחַם *	קִיָּחַם *	בָּן *	נָבֹן *
[הִקָּחָה]	קִיָּחָה	[קִיָּחָה]	בָּנָה *	[נָבֹנָה]
הִקָּחָתָּ	קִיָּחָתָּ	קִיָּחָתָּ	בָּנָתָּ *	נָבֹנָתָּ
הִקָּחָתָּ	[קִיָּחָתָּ]	[קִיָּחָתָּ]	בָּנִיתָ	נָבֹנִיתָ
[הִקָּחָתִי]	קִיָּחָתִי	קִיָּחָתִי	[בָּנִיתִי]	נָבֹנִיתִי
הִקָּחוּ	קִיָּחוּ	קִיָּחוּ	בָּנוּ	
[הִקָּחֻם]	קִיָּחֻם	[קִיָּחֻם]	[בָּנֻם]	See
הִקָּחָתָּן	קִיָּחָתָּן	קִיָּחָתָּן	[בָּנֻתָּן]	ע"י Verbs.
[הִקָּחֻנִּי]	קִיָּחֻנִּי	[קִיָּחֻנִּי]	בָּנוּ	
הִקָּחַם *	קִיָּחַם		בִּין *	
			בִּן *	
	קִיָּחַם		בִּין *	
	[קִיָּחִי]	wanting.	בִּינִי	
	קִיָּחוּ		בִּינוּ	
	[קִיָּחֻנָּה]		—	
יִקָּחַם *	יִקָּחַם	יִקָּחַם	יָגִיל	
תִּקָּחַם	תִּקָּחַם	[תִּקָּחַם]	תָּגִיל	
[תִּקָּחַם]	תִּקָּחַם	תִּקָּחַם	תָּגִיל	
תִּקָּחִי	[תִּקָּחִי]	תִּקָּחִי	תִּגְלִיל	
[אִקָּחַם]	אִקָּחַם	[אִקָּחַם]	אָגִיל	
יִקָּחוּ	יִקָּחוּ	יִקָּחוּ	יִגְלִילוּ	
[תִּקָּחֻנָּה]	תִּקָּחֻנָּה	תִּקָּחֻנָּה	תִּגְלִלָּה	
תִּקָּחוּ	תִּקָּחוּ	[תִּקָּחוּ]	תִּגְלִילוּ	
[תִּקָּחֻנָּה]	תִּקָּחֻנָּה	תִּקָּחֻנָּה	תִּגְלִלָּה	
נִקָּחַם	[נִקָּחַם]	[נִקָּחַם]	נָגִיל	
			יָגִל	
			וַיִּגְלֵל	
			יִרְיָבִי	
מִקָּחַם	מִקָּחַם		לָגִים, שָׁב	נָבֹן
*מִקָּחַם		מִקָּחַם	שִׁים, שׁוּם	

		<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	מָצָא*	נִמְצָא*	הִמָּצָא
	3. f.	מָצְאָה	נִמְצְאָה	[מִצְאָה]
	2. m.	מָצָאתָ*	נִמְצָאתָ*	מָצָאתָ*
	2. f.	מָצָאת	נִמְצָאת	[מִצָּאת]
	1. c.	מָצָאתִי	נִמְצָאתִי	מָצָאתִי
	<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	מָצְאוּ	נִמְצְאוּ	מָצְאוּ
	2. m.	מָצַאתֶם	נִמְצַאתֶם	מָצַאתֶם
	2. f.	[מָצַאתֶן]	[נִמְצַאתֶן]	[מָצַאתֶן]
	1. c.	מָצַאתִנוּ	[נִמְצַאתִנוּ]	מָצַאתִנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>		מָצֵא	הִפְצֵא	מִצֵּא
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		מָצֹא	נִמְצֵא	מִצֵּא
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	מָצֵא*	הִפְצֵא	מִצֵּא
	f.	מָצְאִי	[הִפְצְאִי]	[מִצְאִי]
	<i>Plur. m.</i>	מָצְאוּ	הִפְצְאוּ	מָצְאוּ
	f.	מָצְאֵנָה*	[הִפְצְאֵנָה]	[מִצְאֵנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִמְצָא*	יִפְצֵא*	יִמָּצָא
	3. f.	תִּמְצָא	תִּפְצֵא	תִּמָּצָא
	2. m.	תִּמְצָא	תִּפְצֵא	תִּמָּצָא
	2. f.	תִּמְצְאִי	תִּפְצְאִי	[תִּמְצְאִי]
	1. c.	אִמְצָא	אִפְצֵא	אִמָּצָא
	<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִמְצְאוּ	יִפְצְאוּ	יִמָּצְאוּ
	3. f.	תִּמְצְאֵנָה*	תִּפְצְאֵנָה*	תִּמְצְאֵנָה*
	2. m.	תִּמְצְאוּ	תִּפְצְאוּ	[תִּמְצְאוּ]
	2. f.	תִּמְצְאֵנָה	תִּפְצְאֵנָה	תִּמְצְאֵנָה
	1. c.	נִמְצָא	[נִפְצָא]	נִמְצָא
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>				
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִמְצָאֵךְ, יִמְצָאֵנִי		יִמְצָאֵנִי
<i>Part. act.</i>		מָצֵא	נִמְצָא	מִמְצָא
<i>pass.</i>		מָצֹא		

## Verbs, ל"א.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
קָרָא [מִצָּא]	הִמְצִיא	[הִמְצָא]	הִתְמַצָּא
מִצָּאָה	הִמְצִיָּא	הִמְצָאָה	הִתְמַצָּאָה
מִצָּאֹת	*הִמְצִיָּאוֹת	*[הִמְצָאוֹת]	*הִתְמַצָּאוֹת
מִצָּאוֹת	הִמְצִיאוֹת	הִמְצָאוֹת	[הִתְמַצָּאוֹת]
מִצָּאִי	הִמְצִיָּאִי	הִמְצָאִי	הִתְמַצָּאִי
מִצָּאוֹ	הִמְצִיָּאוֹ	הִמְצָאוֹ	הִתְמַצָּאוֹ
מִצָּאוֹתָם	הִמְצִיָּאוֹתָם	הִמְצָאוֹתָם	[הִתְמַצָּאוֹתָם]
מִצָּאוֹתָן	[הִמְצִיָּאוֹתָן]	הִמְצָאוֹתָן	הִתְמַצָּאוֹתָן
מִצָּאוֹנִי	[הִמְצִיָּאוֹנִי]	[הִמְצָאוֹנִי]	[הִתְמַצָּאוֹנִי]
wanting.	הִמְצִיָּא הִמְצָא	wanting.	הִתְמַצָּא wanting.
wanting.	הִמְצָא הִמְצִיָּאִי הִמְצִיָּאוֹ [הִמְצָאוֹנָה]	wanting.	[הִתְמַצָּא הִתְמַצָּאִי הִתְמַצָּאוֹ הִתְמַצָּאוֹנָה]
יִמְצָא	יִמְצִיא	[יִמְצָא]	יִתְמַצָּא
[תִּמְצָא	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצָּא
תִּמְצָא	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצָּא
תִּמְצָאִי	תִּמְצִיָּאִי	תִּמְצָאִי	[תִּתְמַצָּאִי]
אִמְצָא	אִמְצִיא	אִמְצָא	[אִתְמַצָּא]
יִמְצָאוּ	יִמְצִיָּאוּ	יִמְצָאוּ	יִתְמַצָּאוּ
*תִּמְצָאוּנָה	*תִּמְצִיָּאוּנָה	*תִּמְצָאוּנָה	[תִּתְמַצָּאוּנָה]
תִּמְצָאוּ	תִּמְצִיָּאוּ	תִּמְצָאוּ	תִּתְמַצָּאוּ
תִּמְצָאוּנָה	תִּמְצִיָּאוּנָה	תִּמְצָאוּנָה	[תִּתְמַצָּאוּנָה]
[נִמְצָא	נִמְצִיא	נִמְצָא	[נִתְמַצָּא]
יִמְצָא			
יִמְצִיָּאִי			
מִמְצִיא			מִתְמַצָּא
מִמְצָא		מִמְצָא	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	בָּלָה*	נִבְלָה*	בִּלָּה*
3. f.	בִּלְתָּה*	נִבְלְתָה*	בִּלְתָּה*
2. m.	בָּלִית*	נִבְלִית, יָת	בִּלִּית*
2. f.	בָּלִית	נִבְלִית	בִּלִּית
1. c.	בָּלִיתִי	נִבְלִיתִי	בִּלִּיתִי, בָּלִיתִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	בָּלוּ*	נִבְלוּ	בִּלוּ
2. m.	בָּלִיתֶם	[נִבְלִיתֶם]	בִּלִּיתֶם
2. f.	בָּלִיתֶן	[נִבְלִיתֶן]	[בִּלִּיתֶן]
1. c.	בָּלִינוּ	נִבְלִינוּ	בִּלִּינוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	בָּלוֹת*	הַנְּבֹלוֹת*	בָּלוֹת*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	בָּלָה	נִבְלָה, הַנִּבְלָה	בָּלָה, בִּלָּה
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	בָּלָה*	הַנְּבֹלָה*	בִּלָּה, בָּל
f.	בָּלִי*	הַנְּבִלִי*	בִּלִּי*
<i>Plur.</i> m.	בָּלוּ	הַנְּבֹלוּ	בִּלוּ
f.	בָּלִינָה*	[הַנְּבִלִינָה]	[בִּלִּינָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִבְלָה*	יִבְלָה*	יִבְלָה*
3. f.	תִּבְלָה	תִּבְלָה	תִּבְלָה
2. m.	תִּנְבְּלָה	תִּנְבְּלָה	תִּנְבְּלָה
2. f.	תִּבְלִי*	[תִּנְבְּלִי]	תִּבְלִי*
1. c.	אִנְבְּלָה	אִנְבְּלָה, אִנְבִּי	אִנְבְּלָה
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִבְלוּ	יִבְלוּ	יִבְלוּ
3. f.	תִּנְבְּלִינָה*	תִּנְבְּלִינָה*	תִּנְבְּלִינָה*
2. m.	תִּנְבְּלוּ	תִּנְבְּלוּ	תִּנְבְּלוּ
2. f.	תִּנְבְּלִינָה	תִּנְבְּלִינָה	תִּנְבְּלִינָה
1. c.	נִבְלָה	[נִבְלָה]	נִבְלָה
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>	יִבְלֵ*	יִבְלֵ*	יִבְלֵ*
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִבְלֶה, יִבְלֶנִי*		יִבְלֶה, יִבְלֶנִי*
<i>Part. act.</i>	בָּלָה*	נִבְלָה*	בִּנְבְּלָה*
<i>pass.</i>	בָּלוּי*		

Verbs, ל"ה.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
*גלה	*הגלה	*הגלה	*התגלה
*גלתה	*הגלתה	*הגלתה	[התגלתה]
*גלית	*הגלית, ית	*הגלית	*התגלית
[גלית]	הגלית, ית	[הגלית]	[התגלית]
גליתי	הגליתי, יתי	הגליתי	התגליתי
גלו	הגלו	הגלו	התגלו
[גליחם]	הגליחם, יתם	[הגליחם]	התגליחם
גליחם	[הגליחם]	הגליחם	[התגליחם]
גליחו	הגליחו	הגליחו	התגליחו
[גליחו]		[הגליחו]	
*גלות	*הגלות		*התגלות
	הגלה	*הגלה	
	*הגלה		[התגלה] התגל
wanting.	*הגלי	wanting.	התגלי
	הגלו		התגלו
	[הגלינה]		[התגלינה]
*יגלה	*יגלה	*יגלה	*יתגלה
תגלה	תגלה	תגלה	[תתגלה]
תגלה	תגלה	תגלה	תתגלה
[תגלי]	*תגלי	*תגלי	*תתגלי
[תגלה]	תגלה	*תגלה	תתגלה
יגלו	יגלו	יגלו	יתגלו
*[תגלינה]	*תגלינה	*תגלינה	[תתגלינה]
תגלו	תגלו	תגלו	תתגלו
תגלינה	תגלינה	תגלינה	[תתגלינה]
נגלה	נגלה	נגלה	נתגלה
	*יגל		*יתגל
	יגל, *יגלני		
	*מגלה		*מתגלה
*מגלה		*מגלה	

	1. Sing.	2. Sing. m.	2. Sing. f.
<i>Perf. Qal. 3. m.</i>	נָחֵנִי	רָאָד, עָשָׂךְ	
	<i>P.</i> עָשָׁנִי	<i>P.</i> קָנָךְ, עָנָךְ	
3. f.	עָשָׂתִנִּי		
2. m.	רָאִיתִנִּי		
	<i>P.</i> עָנִיתִנִּי		
2. f.	<i>Pi.</i> רְמִיתִנִּי		
1. c.		רָאִיתִךְ	עָנִיתִךְ
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָשׂוּנִי	רָאִיךְ	<i>Pi.</i> בָּסוּךְ
1. c.		<i>Pi.</i> קִינִךְ	

<i>Imper. 2. m.</i>	נָחֵנִי } עָנֵנִי }
2. f.	<i>Hiph.</i> הִרְאֵנִי
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	<i>Pi.</i> בִּפְּוֵנִי

<i>Impf. 3. m.</i>	יִרְאֵנִי	יִפְדֶּךְ } יִחַתֶּךְ }
3. f.		תִּשְׁבֶּךְ
2. m.	תִּרְאֵנִי	
2. f.		
1. c.		אָרְאֶךְ
		אָעֲנֶךְ
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יַעֲשׂוּנִי	<i>Pi.</i> יִפְתֹּךְ
2. m.	תַּעֲזֹנִי	
1. c.		

with Suffixes.

3. Sing. m.	3. Sing. f.	1. Plur.	3. Plur. m.
עָשָׂהוּ	רָאָהָּ	עָשְׂנוּ	עָשׂוּם
Pi. כָּלָתוּ	Pi. צָוָתָהּ		Hiph. הַעֲלִיחֵם
Pi. כָּסִיתוּ	עָשִׂיתָהּ	Pi. דְּבִיתָנוּ	עָנִיחֵם
עָשִׂיתָהּ } רָאִיתִיו }	רָאִיתָהּ		רָעִיתִים
עָשָׂהוּ	רָאָהָּ		שָׁבוּם
Pi. קִינָהוּ			
		Hiph. הִרְאֵנוּ	רָעָם
הִלָּלוּהוּ			Hiph. הִכּוּם
יִרְאֶהוּ } יִלְוֶנוּ }	יִרְאֶהָ } יִרְאֶנָּה }	Pi. יִצְנֶנוּ	יִחַצֵּם } יִעֲשִׂם }
Hiph. הִשְׁקָהוּ	הִשְׁקָהָּ	Hiph. הִתְעַנֵּנוּ	הִתְעַנֵּם
הִתְעַנֵּנוּ	הִתְעַנֵּנָּהּ		Pi. הִכְבִּסִּים
אֶרְאֶנּוּ	אֶעֱשֶׂנָּהּ		אֶפְדֶּם
אֶעֱנֶהוּ	יֶעֱשֶׂהָ	Pi. יֶעֱנֶנוּ	
Pi. יִפְתָּדוּהוּ	נִעֲשֶׂנָּהּ		הִצִּיֵּם
נִשְׁקָנוּ			



# I

## INDEX OF SUBJECTS

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Driver, *Introd.*<sup>8</sup>, p. 466: Segal, *Mišn. Hebr.*, p. 63.

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בֵּת 96; to per- sonify a people 122 <i>i</i>	בְּנִי 44 <i>c</i>	90 <i>b</i> , use 90 <i>c</i> - <i>i</i> , with
בֵּת for בֵּית 7 <i>f</i>	בְּנִי 52 <i>o</i>	constr. st. before a geni-
בְּתוֹאֵל 90 <i>k</i>	בְּנִי 93 <i>x</i>	tive 90 <i>c</i> , sometimes opti-
בְּתוֹכָם 10 <i>g</i> , 91 <i>d</i>	בְּנִי 67 <i>n</i>	ose 90 <i>e</i> , mere poetic
בְּתִים 9 <i>u</i> ; p. 285	בְּנִי 100 <i>g</i> <sup>2</sup>	ornament 90 <i>f</i> , <i>g</i> , in place-
בְּתִית s.v. בֵּית	בְּנִי 84 <sup>a</sup> <i>r</i>	names 90 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup> , added in se-
		gholate nouns to the de-
		veloped form 90 <i>i</i> , 93 <i>i</i>
		ה (Article) punc-

tuation 35, syntax 126:  
see Article in Index I

ה interrog. 100,  
origin and pointing 100  
i-n, uses of 150; אה(?) ... ה  
150 h

ה (with the tone),  
ending of fem. nouns 80 c  
ה (toneless), end-  
ing of the Cohortative and  
Imperative 48 c, d, i; an old  
case-ending 90 a-i

ה 3rd masc. sing.  
pronominal suffix 91 e

ה (without Map-  
piq) anomalous 3rd fem.  
sing. pronom. suff. 91 e

הא 105 b

הא (Mi 6<sup>11</sup>) 47 b<sup>1</sup>

האליהו 53 g

האוקים 35 d

האח 105 a

האיש one, 144 d<sup>1</sup>

האל בית-אל 127 f<sup>1</sup>

האנה 65 e

הארון 35 o

הבאת 74 g

הבאתה 74 d

הבאת 72 w

הבה 105 b

הביא 72 y, 74 l

הביטתה 78 b

הביש 72 x, 78 b

הבמת זאח (Moab.) 80 f<sup>1</sup>

הברו 67 t

הברכה 10 g (end)

הברכה 16 g

הנגה Qerê for הנג  
118 e<sup>2</sup>

הנח 69 w

הנו 75 n, aa

הנרות 93 r

הדוש 72 v

הדרך תתלון 127 f<sup>1</sup>

הדשנה 54 h

ההימיר 72 e

ההלכתי 90 n

ההללה 52 s

הוא, היא 32 k; הוא with  
Qerê היא 17 c, הוא as fem.,  
not an archaism 32 l

הוא (הפה, היא) =  
ipse or idem 135 a<sup>1</sup>, demon-  
strative 136, for the copula  
141 h, resuming the sub-  
ject 145 u<sup>3</sup>, in questions  
136 e (end), 150 l

הוא 75 hh

הוביש 72 z

הודע 69 w

הוי 105 a

הוכח 65 f

הוקרת 71

הוללות 86 l

הולם פֶּעַם 29 f

הונח 72 ee<sup>1</sup>

הופיע 69 v

הוציא 74 l

הורדתנו 59 h

הושע 65 f

הוזהר 80 i

הוילה 67 y, 72 ee

הנבו 54 d

הנפרכם 53 l

הנפאתה 75 oo

החכה 75 pp

החלתי 63 k

החי, החי 35 f, 27 q

החל 67 t

החלי 74 k, 75 ii

החפנים 35 f

החריטים 35 f

החרסה 90 f

החתת 67 w

הפחרו 27 q

היא 32 k

היה 16 f, 63 q, 7

with participle 116 r, w

ל before infin. 114 h-k

copula 141 g-i. Cf. היה

היה 75 n

היום = one day

126 s

היום שלשה 134 o<sup>1</sup>

היטב 113 k

היכל 9 i, 85 c

הילכי 69 x, 78 b

הימה 90 f

היצא 69 v

היקין 70 e

הישר 24 f<sup>1</sup>, 70 b

הית 75 m<sup>1</sup>

הבות (inf. abs.) 7

הכי 150 d, e

הכין 72 z

הפיני 75 mm

הכלמנו 53 p

הכנו 72 w

הלל expressing

assurance 150 e

הלדת 69 w, 71

הלן 34 f

הלוקה 34 f

הלון 34 f

הלון inflexion

69 x, use of, to express

tinuance 113 u

הלף 69 m<sup>2</sup>

הלכוא 23 i

הִלְכָתִי 44 <i>h</i>	הִנֵּחוּ 72 <i>ee</i>	הִרְבִּית ? 75 <i>ff</i>
הִלְלֹ 10 <i>g</i>	הִנְגֹ 10 <i>g</i>	הִרְדִּיפְהוּ 20 <i>h</i> <sup>1</sup> , 22 <i>s</i>
הִלֵּם 50 <i>e</i>	הִנְנֹ 58 <i>k</i>	הִרְהָ 27 <i>q</i> , 93 <i>aa</i>
הִלְתָּם (Moab.) 54 <i>l</i>	הִנְנִי 10 <i>g</i>	הִרֹ 75 <i>n</i> , <i>aa</i>
הִם 32 <i>m</i> , for the feminine, 32 <i>n</i>	הִנְפָת 72 <i>k</i>	הִרְחַק 29 <i>q</i> , 64 <i>h</i>
הִמְאִיֹת 97 <i>g</i>	הִנְתָּקִי 66 <i>f</i>	הִרְחַק 64 <i>h</i>
הִמָּה its Dageš 20 <i>k</i>	הִם 105 <i>a</i>	הִרְוִיתִי 84 <i>g</i>
הִמוֹנָה 91 <i>e</i>	הִסַּג 72 <i>ee</i>	הִרִים 72 <i>ee</i>
הִמוֹשֵׁב in close con- nexion 72 <i>bb</i> , 93 <i>pp</i> , cf. 65 <i>d</i>	הִסִּירִים 35 <i>d</i>	הִרְמוֹ 67 <i>t</i> , 72 <i>dd</i>
הִמְיִשְׁנִי 67 <i>v</i>	הִסִּיג 72 <i>ee</i>	הִרְמִים 35 <i>d</i>
הִמְכֹ 67 <i>y</i>	הִסִּית 72 <i>ee</i>	הִרְנִין 67 <i>cc</i>
הִמְלִמִּי 29 <i>o</i> <sup>a</sup>	הִסְתָּה 72 <i>w</i>	הִרְעֹ 67 <i>v</i>
הִמְנִשָּׁה 125 <i>d</i> <sup>1</sup>	הִעֲבֵרָת 63 <i>p</i>	הִרְעָמָה 22 <i>s</i>
הִמָּם 67 <i>t</i>	הִעֲוִירִים 35 <i>g</i>	הִרְרִי 90 <i>n</i>
הִמְסִי 75 <i>ii</i>	הִעֲוִיבִים 35 <i>g</i>	הִרְרִי 93 <i>aa</i>
הִמְסִלָּת (Moab.) 80 <i>f</i> <sup>1</sup>	הִעֲזָבָת 35 <i>g</i>	הִרְרִי 93 <i>aa</i>
הִמְעַד 64 <i>h</i>	הִעֲזָה 67 <i>dd</i>	הִרְרִי 93 <i>aa</i>
הִמְעִיט 133 <i>c</i> <sup>a</sup>	הִעֲלָה 63 <i>p</i>	הִרְרָם 93 <i>aa</i>
הִמְעָרְעִים 10 <i>g</i>	הִעֲלָה 63 <i>p</i>	הִשְׁמִי ? 73 <i>a</i>
הִמְרוֹת 75 <i>ff</i>	הִעֲרַב 113 <i>k</i>	הִשְׁקִי 66 <i>e</i>
הִמְשָׁחִית 126 <i>m</i> <sup>1</sup>	הִעֲרִכִים 35 <i>g</i>	הִשְׁרִי 67 <i>v</i>
הִמְתָּה 72 <i>w</i>	הִעֲשֹׂ 116 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>	הִשְׁעָרָה 90 <i>i</i>
הִמְתָּם 72 <i>w</i>	הִעֲשִׂוִּים 75 <i>v</i>	הִשְׁאֲלָתִיהוּ 64 <i>f</i>
הִן with suffixes 100 <i>o</i> , 147 <i>b</i> , origin 105 <i>b</i> , = <i>if</i> 159 <i>w</i>	הִעֲתִיר 63 <i>o</i>	הִשָּׁב 29 <i>q</i> , 72 <i>y</i>
הִגֵּד 76 <i>a</i>	הִפִּיר 67 <i>v</i>	הִשָּׁבַע 65 <i>e</i>
הִגָּה with suffixes 100 <i>o</i> , 147 <i>b</i> , origin 105 <i>b</i> , with ptep. of present time 116 <i>n</i> ; more often of future time 116 <i>p</i>	הִפְכִּי 61 <i>a</i>	הִשְׁבַּעְתָּנִי (fem.) 59 <i>h</i>
הִגָּה 20 <i>k</i>	הִפְלָא 75 <i>oo</i>	הִשְׁבַּם 113 <i>k</i>
הִגָּקָה 85 <i>c</i> (A dit.)	הִפְצָר 29 <i>q</i> , 53 <i>l</i>	הִשְׁמָה 67 <i>y</i>
הִנַּח 72 <i>ee</i>	הִפָּר 29 <i>q</i> , 67 <i>v</i>	הִשְׁמַם 67 <i>cc</i>
הִנַּחַת 64 <i>h</i>	הִצַּג ? 113 <i>d</i> <sup>a</sup>	הִשַּׁע 75 <i>gg</i>
הִנִּיחַ, הִנִּיחַ 72 <i>ee</i>	הִצְמִיד 72 <i>m</i>	הִשְׁעִנִּי 7 <i>f</i>
	הִקְלַחְנִי 67 <i>w</i>	הִשְׁפֹּת 35 <i>d</i>
	הִקָּם עַל 29 <i>g</i>	הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה 75 <i>kk</i>
	הִקְמַלְתִּי 72 <i>w</i>	הִתִּי ? 29 <i>q</i> , 67 <i>v</i> , 72 <i>dd</i>
	הִקְשִׁיבָה 10 <i>g</i>	הִתְחַבְּרוּ 54 <i>k</i>
	הִרְאִיתָם 22 <i>s</i>	הִתִּי 68 <i>i</i>
	הִרְבָּה 113 <i>k</i>	הִתְחַשֵּׁם ? 64 <i>i</i>
	הִרְבָּה 75 <i>ff</i>	הִתְלַת 67 <i>dd</i>
	הִרְבָּה 75 <i>ff</i>	

הַתְּמַהְמָה? 55 *g*  
 הַתְּמַד 67 *v*  
 הַתְּנִבּוֹת 75 *gg*  
 הַתְּנִיבִית 75 *gg*  
 הַתְּפָקִיד 54 *l*  
 הַתְּפָקִיד 54 *l*  
 הַתְּרַאָּה פְּנִים 156 *c*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַתְּרַאָּה 64 *d*

י as a vowel-letter 5 *b*<sup>1</sup>, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*, 9 *n-s*, its changes 24, initial 26 *a*; a firm consonant in verbs ע"י 72 *gg*, in verbs orig. ל"י 75 *a, b, kk*, cf. in nouns 93 *x*

י pointing of 104 *d-g*, connecting sentences 154, = *and that*, or *and especially* 114 *p*, 154 *a*<sup>1</sup> (*b*), introducing predicate 143 *d*; י introducing predicate 111 *h*, or apodosis (rare) 111 *q*, 159 *o* (*e*), *s* (*f*). 143 *d*; י with perf. introducing predicate or apodosis 112 *ff-oo*, 143 *d*, 159 *o, s*. See also Wāw in Index I.

וּאֶבְרָךְ 23 *d*, 68 *k*  
 וּאֶכְרֹם; 60 *d*  
 וּאֶנְרֹשׁ 49 *e*  
 וּאֶנְרִי 23 *d*, 26 *g*, 102 *m*, 104 *d*  
 וּאֶזְרָה. 53 *n, g*, 68 *i*  
 וּאֶחָד 68 *e*  
 וּאֶחָלָלךְ 111 *w*<sup>1</sup>  
 וּאֶחָר 64 *h*, 68 *e*  
 וּאֶחָרִי שָׁחָה 113 *e*<sup>3</sup>  
 וּאֶחָשְׁבָה? 49 *e*  
 וּאֶחָלָה? 49 *e*

וְאֶכֶל 68 *e*  
 וְאֶכְלָה 49 *e*  
 וְאֶכְסֵף 49 *c*  
 וְאֶל = *rather than* 133 *b*<sup>2</sup>  
 וְאֶלֶךְ 69 *p*  
 וְאֶלֶהִים 102 *d*, 104 *d*  
 וְאֶסְחָבָה (Moab.) 7 *c*  
 וְאֶעֱרֶה? 49 *e*  
 וְאֶקִּים 49 *e*, 72 *t*  
 וְאֶקְרָאָה? 48 *d*  
 וְאֶרֶב 75 *gg*  
 וְאֶרְץ 29 *i*<sup>1</sup>  
 וְבָטָן 104 *g*  
 וְדִינוּם 73 *b*  
 וְהֶאֱזִינִיחוּ 53 *g*  
 וְהֶבִיאֲתִי 76 *h*  
 וְהֶגְלָה 75 *ee*  
 וְהֶחֱשֹׁבוֹתִים? 72 *x*  
 וְהֶחֱתַמְתִּי 67 *dd*  
 וְהֶטַלְתִּי 72 *k, w*  
 וְהִיא in prophetic style 112 *y, z*  
 וְהִיא 28 *b*  
 וְהִי 28 *b*  
 וְהִיטַבְתִּי 70 *e*  
 וְהִיטָם 63 *q*, 104 *f*  
 וְהִמְטַרְתִּי (Am 4<sup>7</sup>) 112 *h*<sup>3</sup>  
 וְהִמְטִי 72 *w*  
 וְהִמְתִּיהָ 72 *w*  
 וְהִמְתָּן 72 *w*  
 וְהִנֵּיתָה? 72 *ee*  
 וְהִנֵּפֶת 72 *w*  
 וְהִצִּיתָה 71  
 וְהִצִּרְתִּי 67 *ee*  
 וְהִקְאָתוּ 76 *h*  
 וְהִקְדִּשְׁנוּ 29 *l*  
 וְהִקְמֵנוּ 72 *i*  
 וְהִרְאִיתִי 53 *p*, 75 *ee*

וְהִשִּׁיבָתָם 72 *i*<sup>2</sup>  
 וְהִשְׁוִמְסָנָה 54 *b*  
 וְהִב 16 *e*, 104 *e*  
 וְהִי 104 *g*  
 וְהִקְאָת (Ex 5<sup>16</sup>) 74  
 וְהִי? 76 *i*  
 וְהִי 76 *i*  
 וְהִיבָתָם 72 *m*  
 וְהִיָּה 67 *k*  
 וְהִיָּה with *ē* for 28 *b*, 63 *q*, 104 *f*, in part sometimes וְהִיָּה 75 *n*  
 וְהִנֵּחִי 67 *ee*  
 וְהִלָּל 76 *d*  
 וְהִלָּל (in Jb) 68 *d*  
 וְהִלָּסָךְ 68 *h*  
 וְהִלָּסָךְ 23 *b*  
 וְהִלָּל 23 *d*, 68 *e*  
 וְהִלָּל 23 *d*  
 וְהִלָּל 74 *l*  
 וְהִלָּל 75 *q*  
 וְהִלָּל 64 *g*  
 וְהִלָּל 69 *u*, 70 *e*  
 וְהִלָּל 69 *u*  
 וְהִלָּל 67 *p*  
 וְהִלָּל 7 *c*  
 וְהִלָּל 53 *n*  
 וְהִלָּל 69 *u*  
 וְהִלָּל 53 *n*  
 וְהִלָּל 102 *m*  
 וְהִי 104 *f*  
 וְהִי 16 *g*; as narrative formula 111 *j*  
 וְהִיָּה שָׁם 29 *g*  
 וְהִלָּל 67 *y*  
 וְהִלָּל? 68 *i*  
 וְהִלָּל 64 *b*  
 וְהִלָּל 74 *l*  
 וְהִי 75 *r*

וְיָוֹ 75 *r*, 76 *b*  
 וְיֹזֶבֶד 65 *e*  
 וְיִחְזֹק בּוֹ 29 *g*  
 וְיִחְטֵא 74 *l*  
 וְיָחִי 16 *g*  
 וְיִחְלֹא 75 *rr*  
 וְיִחְלֹו (Ho<sup>810</sup>)? *IIIIw*<sup>1</sup>  
 וְיִחְלֹו 24 *e*  
 וְיִחְלֹפָה (Moab.) 7 *e*  
 וְיִחְלָקֶם 63 *n*  
 וְיִחְמוּ 69 *f*  
 וְיִחְמָנָה 69 *f*  
 וְיִחַן 75 *r*  
 וְיָחַר 75 *r*  
 וְיָמ 75 *r*  
 וְיִטְמֹנוּ 47 *i*  
 וְיִיחַל 69 *t*  
 וְיִיף 76 *f*  
 וְיִיזֵר 71  
 וְיִישָׁם 53 *u*, 73 *f*  
 וְיִיבֹו 60 *d*  
 וְיִבְס־שָׁם 58 *g*  
 וְיִבְכְּנוּ 72 *cc*  
 וְיִבְחֵי 67 *g*, *y*  
 וְיִלְרֵת 80 *d*, 94 *f*  
 וְיִלְלַת 24 *e*  
 וְיִלֵּן 72 *ee*  
 וְיִמְלֹאוּם 60 *h*  
 וְיִנָּח 72 *ee*  
 וְיִסֵּב 67 *y*  
 וְיִסְבּוּ 67 *g*  
 וְיִסְדּוּ 67 *p*, 73 *f*  
 וְיִסְרֵנִי 59 *h*  
 וְיַעַט 72 *ff*  
 וְיַעֲנוּ (Moab.) 75 *b*<sup>2</sup>  
 וְיַעַף 72 *t*  
 וְיַעֲקֹבֵנִי 63 *m*  
 וְיַעֲקֹשֵׁנִי 53 *n*

וְיַעֲרוּ 75 *cc*  
 וְיַפֵּר 67 *x*  
 וְיַפֵּת 75 *q*  
 וְיַעֲלֶה 65 *f*  
 וְיַצֵּק 71  
 וְיַצֵּק 71  
 וְיַקֵּד 67 *g*  
 וְיַקְדֵּי 67 *g*  
 וְיַסֵּן 71  
 וְיָרָא 75 *q*  
 וְיָרָאוּ הַמּוֹרָאִים 75 *rr*  
 וְיָרֵב 68 *i*  
 וְיָרֵד 75 *q*  
 וְיָרִיבֹו 49 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
 וְיָרֵם 27 *o*, 67 *o*;  
 with accus. 121 *d*<sup>2</sup>  
 וְיָרִפּוּ 75 *qq*  
 וְיָרִפּוּ 23 *f*, 75 *qq*  
 וְיָרְשׁוּהוּ 69 *s*  
 וְיָרְשׁוּהוּ 69 *s*  
 וְיָרְשָׁתָהּ 44 *d*  
 וְיָרְשָׁתָם 44 *d*  
 וְיָרִשְׁבּ 26 *p*<sup>2</sup>, 75 *q*  
 וְיָשְׁבָתָם 69 *k*  
 וְיָשְׁנוּ 60 *d*, 75 *bb*,  
 131 *m*<sup>3</sup>  
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וְלֹנָה 73 *d*  
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 יאחו 68 *b*  
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נָאֲצוּחִיק 84 <sup>b</sup> <i>e</i>	נָחָה 66 <i>c</i>	נָעֲבָרָם 60 <i>b</i>
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נָבִיחָת ? 80 <i>f</i>	נָחַר 75 <i>x</i>	נָצָה 91 <i>e</i>
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נָרְפָאוּ 75 <i>oo</i>	סָפְרִים <i>a letter</i> 124 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>	160 <i>c</i>
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נָתַךְ forms of 78 <i>c</i>	עָרִיכֶם 103 <i>o</i>	עָנָ 63 <i>l</i>
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157 <i>b</i> <sup>2</sup>	עָזָן 55 <i>c</i>	עָזָ 9 <i>l</i> , 26 <i>o</i> <sup>1</sup>
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נָסָתָה 91 <i>e</i>	עִירָו 93 <i>v</i>	עָרְמָם 91 <i>e</i>
נָסִי 24 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>	עִירָם 27 <i>w</i>	עָשָׁבוֹת 20 <i>h</i> , 93
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נָסָר 6 <i>k</i>	עַל its origin	עָשָׂהָל 23 <i>k</i> <sup>1</sup>
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עָשָׂה ptc. passive	תַּבְּרָאוֹת 75 rr	קָאָה for קָאָה 9b, 23g,
24 b, 75 v	תַּבְּרָאִים 1 i	analogous cases 72 p
עֲשׂוֹת 75 v	תַּבְּרָאִי 93 x	קָאָה 80 g
עֲשָׂרָה 80 l	תַּבְּרָאִי 9 f	קָבֵה-לִּי 9 v, 67 o
עֲשָׂרָה אֲלֵפִים 97 g	תַּבְּרָאִי 84 <sup>b</sup> f	קָבֵה the ך not com-
עֲשָׂרִים 93 l, 97 f	תַּבְּרָאִי 84 <sup>b</sup> b	pensatory 20 o, for קָבֵהוּ
עֲשָׂן 93 dd	תַּבְּרָאִי 56	67 o, doubtful form 100 o <sup>2</sup>
עֲשָׂה 67 cc	תַּבְּרָאִים 93 dd	קָבֵה 52 l
עֲשָׂשׁוּ 67 cc	תַּבְּרָאִי 80 g	קָבֵהוּ 85 u
עֲשָׂתִי 97 e <sup>1</sup>	תַּבְּרָאִים 93 x	קָבֵהוּ 9 v, 93 r
עֲשָׂתֶרָה 95 q <sup>1</sup>		קָבֵהוּ 124 h
עָהָה 90 h	תַּבְּרָאִי with 3rd fem.	קָבֵה 145 h
עָתִיק 84 <sup>b</sup> f	pl. 132 g, 145 c	קָל = <i>hark!</i>
עַת נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ 116 g <sup>1</sup>	תַּבְּרָאִי 123 a <sup>1</sup>	146 b
	תַּבְּרָאִי 69 m	תַּבְּרָאִי constr. st. 90 n
פָּאָרָה 23 c	תַּבְּרָאִי 95 e	קָבֵה 72 s
פָּאָרָה צִוִּר 23 k <sup>1</sup>	תַּבְּרָאוֹת 125 h	קָבֵהוּ 20 g
פָּדִיּוֹם 85 t	תַּבְּרָאִים 93 x	קָבֵהוּ 72 p
פָּה 96	תַּבְּרָאִי 75 qq	קָוָה 1 i
פָּנֵה 80 f	תַּבְּרָאִי 133 b <sup>2</sup>	קָרָהוּ 21 c
פָּחֵם (Ne 5 <sup>14</sup> )? 91 e	תַּבְּרָאִי 52 p	קָרָה for לָקַח 19 i,
פָּיֹת 96	תַּבְּרָאִי 88 c	66 g
פָּיִמוּ 91 f	תַּבְּרָאִי (verb) 67 n	קָרָה? for לָקַח 19 i,
פָּלָא 93 k	תַּבְּרָאִי 72 s	66 g
פָּלָא 22 e	תַּבְּרָאִים 86 g	קָרָה 58 g, 61 g,
פָּלָג 52 n	תַּבְּרָאִי 84 <sup>b</sup> o	66 g
פָּן with imperf.	תַּבְּרָאִי 93 y	קָרָה 66 g, 93 h
(twice perf.) 107 q and	תַּבְּרָאִי 67 cc	קָרָה 93 q
note <sup>3</sup> , 152 w (end), after	תַּבְּרָאִי 10 g	קָרָה 26 g
ideas of fearing 152 w	תַּבְּרָאִי 30 r, 81 d <sup>2</sup>	קָרָה 19 f
פָּנָה 91 e	תַּבְּרָאִי 93 gg	קָרָה? 93 q
פָּנֵהוּ 90 k	תַּבְּרָאִי 93 gg	קָרָה 52 o
פָּנִים 145 h	תַּבְּרָאִי 55 d	קָרָה 76 h
פָּנִימוּ 103 f <sup>3</sup>	תַּבְּרָאִי 46 d	קָרָה 76 h
פָּעַל 39 e, 41 d	תַּבְּרָאִי passive ptc.	קָרָה 84 <sup>a</sup> u
פָּעֵל 93 q	75 v	קָרָה 72 m
פָּפִיּוֹת 96	תַּבְּרָאִי 81 d <sup>2</sup> , 85 w	תַּבְּרָאִי 91 f
תַּבְּרָאִי 84 <sup>b</sup> n	תַּבְּרָאִי 44 l, 72 o	קָל 67 ee
תַּבְּרָאִי 22 e		קָל 72 g

קְמִשְׁנִים 85 *u*<sup>1</sup>  
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 קִרְאֹן 46 *f*  
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 שְׁבִיבָה ? 97 *c*  
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**יָשׁוּבִי** 72 *b*  
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**יָשָׁב** 67 *ee*  
**יָשָׁב** 67 *cc*  
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**יָשָׁב** 85 *v*  
**יָשָׁב** 93 *v*  
**יָשָׁב** 45 *c*  
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**יָשָׁב** 65 *g*  
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**יָשָׁב** 55 *i*, 85 *o*  
**יָשָׁב** 21 *c*  
**יָשָׁב** with accus.  
121 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** subst. and  
adj. 141 *c*<sup>2</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** 65 *a*  
**יָשָׁב** 52 *o*  
**יָשָׁב** 61 *h*, 65 *d*  
**יָשָׁב** 21 *f*, 28 *e*<sup>2</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** 129 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** 84<sup>a</sup> *g*  
**יָשָׁב** 52 *o*  
**יָשָׁב** 93 *q*  
**יָשָׁב** 129 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** 23 *f*  
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**יָשָׁב** see Additions

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**יָשָׁב** 80 *g*  
**יָשָׁב** 48 *i*<sup>2</sup>, 61 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** 88 *c*  
**יָשָׁב** 48 *i*<sup>2</sup>, 61 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** 23 *l*  
**יָשָׁב** 75 *rr*  
**יָשָׁב** (Phoen.) 7 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** 95 *c*<sup>1</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** 97 *d*  
**יָשָׁב** 80 *g*  
**יָשָׁב** 65 *d*  
**יָשָׁב** 135 *p*<sup>1</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** 29 *i*<sup>1</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** 86 *g*  
**יָשָׁב** 10 *g*  
**יָשָׁב** 80 *f*  
**יָשָׁב** 84<sup>b</sup> *m*  
**יָשָׁב** 93 *o*  
**יָשָׁב** 95 *f*  
**יָשָׁב** 22 *s*  
**יָשָׁב** 23 *f*  
**יָשָׁב** 22 *s*  
**יָשָׁב** 9 *v*, 93 *r*  
**יָשָׁב** 55 *f*  
**יָשָׁב** 9 *u*, 26 *o*<sup>1</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** (only Qal) 78 *b*  
**יָשָׁב** 73 *d*  
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**יָשָׁב** 73 *d*  
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**יָשָׁב** 97 *d*

**יָשָׁב** as preforma-  
tive of nouns 85 *p-r*  
**יָשָׁב**, **יָשָׁב** original femi-  
nine ending 80 *f, g*, 89 *e*  
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**יָשָׁב** 65 *e*  
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**יָשָׁב** 93 *q*  
**יָשָׁב** 68 *f*  
**יָשָׁב** 75 *hh*  
**יָשָׁב** 72 *k*  
**יָשָׁב** 48 *d*  
**יָשָׁב** ? 48 *d*  
**יָשָׁב** 10 *g*<sup>3</sup>  
**יָשָׁב** as 3rd pl. fem.  
47 *k*  
**יָשָׁב** 85 *p*  
**יָשָׁב** 75 *hh*  
**יָשָׁב** 53 *n*  
**יָשָׁב** 75 *hh*  
**יָשָׁב** 27 *l*  
**יָשָׁב** 52 *n*  
**יָשָׁב** 75 *oo*  
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**יָשָׁב** 75 *dd*  
**יָשָׁב** 53 *n*  
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**יָשָׁב** 72 *k*  
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**יָשָׁב** 69 *x*  
**יָשָׁב** 80 *g*  
**יָשָׁב** 53 *q*  
**יָשָׁב** 75 *gg*  
**יָשָׁב** 84<sup>a</sup> *r*  
**יָשָׁב** ? 50 *e*  
**יָשָׁב** 23 *f*  
**יָשָׁב** 26 *r*, 69 *v*  
**יָשָׁב** ? 51 *g*  
**יָשָׁב** 47 *k*  
**יָשָׁב** 72 *r*

תַּחֲנוּתִי	91 <i>n</i>	תַּמְקִנָּה	67 <i>dd</i>	תָּרַר	69 <i>p</i>
תַּחַת	103 <i>o</i>	תַּלְתָּל-תַּמְדָּר	67 <i>y</i>	תַּרְדֵּמָה	85 <i>q</i>
תַּחַת	66 <i>f</i>	תַּנְדָּף ?	66 <i>f</i>	תַּרְוָמָם	(Jb 17 <sup>1</sup> ) 72
תַּחֲתָנָה	103 <i>d</i>	תַּנְשֵׂא	19 <i>d</i>	תַּרְנָה	47 <i>k</i>
תַּחֲתָנִי	103 <i>d</i>	תַּתְּנִן אֶת-	121 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>	תַּרְנִיחַ	44 <i>o</i>
תַּטְעִי	(Is 17 <sup>10</sup> ) ? 20 <i>m</i> <sup>3</sup>	תַּסְבִּינָה	67 <i>d</i> <sup>1</sup>	תַּרְסִיס	124 <i>h</i> , 132
תַּיִטְבִּי	70 <i>e</i>	תַּעֲבֹדָם	60 <i>b</i>	תַּרְפִּינָה	75 <i>qq</i>
תַּיִבוֹן	27 <i>w</i>	תַּעֲבֹרִי	47 <i>g</i>	תַּרְצִחוֹ ?	52 <i>q</i>
תַּתְּעִשָׂה	63 <i>h</i>	תַּעֲנִנָה	51 <i>m</i>	תַּשְׁאִינָה	(Ez 23 <sup>49</sup> ) ?
תַּיִרְאוֹ	(Jb 6 <sup>21</sup> +) 75 <i>t</i>	תַּעֲנִנָה	58 <i>k</i>	תַּשְׁנָה	(Ru 1 <sup>14</sup> ) 7-
תַּיִשְׁמָנָה	(Ez 6 <sup>6</sup> ) 167 <i>p</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>dd</i>	תַּעֲלוֹ ?	75 <i>y</i>		76 <i>b</i>
תַּתְּכַבֵּדְךָ	60 <i>f</i>	תַּעֲנִנָה	(Ju 5 <sup>29</sup> ) 75 <i>w</i>	תַּשְׁבֹּן	72 <i>k</i>
תַּבוֹנָן	19 <i>d</i>	תַּעֲפָה	48 <i>d</i>	תַּשְׁבִּנָה	72 <i>k</i>
תַּכִּים	1 <i>i</i>	תַּעֲשֶׂה	75 <i>h</i> <i>h</i>	תַּשִּׁי	75 <i>s</i>
תַּכְלָה	77 <i>rr</i>	תַּעֲשֶׂה-כֶּנֶס	60 <i>g</i>	תַּשְׁלָחָנָה	(anomalou
תַּל-	20 <i>g</i>	תַּעֲשֶׂה-כֶּנֶס	60 <i>g</i>		47 <i>k</i>
תַּלְאוּם	75 <i>rr</i>	תַּפּוּצוֹתֵיכֶם ?	91 <i>l</i>	תַּשְׁמֹרֶם	47 <i>g</i>
תַּלְאִים	75 <i>rr</i>	תַּעֲלִינָה	67 <i>p</i>	תַּשְׁתַּע	75 <i>bb</i>
תַּלְפָּשׁוֹן	47 <i>l</i>	תַּעֲלִנָה	67 <i>g</i>	תַּתְּאוֹ	75 <i>bb</i>
תַּלְוֹנִי	72 <i>ee</i>	תַּעֲרִי	67 <i>dd</i>	תַּתְּאוֹ ?	75 <i>bb</i> <sup>1</sup>
תַּלְוִי	29 <i>q</i> , 73 <i>e</i>	תַּתְּכַנֵּי	67 <i>g</i>	תַּתְּכָר	67 <i>l</i>
תַּלְעַג	10 <i>g</i> <sup>3</sup>	תַּתְּקוֹ-מִיָּד	72 <i>cc</i>	תַּתְּנָר	75 <i>bb</i>
תַּמוּחָנָה	72 <i>k</i>	תַּקְטֹל	47 <i>k</i>	תַּתְּנָה	19 <i>i</i> , 66 <i>k</i>
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תַּתְּחִי	10 <i>g</i> <sup>3</sup>	תַּתְּרָאנָה	47 <i>k</i> , 75 <i>rr</i>	תַּתְּנָה	67 <i>p</i>
תַּמְנוֹ	67 <i>e</i> , <i>dd</i>	תַּרְא	75 <i>p</i>	תַּתְּנָה	20 <i>m</i>
תַּמְנִי	(Lam 3 <sup>22</sup> ) ? 20 <i>o</i>	תַּרְאָה	75 <i>h</i> <i>h</i>	תַּתְּנָה	53 <i>u</i>
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# III

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 3 . . . . . 102 f  
 4 . . . . . 67 p  
 5 5 n, 103 o, 135 a,  
 135 m

## Genesis

- 18 7 . . . . . 60 d, 127 e  
 8 10 k, 76 g, 107 h,  
 116 n  
 10 . . . . . 166 a  
 11 . 80 d, 94 f, 116 n  
 12 127 c, 128 l, 156 b  
 16 . . . . . 115 f  
 17 1 . . . . . 110 f  
 4 . . . . . 143 a  
 5 117 ii, 121 b, 163 a  
 8 . . . . . 128 p  
 9 . . . . . 142 f N.  
 10 . . . . . 113 gg  
 11 67 dd, 112 aa, 121 d,  
 144 b  
 14 29 g, 67 v, 112 mm,  
 158 a, 167 b N.  
 15 . . . . . 143 b  
 17 96, 100 l, 107 t,  
 134 d, 150 g  
 19 . . . . . 49 l  
 20 . . . . . 106 m, 112 s  
 21 . . . . . 154 a  
 26 . . . . . 72 ee  
 18 1 116 o, 118 g, 141 e  
 5 . . . . . 158 b N.  
 6 . 90 c, 90 i, 131 d  
 7 . . . . . 117 f, 126 r  
 9 . . . . . 147 b  
 10 . . . . . 118 u  
 11 . . . . . 116 d, 146 d  
 12 106 n, 139 f, 141 e,  
 150 a, 150 b  
 13 . . . . . 106 g, 136 c  
 14 133 c, 139 d, 141 m  
 15 . . . . . 106 b, 163 a  
 17 . . . . . 100 l  
 18 . . . . . 75 n, 142 d  
 19 . . . . . 114 o, 165 c  
 20 128 h, 148 d, 159 ee  
 21 100 l, 108 b, 135 m,  
 138 k  
 24 . . . . . 117 g, 122 l  
 25 112 v, 115 b, 161 c  
 26 . . . . . 112 ff  
 27 . . . . . 141 e  
 28 47 m, 117 aa,  
 119 p, 134 l, 159 n  
 N., 159 r  
 29 . . . . . 134 k  
 19 1 116 o, 141 e, 141 f,  
 156 c  
 2 17 e, 20 d, 20 g,  
 100 o, 135 g, 142 g,  
 150 n, 152 c  
 4 15 l, 107 c, 152 r,  
 154 a N., 164 c  
 5 . . . . . 29 f  
 6 . . . . . 93 i  
 8 34 b, 103 b, 139 d

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19 9 . . . 66c, 113r  
 11 . . . 126n  
 12 . . . 150b  
 14 . . . 20g, 116d  
 15 . . . 152w  
 16 15f, 45d, 55g,  
 115f  
 17 . . . 107p  
 18 . . . 152g  
 19 60d, 72n, 107f,  
 152w, 154a  
 20 . . . 109f  
 21 . . . 61a  
 22 . . . 120g  
 23 . . . 164b  
 28 . . . 126o  
 29 . . . 115a, 124o  
 30 . . . 126r  
 31 . . . 133f, 152o  
 32 . . . 69x, 117cc  
 33 5n, 47l, 61c, 93s,  
 126y  
 34 . . . 126b  
 20 1 . . . 90c  
 5 . . . 32l  
 6 66b, 75qq, 114m,  
 157b N.  
 7 . . . 63q, 110i  
 9 . . . 107w  
 10 . . . 107v, 166b  
 11 . . . 112x, 153  
 12 . . . 152d  
 13 119u, 124h N.,  
 127e, 141f, 145t,  
 167b  
 16 . . . 116s, 134n  
 17 . . . 145u  
 18 . . . 106f, 113n  
 21 3 . . . 138k  
 5 . . . 121b, 128v  
 6 . . . 10g, 64h, 114c  
 7 106p, 124o, 142f,  
 151a  
 8 . . . 51m  
 9 . . . 52n  
 11 . . . 67p  
 13 . . . 143c  
 14 95l, 128q, 156d  
 N<sup>4</sup>  
 16 75kk, 108b, 113h,  
 119k, 119s  
 17 . . . 138e  
 19 . . . 117cc  
 20 . . . 131b  
 23 . . . 20f, 51o  
 24 . . . 51p, 135a  
 25 . . . 112rr  
 26 . . . 162b  
 28 . . . 91c, 127e  
 29 . . . 91f, 126x

Genesis

21 30 . . . 117d, 157b  
 32 . . . 138f, 146h  
 22 1 . . . 111g  
 3 . . . 135i  
 4 . . . 111b  
 5 . . . 119s  
 7 . . . 147b  
 12 . . . 116g, 158a  
 14 . . . 130d N<sup>2</sup>  
 17 . . . 75ff  
 23 . . . 134k  
 24 . . . 111h, 147e  
 23 1 . . . 134d, 134h  
 3 . . . 122f  
 4 . . . 52f, 128m  
 5 . . . 110e  
 6 75qq, 119x, 128r,  
 142f N<sup>2</sup>, 152b  
 8 . . . 61g  
 9 . . . 119p  
 10 116h, 141b, 143e  
 11 . . . 106m, 152c  
 13 . . . 110e  
 20 . . . 111k  
 24 3 . . . 128a, 165b  
 5 . . . 100n, 113q  
 6 . . . 51n, 152w  
 7 . . . 138a  
 8 . . . 75x, 109d, 126y  
 9 . . . 16h  
 14 112bb, 135p,  
 167c  
 15 106f, 107c, 152r  
 18 . . . 120d  
 19 . . . 106o, 164b  
 20 . . . 75bb  
 21 . . . 130a, 150i  
 22 . . . 134n, 156b  
 23 . . . 37a, 118g  
 26 . . . 67g  
 27 . . . 75ll, 135e, 143b  
 29 . . . 156b  
 30 . . . 115e N., 116s  
 31 . . . 116l  
 33 . . . 73f  
 35 . . . 154a N.  
 37 . . . 149c  
 41 95n, 117f, 164d  
 42 . . . 159v, 167c  
 43 . . . 112t  
 44 . . . 154a N., 162b  
 45 . . . 135a  
 48 . . . 75t  
 49 . . . 159v  
 51 . . . 109f, 117f  
 55 . . . 139h, 146f  
 56 . . . 142d  
 58 . . . 150n  
 60 . . . 63q, 97g, 134g  
 61 . . . 146g, 146h

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24 63 . . . 114f N.  
 65 . . . 34f  
 67 . . . 127f  
 25 1 . . . 120d  
 5 . . . 16a  
 16 . . . 136d  
 21 . . . 51n, 121f  
 23 . . . 119ff  
 24 . . . 23f  
 26 115a, 115c, 115e  
 N.  
 31 . . . 35n, 48i  
 34 . . . 75o  
 26 7 144p N., 147a N.  
 9 148b, 152w, 157b  
 10 . . . 49l, 106p  
 13 . . . 113u, 164f  
 15 . . . 60h, 135o  
 16 . . . 133c  
 18 . . . 60h, 111q, 120d  
 23 . . . 118f  
 25 . . . 76c  
 28 . . . 75n, 103p N.  
 29 . . . 65h, 75hh  
 27 1 111g, 114d, 119y  
 3 . . . 118f, 122t  
 4 . . . 20b, 106g, 108d  
 7 . . . 58g  
 9 . . . 117ii  
 12 . . . 49l, 112p  
 13 . . . 10g, 141f  
 19 . . . 60d  
 20 114n N., 136c,  
 148b  
 21 . . . 67r, 136d  
 24 . . . 150a  
 26 . . . 10g  
 28 . . . 20m  
 29 . . . 145l  
 30 . . . 113n, 164b N.  
 31 . . . 72t  
 33 107c, 116d, 117q,  
 150l, 153  
 34 111h N., 113m,  
 117q, 135e, 153  
 36 63m, 136d, 150e  
 37 103g, 117ff, 117ii,  
 142g, 150l  
 38 . . . 10g, 16g, 100l  
 39 . . . 20m, 119c  
 41 . . . 63f  
 42 . . . 61a, 121a  
 43 . . . 112r, 119s  
 45 114d, 114r,  
 117aa, 118i,  
 150e, 154a N.  
 28 2 . . . 16h, 90i  
 3 . . . 75ll  
 4 . . . 95g, 114g  
 6 . . . 167c

## Genesis

28	8	. . . . .	111 d
	9	. . . . .	119 aa N.
	11	. . . . .	126 r
	15	. . . . .	106 o, 147 b
	16	. . . . .	106 g
	18	. . . . .	71
29	2	. . . . .	111 e, 144 f
	6	. . . . .	150 n
	7	. . . . .	126 t, 152 d
	9	. . . . .	116 u, 129 h
	10	. 67 p, 75 gg, 106 f	
	14	. . . . .	131 d
	15	. . . . .	112 cc, 150 e
	17	. . . . .	145 n
	19	. . . . .	133 a
	21	. . . . .	69 o, 165 a
	25	. . . . .	142 g
	26	. . . . .	107 g
	27	. . . . .	121 b
	30	. . . . .	133 b
	32	. . . . .	60 d
30	3	. . . . .	51 g
	6	. . . . .	26 g, 59 f
	8	. 85 n, 117 q, 154 a	N.
	13	. . . . .	106 n
	15	. . . . .	114 a
	16	. . . . .	126 y
	18	. . . . .	17 c, 135 m
	19	. . . . .	96
	20	. . . . .	117 bb, 117 ff
	23	. . . . .	135 m
	27	. 111 h N., 120 f,	159 dd
	29	. . . . .	157 c
	31	. . . . .	120 g, 120 h
	32	. . . . .	112 mm
	34	. . . . .	109 b, 151 e
	37	. . . . .	117 r, 123 b
	38	. 10 g, 47 k, 76 g,	95 f, 138 c, 145 e
	39	. . . . .	69 f, 145 p
	40	. . 119 aa N., 142 f	
	41	. . . . .	91 f, 112 ee
	43	. . . . .	132 g
31	6	. . . . .	32 i
	7	. . . . .	67 w, 112 h
	8	. 145 u, 159 r, 159 s	
	9	. . . . .	135 o
	13	. . . . .	127 f
	14	. . . . .	146 g, 146 h
	15	. . . . .	113 r
	19	. . . . .	67 cc
	23	. . . . .	118 h
	27	. 63 c, 111 m, 114 n	N.
	28	. . . . .	75 n
	29	. . . . .	152 i
	30	. . . 51 i, 113 p	
	32	. . . . .	138 f

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31	32	. . . . .	59 g, 138 f
	34	. 111 g, 124 h N.,	132 h N.
	35	. . . . .	106 i
	36	. . . . .	20 d, 37 d
	39	. 23 f, 74 k, 75 oo,	75 gg, 90 l, 107 e
	40	. 67 cc, 76 a, 104 g,	143 a N., 167 b N.
	41	. . . . .	136 d
	42	. . . . .	106 p
	44	. . . . .	69 x
	45	. . . . .	117 ii
	47	. . . . .	1 c
	52	. . . . .	149 e, 167 b
	53	. . . . .	145 i
32	1	. . . . .	103 b, 122 g
	3	. . . . .	136 b
	5	. . . . .	64 h, 68 f
	6	. 49 e, 104 g, 123 b	
	7	. . . . .	116 s
	8	. . . . .	67 p, 144 b
	9	. . . . .	112 p, 145 u
	10	. . . . .	116 o
	11	. 106 g, 119 n, 133 c	
	12	. 119 aa N., 152 w,	156 c
	13	. . . . .	107 w
	15	. . . . .	134 c
	16	. 28 b, 122 d, 132 e,	135 o
	17	. . . . .	123 d
	18	. 9 v, 10 g, 60 b, 64 f,	137 b
	19	. . . . .	124 i
	20	. . 52 n, 61 d, 74 h	
	25	. . . . .	51 n
	27	. . 60 f, 65 h, 163 c	
	30	. . . . .	20 f, 107 h
	31	. 90 k, 111 e, 156 c,	157 b
33	2	. . . . .	146 e N.
	3	. . . . .	66 b
	4	. . . . .	5 n
	5	. 37 a, 67 a, 117 ff,	137 a
	7	. . . . .	146 h
	8	. . . . .	147 a N.
	10	. 112 gg, 158 b N.	
	11	. . . . .	74 g
	13	. 60 h, 104 g, 122 d,	126 i, 135 o
	18	. . . . .	118 n
	19	. . . . .	134 g
34	5	. . . . .	112 ss
	7	. . . . .	45 c, 45 g
	8	. . . . .	140 d
	9	. . . . .	117 w
	15	. . . . .	72 h, 119 p
	16	. . . . .	44 o, 49 k

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34	19	. . . . .	64 d
	22	. . . . .	72 ee
	23	. . . . .	143 a
	24	. . . . .	145 d
	25	. . . . .	118 q, 131 g
	27	. . . . .	144 g
	30	. . . . .	128 n, 141 d
	31	. . . . .	107 t, 118 v
35	1	. . . . .	65 a
	3	. . . . .	116 d
	7	. 124 h N., 145 i	
	8	. . . . .	126 d, 144 d
	11	. . . . .	145 f
	13	. . . . .	142 g
	14	. . . . .	138 c
	22	. . . . .	15 p, 45 g
	26	. . . . .	121 b
36	7	. . . . .	133 c
37	2	. . . . .	126 x
	3	. . . 112 h, 133 b	
	4	. . . . .	115 c
	7	. . . . .	47 l, 116 o
	8	. . . . .	113 g, 150 h
	15	. . . . .	107 f, 116 s
	16	. . . . .	142 f N.
	17	. . . . .	117 f
	18	. . . . .	117 w
	19	. . . . .	128 u
	21	. . . . .	117 u
	23	. . . . .	117 cc
	29	. . . . .	152 l
	30	. . . . .	116 p, 143 a
	32	. . . . .	150 i
	33	. . . . .	60 d, 113 w
	35	. . . . .	118 n
38	5	. . . . .	112 uu
	9	. 13 c, 66 i, 112 gg	
	11	. . . . .	118 g, 152 w
	17	. . . . .	159 dd
	21	. . . . .	126 y
	24	. 20 m, 97 c, 116 s,	119 y N.
	25	. 32 i, 74 i, 116 v,	142 e
	26	. . . . .	133 b N.
	28	. . . . .	144 d
	29	. . . . .	164 g
39	1	. . . . .	142 b
	4	. 130 d, 155 d, 155 n	
	5	. . . . .	145 g
	6	. . . . .	128 x
	8	. . . . .	137 c
	9	. . . . .	107 t, 112 p
	10	. . . . .	123 c
	11	. . . . .	35 n, 126 s
	14	. . . 2 b, 29 g, 64 g	
	16	. . . . .	72 ee
	18	. . . . .	114 r
	20	. . . . .	130 c
	22	. . . . .	116 s

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39 23 . . . 116 o, 152 l  
40 4 . . . . 139 h  
5 . . . . 129 h  
7 . . . . 84<sup>b</sup> f, 87 t  
8 . . . . 152 o  
9 . . . . 143 d  
10 . . . . 91 e, 164 g  
13 . . . . 72 w  
14 105 b N., 106 n N.,  
163 d  
15 . . . . 2 b  
16 . . . . 135 f  
20 . . . . 69 w, 71, 121 b  
22 . . . . 144 n  
41 1 116 s, 119 cc, 131 d  
6 . . . . 116 l  
8 . . . . 64 b, 122 i  
11 . . . . 49 e  
12 . . . . 139 c  
15 . . . . 152 o, 157 a  
21 . . . . 91 f, 93 ss  
25 . . . . 116 d  
26 . . . . 126 x, 141 h  
28 . . . . 53 p  
29 . . . . 156 c  
30 . . . . 112 x  
33 . . . . 75 p, 75 hh  
39 . . . . 115 a  
40 . . . . 118 h  
42 . . . . 117 cc  
43 85 h, 113 s, 129 h  
49 . . . . 75 ff  
51 . . . . 52 m  
57 . . . . 145 e  
42 1 . . . . 54 f  
2 . . . . 109 g  
4 . . . . 75 rr  
6 . . . . 126 k  
7 . . . . 122 q  
9 . . . . 114 g  
10 . . . . 163 a  
11 . . . . 32 d, 91 f  
13 133 g, 141 b, 152 m  
16 . . . . 110 c  
18 . . . . 110 f  
19 . . . . 134 d  
23 . . . . 126 r  
25 93 m, 120 f, 124 l,  
139 c  
28 . . . . 119 gg  
30 . . . . 124 t, 126 p  
33 . . . . 134 d  
35 111 g, 116 u, 139 c  
36 . . . . 91 f, 135 p  
37 . . . . 159 r  
43 3 . . . . 113 n, 163 c  
5 . . . . 116 g, 159 v  
6 . . . . 150 i N.  
7 107 k, 107 t, 113 g,  
150 d

Genesis

43 9 . . . . 159 o  
10 . . . . 106 p, 159 x  
12 65 d, 72 bb, 93 pp,  
131 e  
14 . . . . 29 u, 106 o  
15 . . . . 20 c, 131 q  
16 . . . . 65 b  
17 . . . . 90 c  
18 . . . . 116 d  
21 . . . . 49 e  
26 . . . . 14 d  
27 . . . . 141 c N.  
28 . . . . 67 g  
29 . . . . 67 n  
33 . . . . 119 gg  
34 . . . . 134 r, 144 n  
44 1 . . . . 47 m, 138 e  
2 . . . . 135 n N.  
3 . . . . 142 e, 144 c  
4 138 e, 156 f, 164 b  
5 . . . . 119 m N.  
9 . . . . 112 ii, 138 f  
10 . . . . 153  
12 . . . . 156 d  
16 . . . . 20 d, 58 k  
22 . . . . 159 g  
23 . . . . 137 b  
28 . . . . 113 w  
29 . . . . 112 kk  
31 . . . . 112 oo  
33 . . . . 69 p, 109 b  
34 . . . . 152 w  
45 4 . . . . 138 d  
7 . . . . 117 n  
8 . . . . 119 hh  
14 . . . . 93 pp  
23 . . . . 102 g  
46 2 . . . . 124 e, 126 r  
3 . . . . 69 m  
4 . . . . 113 w  
22 . . . . 121 b  
27 . . . . 121 b, 132 g  
30 . . . . 108 b  
34 . . . . 127 e  
47 3 . . . . 145 r  
6 . . . . 120 e  
9 . . . . 128 a  
11 . . . . 69 v  
17 . . . . 93 ss  
19 . . . . 67 p  
21 . . . . 139 e N., 143 c  
22 . . . . 112 l  
24 . . . . 145 u  
48 1 . . . . 144 d N<sup>2</sup>  
2 . . . . 144 d N<sup>2</sup>  
9 . . . . 58 g, 60 d, 61 g  
11 . . . . 75 n, 115 b  
14 . . . . 141 e, 156 d  
22 . . . . 96, 106 m, 130 g  
49 1 . . . . 75 rr

Genesis

49 3 . . . . 29 u  
4 53 n, 124 b, 144 p,  
147 c  
8 . . . . 135 e  
10 . . . . 20 h, 164 f  
11 7 c, 52 l, 90 m, 91 e,  
93 v, 96, 106 k,  
116 x, 118 p  
12 . . . . 93 dd  
13 . . . . 95 i  
15 . . . . 117 b N.  
17 . . . . 20 h, 109 k  
18 . . . . 106 g  
21 . . . . 126 b  
22 44 m, 80 g, 96,  
145 k  
23 . . . . 67 m, 112 rr  
25 . . . . 117 ff, 119 c  
27 29 l, 29 u, 107 g,  
155 f  
30 . . . . 138 b N.  
50 13 . . . . 138 b N.  
15 . . . . 117 ff, 159 y  
18 . . . . 58 k  
20 . . . . 75 n  
23 . . . . 128 v  
25 . . . . 116 v  
26 . . . . 73 f, 144 d N.

Exodus

1 1 . . . . 49 b N.  
7 117 s, 121 d, 133 k  
10 . . . . 47 k, 75 rr, 112 y  
12 . . . . 107 e  
14 . . . . 119 o  
16 . . . . 67 k, 72 w, 76 i  
18 . . . . 47 l  
19 . . . . 47 l, 112 oo  
20 . . . . 47 l  
21 . . . . 135 o  
22 . . . . 127 b N.  
2 1 . . . . 117 d  
2 . . . . 117 h  
3 20 h, 58 g, 114 m,  
126 m  
4 . . . . 69 m, 71  
6 . . . . 131 m  
9 . . . . 69 x, 70 e, 135 m  
10 . . . . 111 d  
15 . . . . 126 r  
16 . . . . 75 w  
17 . . . . 60 d, 60 h, 135 o  
20 . . . . 46 f, 154 b  
3 2 . . . . 52 s, 119 t, 126 r  
3 . . . . 108 b, 126 v  
8 . . . . 128 x  
9 . . . . 117 r  
10 . . . . 110 i  
11 . . . . 107 u

## Exodus

3	13 . . . . .	112 f
15	. . . . .	133 l
18	. . . . .	49 l
19	. . . . .	69 x, 157 b N.
20	. . . . .	63 m
21	. . . . .	164 d
22	. . . . .	95 k, 139 b
4	1 . . . . .	107 i
2	. . . . .	37 c
4	. . . . .	29 g, 64 c
10	. . . . .	61 e, 128 t, 152 d
12	. . . . .	75 ee
13	. . . . .	130 d, 155 n
14	. . . . .	159 g
21	. . . . .	112 mm, 143 d
5	2 . . . . .	107 u
5	. . . . .	112 cc
7	. . . . .	68 h
10	. . . . .	152 m
11	. . . . .	138 e
16	. . . . .	74 g, 116 t, 152 o
18	. . . . .	103 a
19	. . . . .	57 N., 135 k
20	. . . . .	126 r
21	. . . . .	66 t, 102 f
23	. . . . .	113 v
6	3 . . . . .	119 t, 144 l N.
6	. . . . .	112 x
10	. . . . .	20 c N.
14	. . . . .	124 r
28	. . . . .	52 o, 130 d
7	9 . . . . .	109 h, 159 d
11	. . . . .	131 l
20	. . . . .	119 q
27	. . . . .	52 s
8	1 . . . . .	20 m, 75 gg
4	. . . . .	63 o
10	. . . . .	123 e
17	. . . . .	117 z
20	. . . . .	107 b
22	. . . . .	150 a, 159 w
9	4 . . . . .	130 d, 155 n
9	. . . . .	117 z
15	. . . . .	106 p
16	. . . . .	115 e N.
18	. . . . .	91 e, 127 f
23	. . . . .	63 n, 69 x
27	. . . . .	126 k
30	. . . . .	107 c
31	. . . . .	141 d
10	1 . . . . .	126 y
3	. . . . .	51 l, 106 h
4	. . . . .	65 e
6	. . . . .	161 b
7	. . . . .	107 c, 152 r
8	. . . . .	137 a
9	. . . . .	91 k, 127 e
10	. . . . .	154 a N.
11	. . . . .	135 p
22	. . . . .	133 i

## Exodus

10	28 . . . . .	69 v
11	6 . . . . .	135 o
8	. . . . .	9 v
12	4 . . . . .	133 c, 139 c
5	. . . . .	128 v
6	. . . . .	88 c
8	. . . . .	154 a N.
12	. . . . .	124 g
13	. . . . .	159 g
14	. . . . .	67 n
15	20 g, . . . . .	112 mm,
	116 w, 126 w	
16	. . . . .	146 c, 152 b
18	. . . . .	134 o
21	. . . . .	46 d
23	. . . . .	126 l N.
27	. . . . .	61 a
31	. . . . .	20 g
34	. . . . .	107 c
39	. . . . .	117 ii
43	. . . . .	119 m
48	. . . . .	113 gg
49	. . . . .	145 u
13	2 . . . . .	52 n
3	. . . . .	113 bb
7	. . . . .	118 k, 121 b
8	. . . . .	138 h
18	. . . . .	67 y
21	. . . . .	53 q
14	2 . . . . .	93 q
11	. . . . .	61 c, 152 y
20	. . . . .	139 e N.
15	1 . . . . .	20 e, 107 c, 146 f
2	. . . . .	58 k, 80 g, 117 b
4	. . . . .	128 r
5	. . . . .	58 g, 75 dd, 91 l
6	. . . . .	90 l
7	. . . . .	116 i
8	. . . . .	15 c
9	117 s, . . . . .	120 g N.,
	154 a N.	
10	. . . . .	35 g
11	. . . . .	20 e, 20 g
12	. . . . .	107 d
13	. . . . .	20 e, 64 d, 138 g
14	. . . . .	47 m
15	. . . . .	107 c
16	20 e, . . . . .	67 g, 90 g,
	132 c, 138 g, 164 f	
17	. . . . .	20 h, 155 h
20	. . . . .	47 l, 146 c
21	. . . . .	20 e
24	. . . . .	20 c
26	. . . . .	113 o
18	2 . . . . .	72 ee
6	. . . . .	112 oo
7	32 d, 72 ee, 141 l N.	
8	. . . . .	72 ee
12	. . . . .	88 c
14	. . . . .	55 k

## Exodus

18	16 . . . . .	118 h
20	27 o, 67 n, 121 d	
	N., 139 h N.	
21	. . . . .	123 c, 159 g
22	. . . . .	134 e
23	. . . . .	63 i, 76 d
29	. . . . .	9 l, 69 p, 139 d
32	. . . . .	117 cc
33	. . . . .	125 b
17	1 . . . . .	115 f
2	. . . . .	47 m
3	. . . . .	72 ee, 117 e
4	. . . . .	112 x
6	. . . . .	49 k
7	. . . . .	152 k
12	. . . . .	141 d, 145 n
14	. . . . .	126 s
18	4 . . . . .	119 i
5	. . . . .	118 g
9	. . . . .	75 r
14	. . . . .	102 b
18	. . . . .	75 n, 133 c
20	. . . . .	155 d, 155 i
21	. . . . .	97 h
22	. . . . .	127 b
23	. . . . .	49 i
26	. . . . .	47 g, 112 g
27	. . . . .	119 s
19	1 . . . . .	102 f
3	. . . . .	53 n
5	. . . . .	113 o
8	. . . . .	135 r
13	. . . . .	69 t
15	. . . . .	134 o N.
18	. . . . .	93 dd
19	. . . . .	113 u
23	. . . . .	72 w, 72 z
20	2 . . . . .	15 p, 138 d
3	. . . . .	107 o, 132 h
5	. . . . .	60 b, 129 e
8	. . . . .	113 bb
9	. . . . .	118 k
15	. . . . .	107 o
18	. . . . .	116 o
20	. . . . .	135 m, 152 x
24	. . . . .	127 e
25	. . . . .	72 k, 117 kk
21	2 . . . . .	159 bb
4	. . . . .	145 h, 146 e
5	. . . . .	113 o
8	. . . . .	61 b, 75 ee, 103 g
12	104 g, 112 n, 116 w	
13	. . . . .	112 ii
18	. . . . .	47 m
20	. . . . .	126 r
28	. . . . .	117 d, 121 b
29	. . . . .	124 i
31	. . . . .	29 i N.
35	. . . . .	135 m
36	. . . . .	159 cc

## Exodus

21	37	. . . 47 <i>f</i> , 123 <i>a</i>
22	1	. . . 124 <i>n</i>
	3	. . . 51 <i>k</i> , 113 <i>o</i>
	4	. . . 53 <i>n</i>
	5	. . . 117 <i>q</i>
	8	. . . 138 <i>e</i>
	11	. . . 113 <i>o</i>
	17	. . . 94 <i>d</i>
	22	. . . 113 <i>m</i> , 163 <i>c</i> N.
	25	. . . 135 <i>o</i>
	29	. . . 60 <i>d</i>
	30	. . . 131 <i>k</i>
23	4	. . . 21 <i>h</i>
	8	. . . 107 <i>g</i>
	9	. . . 158 <i>a</i>
	16	. . . 61 <i>a</i>
	21	. . . 51 <i>n</i> , 67 <i>y</i>
	22	. . . 113 <i>o</i>
	24	. . . 60 <i>b</i>
	26	. . . 94 <i>d</i>
	27	. . . 117 <i>ii</i> N.
	28	. . . 126 <i>t</i>
	30	. . . 123 <i>e</i> , 133 <i>k</i>
	31	. . . 58 <i>g</i>
24	3	. . . 118 <i>q</i>
	4	. . . 134 <i>f</i>
	10	. . . 139 <i>g</i>
	12	. . . 154 <i>a</i> N.
25	5	. . . 52 <i>q</i>
	11	. . . 49 <i>l</i>
	15	. . . 135 <i>o</i> N.
	18	. . . 117 <i>hh</i>
	28	. . . 117 <i>hh</i>
	29	. . . 20 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>hh</i>
	31	. . . 63 <i>h</i>
	33	. . . 123 <i>d</i>
	35	. . . 123 <i>d</i>
	40	. . . 121 <i>c</i>
26	2	. . . 134 <i>n</i>
	3	. . . 123 <i>d</i> , 139 <i>e</i>
	19	. . . 123 <i>d</i>
	33	. . . 49 <i>h</i> , 53 <i>r</i> , 133 <i>i</i>
27	11	. . . 134 <i>n</i>
28	9	. . . 117 <i>d</i>
	10	. . . 134 <i>c</i> N.
	17	. . . 131 <i>d</i>
	20	. . . 117 <i>y</i>
	21	. . . 139 <i>c</i>
	32	. . . 165 <i>a</i>
	43	. . . 165 <i>a</i>
29	1	. . . 66 <i>g</i>
	2	. . . 126 <i>m</i>
	12	. . . 119 <i>w</i> N.
	31	. . . 128 <i>p</i>
	35	. . . 103 <i>b</i>
30	4	. . . 103 <i>g</i>
	20	. . . 117 <i>y</i> N.
	32	. . . 73 <i>f</i>
31	4	. . . 63 <i>i</i>
	13	. . . 60 <i>f</i>

## Exodus

31	17	. . . 51 <i>m</i>
	18	. . . 124 <i>g</i>
32	1	. . . 126 <i>aa</i> , 137 <i>c</i>
	3	. . . 54 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>w</i>
	4	. . . 72 <i>t</i> , 145 <i>i</i>
	6	. . . 52 <i>n</i> , 113 <i>e</i>
	12	. . . 150 <i>e</i>
	25	. . . 5 <i>n</i> , 58 <i>g</i> , 116 <i>i</i>
	26	. . . 137 <i>c</i>
	29	. . . 114 <i>p</i>
	30	. . . 108 <i>h</i>
	32	. . . 159 <i>dd</i> , 167 <i>a</i>
	33	. . . 137 <i>c</i>
	34	. . . 112 <i>oo</i>
33	3	. . . 27 <i>q</i>
	6	. . . 54 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>w</i>
	7	. . . 107 <i>e</i> , 112 <i>e</i> , 113 <i>h</i>
	10	. . . 112 <i>kk</i>
	11	. . . 156 <i>c</i>
	12	. . . 75 <i>gg</i>
	13	. . . 69 <i>b</i> N., 91 <i>k</i>
	14	. . . 150 <i>a</i>
	19	. . . 67 <i>ee</i>
	20	. . . 60 <i>d</i> , 159 <i>gg</i>
	23	. . . 124 <i>b</i>
34	1	. . . 124 <i>q</i>
	10	. . . 122 <i>q</i>
	13	. . . 47 <i>m</i>
	19	. . . 51 <i>g</i>
	24	. . . 51 <i>l</i>
	34	. . . 159 <i>k</i>
36	1	. . . 103 <i>g</i>
	29	. . . 112 <i>ss</i>
38	3	. . . 117 <i>hh</i>
	5	. . . 95 <i>n</i>
39	17	. . . 131 <i>d</i>
	18	. . . 60 <i>h</i>
	23	. . . 165 <i>a</i>

## Leviticus

1	1	. . . 49 <i>b</i> N.
	2	. . . 139 <i>d</i>
2	1	. . . 139 <i>d</i> , 145 <i>t</i>
	2	. . . 85 <i>b</i>
	8	. . . 144 <i>p</i> N.
4	2	. . . 119 <i>w</i> N., 139 <i>d</i>
	23	. . . 69 <i>w</i>
5	9	. . . 75 <i>hh</i>
	11	. . . 131 <i>d</i>
	13	. . . 119 <i>w</i> N.
	15	. . . 128 <i>d</i>
6	2	. . . 91 <i>e</i>
	3	. . . 128 <i>d</i>
	7	. . . 113 <i>gg</i>
	8	. . . 118 <i>g</i> , 135 <i>o</i> N.
	9	. . . 118 <i>q</i>
	13	. . . 131 <i>c</i>
7	8	. . . 117 <i>d</i>
	35	. . . 53 <i>l</i> , 155 <i>l</i>

## Leviticus

8	11	. . . 76 <i>c</i>
	16	. . . 91 <i>c</i>
9	6	. . . 107 <i>q</i> , 120 <i>c</i>
10	6	. . . 109 <i>g</i>
	10	. . . 114 <i>p</i>
	19	. . . 75 <i>rr</i> , 100 <i>k</i> , 159 <i>g</i>
11	7	. . . 67 <i>g</i>
	23	. . . 88 <i>f</i>
	35	. . . 53 <i>u</i>
	42	. . . 5 <i>n</i>
	43	. . . 74 <i>k</i>
	44	. . . 54 <i>k</i>
13	4	. . . 91 <i>e</i>
	19	. . . 131 <i>i</i>
	34	. . . 127 <i>e</i>
	55	. . . 54 <i>h</i>
14	34	. . . 101 <i>a</i>
	43	. . . 53 <i>l</i>
	46	. . . 53 <i>l</i>
	55	. . . 54 <i>h</i>
15	29	. . . 53 <i>r</i>
16	8	. . . 30 <i>n</i>
17	14	. . . 145 <i>l</i>
18	7	. . . 75 <i>hh</i>
	21	. . . 95 <i>q</i> N.
	25	. . . 76 <i>h</i>
	27	. . . 34 <i>b</i> N.
	28	. . . 116 <i>s</i>
19	9	. . . 61 <i>d</i> , 142 <i>f</i> N.
	16	. . . 118 <i>q</i>
	20	. . . 113 <i>w</i>
	28	. . . 102 <i>i</i>
20	7	. . . 54 <i>k</i>
	10	. . . 117 <i>d</i>
	14	. . . 117 <i>d</i>
	19	. . . 75 <i>hh</i>
21	4	. . . 67 <i>t</i>
	9	. . . 67 <i>t</i> , 164 <i>d</i>
	21	. . . 142 <i>f</i> N.
23	17	. . . 14 <i>d</i>
	22	. . . 61 <i>d</i>
	39	. . . 61 <i>a</i>
	42	. . . 126 <i>r</i>
24	5	. . . 49 <i>l</i> , 117 <i>ii</i>
	22	. . . 134 <i>d</i>
25	5	. . . 20 <i>h</i>
	10	. . . 134 <i>o</i> N.
	20	. . . 159 <i>w</i>
	21	. . . 49 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>m</i>
	33	. . . 145 <i>u</i> N.
	36	. . . 76 <i>i</i>
	48	. . . 130 <i>d</i>
26	15	. . . 67 <i>dd</i>
	18	. . . 52 <i>p</i>
	25	. . . 49 <i>l</i>
	33	. . . 52 <i>n</i>
	34	. . . 67 <i>y</i> , 75 <i>m</i>
	37	. . . 118 <i>s</i> N.
	42	. . . 128 <i>d</i> , 131 <i>r</i>
	43	. . . 67 <i>y</i>

## Leviticus

27 2 . . . . . 128 d  
23 . . . . . 127 i

## Numbers

1 1 . . . . . 49 b N.  
2 . . . . . 124 r  
47 . . . . . 54 l  
2 33 . . . . . 54 l  
3 1 . . . . . 52 o, 130 d  
9 . . . . . 123 e  
26 . . . . . 117 l  
46 . . . . . 117 m, 134 k  
49 . . . . . 85 t  
4 2 . . . . . 113 b b  
23 . . . . . 45 g  
27 . . . . . 128 v  
5 2 . . . . . 102 i  
3 . . . . . 119 e  
10 . . . . . 117 m, 139 c  
17 . . . . . 128 p  
19 . . . . . 110 i  
20 . . . . . 167 a  
22 . . . . . 53 q, 66 f  
23 . . . . . 126 s  
27 . . . . . 112 y  
6 7 . . . . . 74 b, 96  
9 . . . . . 133 k N., 144 e  
26 . . . . . 109 b  
7 2 . . . . . 5 n  
11 . . . . . 123 d  
8 7 . . . . . 27 q, 64 d  
24 . . . . . 45 g  
9 20 . . . . . 131 e  
10 3 . . . . . 145 e  
4 . . . . . 134 r N.  
29 . . . . . 138 b  
35 . . . . . 5 n  
36 . . . . . 118 f  
11 4 . . . . . 35 d, 151 a N.  
5 . . . . . 106 g  
7 . . . . . 93 h  
10 . . . . . 117 h  
11 . . . . . 74 k  
12 . . . . . 69 s, 122 f N.  
15 . . . . . 32 g  
16 . . . . . 48 i  
17 . . . . . 119 m  
20 . . . . . 80 h  
25 23 d, 68 f, 72 q,  
120 d N., 126 x  
27 . . . . . 126 r  
29 . . . . . 154 b  
12 1 . . . . . 146 g  
2 . . . . . 133 k N.  
4 . . . . . 97 i  
6 . . . . . 128 d  
13 . . . . . 105 b N.  
14 . . . . . 154 b  
13 21 . . . . . 102 f

## Numbers

13 27 . . . . . 118 f  
32 . . . . . 72 l  
14 2 . . . . . 106 p, 151 e  
16 . . . . . 69 n, 114 s  
17 . . . . . 5 n  
21 . . . . . 167 b  
24 . . . . . 119 g g  
27 . . . . . 72 ee  
31 . . . . . 76 h  
33 . . . . . 91 l  
34 . . . . . 123 d  
35 . . . . . 67 g  
40 . . . . . 58 k  
41 . . . . . 135 p  
15 15 . . . . . 161 c  
24 . . . . . 119 w  
29 . . . . . 143 c  
31 . . . . . 51 k  
35 . . . . . 113 g g  
16 13 . . . . . 54 e  
15 . . . . . 117 d  
22 . . . . . 100 m, 150 m  
29 121 b, 159 c N.,  
159 q  
17 6 . . . . . 72 w  
10 . . . . . 67 t, 72 d d  
17 . . . . . 139 c  
20 . . . . . 72 ee  
25 . . . . . 128 v  
27 . . . . . 106 n  
28 67 e, 67 d d, 150 g  
N.  
18 8 . . . . . 143 e  
26 . . . . . 72 i  
19 12 . . . . . 74 b  
20 3 . . . . . 65 a, 154 b  
5 . . . . . 59 a, 152 a N.  
18 . . . . . 152 w  
21 . . . . . 66 i  
21 1 . . . . . 75 q  
5 . . . . . 59 a  
9 . . . . . 117 d  
14 . . . . . 127 f  
15 . . . . . 112 p p  
17 . . . . . 63 l  
20 . . . . . 112 ss  
23 . . . . . 157 b N.  
24 . . . . . 112 p p  
27 . . . . . 54 c, 75 h h  
30 . . . . . 67 g, 69 r, 76 f  
35 . . . . . 164 d  
22 1 . . . . . 125 h  
6 20 c, 53 u, 67 o,  
120 c, 138 e  
12 . . . . . 103 c  
13 . . . . . 69 x, 115 c  
17 . . . . . 67 o  
19 . . . . . 109 d, i  
29 . . . . . 151 e N.  
33 . . . . . 103 b, 117 e

## Numbers

22 38 . . . . . 114 m  
23 3 . . . . . 130 d, 137 c  
6 . . . . . 64 c, 67 o, 93 aa  
8 . . . . . 58 g  
10 . . . . . 151 a  
13 20 o, 48 i, 67 o N.,  
69 x, 100 o N.,  
152 b  
14 . . . . . 118 f  
15 . . . . . 51 p  
18 . . . . . 90 o, 96  
19 27 q, 64 d, 109 i,  
166 a  
20 . . . . . 159 g  
24 . . . . . 124 n  
25 . . . . . 10 h, 67 g  
24 1 . . . . . 123 c  
3 . . . . . 90 o, 96  
4 . . . . . 116 k  
5 . . . . . 148 b  
6 . . . . . 75 x  
7 . . . . . 54 c, 93 x  
10 . . . . . 113 r  
17 . . . . . 55 f  
22 . . . . . 29 f  
23 . . . . . 115 k  
24 . . . . . 93 y  
25 12 5 n, 128 d, 131 r N.  
26 62 . . . . . 54 l  
27 7 . . . . . 135 o  
29 39 . . . . . 93 m  
30 5, 8 . . . . . 91 k  
31 28 . . . . . 134 d  
32 6 . . . . . 150 m  
14 . . . . . 69 h  
17 . . . . . 72 p  
20 . . . . . 159 c N., 167 b  
23 . . . . . 47 m, 159 q  
30 . . . . . 68 i  
32 . . . . . 32 d  
42 . . . . . 103 g  
34 2 . . . . . 131 f  
7 . . . . . 75 b b N.  
14 . . . . . 23 c  
36 6 . . . . . 135 o

## Deuteronomy

1 1 . . . . . 101 a  
2 . . . . . 118 g, 134 f  
3 . . . . . 134 o  
5 . . . . . 120 g, 120 h  
7 . . . . . 119 s  
13 . . . . . 119 s  
16 . . . . . 75 t, 112 u  
17 47 m, 53 r, 133 c,  
161 c  
18 . . . . . 117 g g  
19 . . . . . 118 h, 126 v  
21 . . . . . 69 f  
23 . . . . . 134 f

**Deuteronomy**

1	24	120 h
	27	115 c, 115 f
	28	124 q
	33	53 g
	34	65 e, 149 b
	40	119 s
	41	135 n
	44	67 g, 67 y, 107 g
	46	138 c
2	9	75 bb, 118 q
	13	119 s
	14	134 h
	23	126 w
	24	20 g, 69 f, 75 cc, 110 h, 120 g, h
	27	108 c, 123 e, 133 k, 156 d
	28	49 m
	31	67 w, 69 f
3	3	164 d
	5	128 c
	11	100 i
	13	125 d N.
	21	126 k
	26	69 v
4	1	44 d, 69 s
	8	128 p
	10	115 d, 165 b
	15	52 o, 130 d
	20	74 l
	21	54 k
	26	51 k
	36	61 d
	39	2 i, 72 w
	41	90 c
5	3	135 g
	6	15 p, 138 d
	9	60 b
	12	113 bb
	19	120 d N.
	23	132 h
	24	32 h
	26	115 d, 151 c
6	3	118 g, 165 b
	7	119 l
	11	49 m, 96
	17	58 g
7	5	52 n
	15	60 d
	16	72 r, 109 d
	24	53 l
	25	127 e
8	3	44 l, 72 o
	5	61 h
	9	93 aa
	13	75 u
	14	116 f
	15	127 i
	16	44 l, 72 o
	19	106 i

**Deuteronomy**

9	7	. . . . .	138 c
	8	. . . . .	54 k
	18	. . . . .	54 k
10	5	. . . . .	29 g
	17	102 m, 126 v, 133 i	
	19	. . . . .	112 aa
11	22	. . . . .	119 i
	2	. . . . .	117 l
	15	. . . . .	49 m
12	30	. . . . .	150 e
	3	. . . . .	52 n
	14	. . . . .	61 h
13	1	. . . . .	109 d
	3	. . . . .	60 b
	6	. . . . .	116 f
14	9	. . . . .	109 d
	17	. . . . .	80 k
	15	2	. . . . .
16	7	119 w N.,	139 d
	14	. . . . .	93 k
	18	128 c,	133 k
17	6	. . . . .	119 g
	13	. . . . .	93 k
	20	. . . . .	133 k
18	2	. . . . .	167 b
	5	. . . . .	124 o
	6	. . . . .	144 e
19	8	. . . . .	102 h
	14	. . . . .	44 d, 49 m
	17	. . . . .	109 g
20	1	. . . . .	68 c, 131 h
	16	. . . . .	109 d
	5	. . . . .	126 r
21	2	. . . . .	61 d
	5	. . . . .	137 c
	8	. . . . .	121 b
22	14	. . . . .	128 h
	3	. . . . .	121 a, 145 q
	4	. . . . .	121 a
23	7	. . . . .	44 m, 145 k
	8	. . . . .	55 k
	10	. . . . .	135 p, 145 m
24	11	49 m, 96,	130 e
	13	. . . . .	101 a
	1	. . . . .	159 gg
25	19	. . . . .	17 c, 127 e
	23	. . . . .	131 b
	5	61 d, 130 c	N <sup>1</sup>
26	11	. . . . .	20 h
	15	. . . . .	93 ss, 128 p
	25	. . . . .	96
27	1	. . . . .	167 b
	4	. . . . .	54 h
	8	. . . . .	51 n
28	10	. . . . .	23 d
	13	. . . . .	58 i
	2	. . . . .	96, 128 v
29	12	. . . . .	67 ee
	13	. . . . .	123 f
	5	. . . . .	119 i
30	12	. . . . .	53 k

**Deuteronomy**

27	2	. . . . .	72 w
	6	. . . . .	117 hh
	9	. . . . .	16 b
28	24	. . . . .	58 g
	36	. . . . .	131 d
	43	. . . . .	133 k
	48	. . . . .	53 l, 145 m
	49	. . . . .	155 d
	52	. . . . .	67 v
	56	. . . . .	113 d, 142 f N.
	57	. . . . .	74
	59	. . . . .	91 n
	62	. . . . .	119 i
	66	. . . . .	75 rr
	67	. . . . .	151 b
29	14	. . . . .	100 o N.
	15	. . . . .	157 c
	18	. . . . .	69 h N.
	21	. . . . .	167 b
	28	. . . . .	5 n
30	4	. . . . .	92 b N.
31	12	. . . . .	120 e
	16	. . . . .	93 gg
	21	. . . . .	164 d
	29	. . . . .	74 g
32	1	. . . . .	2 r, 91 l, 117 b
	3	. . . . .	69 o
	4	. . . . .	126 c
	5	. . . . .	13 c, 152 e
	6	. . . . .	20 g, 75 u, 100 i, 152 a N.
	7	. . . . .	60 f, 87 n, 123 c
	8	. . . . .	53 k, 109 k
	10	. . . . .	58 i, 58 k
	11	. . . . .	52 n, 155 g
	15	. . . . .	20 g, 144 p, 154 N (a)
	17	. . . . .	144 p, 152 a N., 155 e, 155 f, 155 h
	18	. . . . .	75 s, 109 k
	20	. . . . .	108 a
	21	. . . . .	152 a N.
	22	. . . . .	69 f
	24	. . . . .	116 h, 116 l
	26	. . . . .	58 a N., 75 mm
	27	. . . . .	139 y
	28	. . . . .	50 e, 93 qq, 124 e
	29	. . . . .	159 x
	30	. . . . .	134 s
	31	. . . . .	156 b N.
	32	. . . . .	20 h
	35	. . . . .	52 o, 145 o, 155 l
	36	. . . . .	29 v, 44 f, 152 s
	37	. . . . .	29 t, 75 u
	39	. . . . .	141 h N <sup>1</sup>
	40	. . . . .	93 aa N.
	41	. . . . .	159 n
	46	. . . . .	117 gg, 165 b
	50	. . . . .	110 c
33	2	. . . . .	112 pp

## Deuteronomy

33	3	. . . . .	116 s
	4	. . . . .	131 s
	9	. . . . .	19 c, 117 b N.
	11	. . . . .	116 i, 117 l, 165 b
	12	. . . . .	44 c
	16	. . . . .	48 d, 90 l, 90 m
	19	. . . . .	130 f, 133 h
	21	. . . . .	68 h, 76 d
	23	. . . . .	48 i, 69 f
	24	. . . . .	119 w, 126 m
	26	. . . . .	91 l
	27	. . . . .	131 s
34	8	. . . . .	67 g
	9	. . . . .	116 f

## Joshua

1	1	. . . . .	49 b N.
	2	. . . . .	131 n
	5	. . . . .	106 c
	7	. . . . .	107 p, 135 o N.
	8	. . . . .	91 k
	12	. . . . .	125 d N.
2	2	. . . . .	63 i
	4	. . . . .	60 d, 135 p
	5	. . . . .	114 k
	6	. . . . .	59 g
	10	. . . . .	117 c, 157 c
	13	. . . . .	63 q, 96
	15	. . . . .	126 r
	16	. . . . .	63 c, 72 q, 74 k
	17	. . . . .	34 a N., 59 h
	18	. . . . .	59 h
	20	. . . . .	126 y
3	5	. . . . .	54 k
	7	. . . . .	115 c
	9	. . . . .	66 c
	11	. . . . .	128 c
	12	. . . . .	134 q
	14	. . . . .	127 g
	16	. . . . .	120 g
4	3	. . . . .	72 z
	4	. . . . .	134 k
	6	. . . . .	47 m
	7	. . . . .	9 v
	14	. . . . .	52 l
	24	. . . . .	74 g
5	2	. . . . .	120 g, 124 q
	8	. . . . .	63 q
6	8	. . . . .	134 l
	9	. . . . .	113 u
	13	. . . . .	112 i, 113 t
	17	. . . . .	75 oo
	22	. . . . .	134 l
7	7	. . . . .	63 p, 113 x, 120 e, 154 b
	9	. . . . .	75 hh
	15	. . . . .	121 b
	21	. . . . .	127 i, 134 g
	24	. . . . .	154 a N. (a)
	25	. . . . .	117 ee
8	3	. . . . .	60 c

## Joshua

8	11	. . . . .	127 g
	25	. . . . .	146 c
	28	. . . . .	20 g, 117 ii
	33	. . . . .	127 f, 127 i
9	2	. . . . .	118 q
	8	. . . . .	137 a
	12	. . . . .	54 f, 72 m, 112 ss, 126 aa
	20	. . . . .	113 z
	24	. . . . .	75 hh
10	2	. . . . .	107 c
	13	. . . . .	107 c, 135 p, 150 e
	17	. . . . .	93 oo
	24	. . . . .	23 i, 138 i
	36	. . . . .	90 e
11	2	. . . . .	10 g
	8	. . . . .	126 y
	14	. . . . .	53 l
12	9	. . . . .	2 r (end)
13	5	. . . . .	127 f
	7	. . . . .	125 d N.
	14	. . . . .	145 u N.
14	1	. . . . .	64 d
	7	. . . . .	72 aa, 115 i
	8	. . . . .	75 ii
	11	. . . . .	115 k, 161 c
15	3	. . . . .	112 ss
	5	. . . . .	90 d
	12	. . . . .	90 f
	14	. . . . .	134 l
	18	. . . . .	16 f
	19	. . . . .	117 x, 117 ff, 126 y
	21	. . . . .	90 e
	38	. . . . .	56 . . . . . 21 e N.
16	2	. . . . .	112 ss
	3, 5	. . . . .	126 y
17	11	. . . . .	97 c, 117 l
18	12	. . . . .	90 i, 112 ss
	13	. . . . .	126 y
	20	. . . . .	47 f
19	11	. . . . .	112 ss
	13	. . . . .	90 i
21	11	. . . . .	91 k
22	3	. . . . .	112 ss
	9	. . . . .	68 i
	17	. . . . .	117 aa
	20	. . . . .	150 m
	25	. . . . .	69 n
23	5	. . . . .	60 a
	15	. . . . .	103 b
24	7	. . . . .	145 m
	10	. . . . .	113 r
	14	. . . . .	75 oo
	19	. . . . .	124 h, 145 i
Judges			
1	1	. . . . .	49 b N.
	2	. . . . .	106 m
	3	. . . . .	49 h
	6	. . . . .	93 r

## Judges

1	7	. . . . .	116 k, 121 d, 141 i, 156 b
	12	. . . . .	112 ii
	15	. . . . .	59 h, 126 y
	19	. . . . .	114 l
	22	. . . . .	145 c
	28	. . . . .	113 n, 164 d
2	1	. . . . .	107 b
	18	. . . . .	112 hh
	19	. . . . .	112 e, 112 ee
3	23	. . . . .	112 tt
	24	. . . . .	67 v, 164 b
	25	. . . . .	116 d
	28	. . . . .	129 e
4	4	. . . . .	131 b
	6	. . . . .	150 e
	8	. . . . .	49 m
	18	. . . . .	72 s, 72 t, 126 r
	19	. . . . .	74 k
	20	. . . . .	58 g, 64 f, 110 k, 147 c, 150 n, 152 k
	21	. . . . .	72 p, 72 t
	24	. . . . .	113 h N., 113 u
5	1	. . . . .	2 r, 73 e, 117 b, 146 g
	4	. . . . .	117 z
	5	. . . . .	67 dd, 136 d N.
	7	. . . . .	20 i, 36, 44 h N.
	8	. . . . .	107 b, 149 e
	10	. . . . .	87 e, 130 a
	12	. . . . .	10 g, 72 s
	13	. . . . .	69 g
	14	. . . . .	93 aa
	15	. . . . .	10 g, 87 g, 93 bb
	17	. . . . .	117 bb
	21	. . . . .	118 q
	22	. . . . .	20 h, 123 e
	24	. . . . .	119 w
	26	. . . . .	47 k
	27	. . . . .	154 a N.
	28	. . . . .	64 h
	29	. . . . .	75 w, 128 i, 133 h
6	9	. . . . .	49 c, 49 e
	10	. . . . .	49 e
	11	. . . . .	127 d
	13	. . . . .	159 dd
	14	. . . . .	126 y
	16	. . . . .	49 l
	17	. . . . .	36
	18	. . . . .	114 q, 135 a
	19	. . . . .	53 n, 156 d
	20	. . . . .	34 f
	25	. . . . .	126 w, 128 c
	28	. . . . .	63 p
	31	. . . . .	73 e, 100 m
	36	. . . . .	116 g, 159 v
	39	. . . . .	109 a N.
7	3	. . . . .	137 c
	4	. . . . .	136 b
	6	. . . . .	93 n

## Judges

7	8	131 s
12		36
13		112 qg
19		113 z
20		147 c
23		102 b
25		124 r
8	1	74 h, 155 d, 155 h
	2	20 m
	4	118 n
	10	97 e
	11	130 a N.
	18	126 o, 161 c
	19	63 q, 159 x
	32	125 h, 128 c
9	8	113 o
	9	63 k, 100 n, 106 n
	10	46 d, 46 e
	15	159 v
	16	167 a
	17	119 bb
	28	137 a
	29	48 l, 76 e, 151 b, 154 b
	39	69 p
	41	35 d
	45	117 ee
	48	157 a
	53	27 o, 67 p, 125 b
	55	145 d
10	4	96
	11	167 b
	18	137 c
11	5	21 b
	10	159 n N.
	18	47 m
	20	157 b N.
	25	51 i, 133 a N.
	29	118 f
	33	134 e
	34	135 o, 135 o N.
	35	119 i
	36	124 e
	39	144 b
12	5	100 m, 112 ee
	6	2 w
	7	124 o
13	2	125 b
	5	80 d
	6	44 d, 64 f, 127 e
	8	52 s
	12	135 m
	16	119 m
	21	75 y
	23	90 h N.
	25	61 c
14	2	90 e
	3	135 a
	4	122 q, 135 p
	6	152 p

## Judges

14	15	9 v, 69 n, 150 g
		N.
	17	134 m
	18	37 d, 90 f, 93 x, 133 a
15	1	119 n
	7	163 c, 163 d N.
	12	152 w
	13	113 p
	14	164 b
18	5	66 h
	9	126 o
	10	67 dd
	11	113 o
	13	28 c N.
	14	127 g
	15	141 e
	16	10 g, 52 d, 60 d, 164 d
	18	112 tt
	20	123 c
	25	52 n
	26	67 v
	27	126 x
	28	34 a N., 88 f, 97 b N.
	30	72 r
17	2	32 h, 121 f
	3	154 N.
18	3	142 e
	19	20 g, 150 g
	23	67 g, 67 y
	29	52 q
	30	5 n
19	1	131 b
	2	75 t
	5	9 u, 64 c N., 117 ff
	6	110 h, 120 d
	8	64
	9	91 k
	11	19 i
	13	69 x, 73 d
	18	118 e N.
	20	29 q, 73 e
	22	54 c, 130 e
	30	112 ee, 00, 116 w
20	2	29 f
	15	54 l, 155 d
	16	90 i N.
	31	66 f
	32	20 h
	38	75 gg
	39	118 u
	43	22 s
	44	117 m
21	7	131 n
	9	54 l
	16	123 b
	21	145 p

## 1 Samuel

1	1	49 b N., 125 b, 125 h, 156 b
	2	134 l, 145 o
	3	112 dd, 123 c
	4	112 g, 126 s
	6	20 h, 22 s, 59 g, 117 p
	7	107 e, 123 c
	8	37 e, 102 l
	9	91 e, 113 e N., 141 e
	10	128 y
	11	113 o
	12	112 uu, 114 n N., 164 d
	13	20 g
	14	47 o
	16	128 v
	17	23 f, 95 h
	20	44 d, 64 f
	22	112 oo
	24	135 i
	27	95 h
	28	64 f
2	1	2 r, 106 g
	3	103 g, 120 g, 124 e, 133 k, 152 z
	4	146 a
	6	111 u, 116 x
	8	107 g, 116 x, 135 p
	9	67 g
	13	112 oo, 116 w, 131 c, 159 i, 164 a
	14	131 h, 132 g
	15	112 oo
	16	103 g, 106 m, 112 u, 113 w, 159 f, 159 dd
	18	116 k, 118 q, 121 d
	19	112 e
	20	145 u
	22	112 k
	23	126 y
	24	116 s
	25	117 x
	26	113 u
	27	113 q, 114 e, 150 e
	28	49 e, 113 z, 119 w
	29	133 b
	30	113 p, 116 g, 149 a
	31	112 x, 116 d
3	2	107 b, 120 b
	3	107 c, 152 r
	5	46 c, 120 g, 120 h
	7	107 c
	10	54 k, 118 u, 123 c
	11	67 g, 67 p, 116 w, 155 d
	12	113 h

## 1 Samuel

- 3 13 *112 qq*, 130 *c N.*,  
119 *p*  
14 . . . . . 149 *c*  
17 . . . . . 149 *d*  
21 . . . . . 75 *y*  
4 1 . . . . . 131 *c*, 145 *c*  
3 . . . . . 127 *g*  
5 . . . . . 72 *h*, 145 *c*  
6 . . . . . 37 *f*  
7 . . . . . 125 *e*  
8 132 *h*, 136 *d*, 147 *d*  
10 . . . . . 124 *b*, 145 *o*  
12 . . . . . 127 *e*  
15 44 *m*, 145 *k*, 145 *n*  
16 . . . . . 126 *k*  
19 . . . . . 69 *m*, 112 *tt*  
21 . . . . . 152 *q*  
5 3 . . . . . 116 *d*  
7 . . . . . 112 *rr*  
9 . . . . . 67 *v*, 130 *d*,  
164 *d*  
10 . . . . . 115 *c*, 145 *m*  
11 . . . . . 117 *e*  
6 4 . . . . . 118 *h*, 135 *r*  
7 . . . . . 72 *i N.*, 135 *o*  
9 155 *d*, 155 *f*, 159 *q*  
10 . . . . . 60 *h*, 75 *qq*  
11 . . . . . 154 *a N.*  
12 . . . . . 47 *h*, 71, 75 *n*,  
113 *s*  
14 . . . . . 127 *d*  
18 . . . . . 126 *x*  
19 . . . . . 119 *k*  
7 9 . . . . . 131 *k*  
10 . . . . . 116 *u*  
11 . . . . . 119 *c*  
12 . . . . . 111 *d*  
14 . . . . . 72 *k*  
16 . . . . . 112 *f*  
17 . . . . . 29 *i N.*  
8 11 . . . . . 72 *l*  
12 . . . . . 114 *p*  
19 . . . . . 20 *g*, 163 *a*  
9 2 . . . . . 133 *a*  
3 . . . . . 96, 117 *d*, 130 *g*  
4 . . . . . 104 *g*, 152 *k*  
7 . . . . . 159 *w N.*  
9 . . . . . 107 *e*, 144 *d N*<sup>1</sup>  
10 . . . . . 120 *g*  
11 . . . . . 116 *u*  
13 . . . . . 35 *n*, 47 *m*  
17 . . . . . 138 *b*  
20 73 *e*, 134 *m*, 143 *c*  
21 . . . . . 133 *g*  
24 . . . . . 138 *i*, 138 *k*  
10 3 . . . . . 97 *c*  
4 . . . . . 134 *n*  
5 29 *g*, 101 *a*, 109 *k*,  
112 *s*  
6 . . . . . 75 *qq*

## 1 Samuel

- 10 8 . . . . . 112 *v*  
9 . . . . . 112 *uu*  
11 20 *h*, 111 *g*, 116 *s*,  
116 *w*, 136 *c*  
12 . . . . . 154 *b*  
13 . . . . . 75 *qq*  
14 . . . . . 152 *k*  
16 . . . . . 113 *o*  
18 . . . . . 135 *a*  
23 . . . . . 133 *b*  
24 . . . . . 22 *s*, 100 *l*  
25 . . . . . 126 *s*  
27 . . . . . 136 *b*  
11 1 . . . . . 125 *h*  
2 . . . . . 135 *p*  
5 . . . . . 107 *v*  
11 . . . . . 111 *g*, 116 *w*  
12 12 . . . . . 150 *a*  
3 . . . . . 137 *b*  
7 . . . . . 51 *p*  
13 . . . . . 44 *d*, 64 *f*  
14 . . . . . 167 *a*  
17 . . . . . 114 *o*  
19 . . . . . 107 *p*  
20 . . . . . 135 *a*  
23 . . . . . 126 *x*, 135 *g*  
24 . . . . . 75 *oo*  
25 . . . . . 29 *o*, 113 *o*  
13 3 . . . . . 2 *b*  
6 . . . . . 93 *w*  
7 . . . . . 119 *gg*  
8 . . . . . 69 *t*  
11 . . . . . 67 *dd*  
12 . . . . . 54 *k*  
13 . . . . . 159 *dd*  
15 . . . . . 93 *oo*, 132 *g*  
17 118 *q*, 126 *m*, 126 *s*,  
134 *l*  
19 . . . . . 152 *w*  
20 . . . . . 118 *f*  
21 . . . . . 35 *n*, 96, 112 *dd*  
22 . . . . . 112 *ee*  
23 . . . . . 92 *g*  
14 1 . . . . . 126 *s*  
13 . . . . . 72 *m*  
14 . . . . . 118 *s N.*  
15 . . . . . 95 *g*  
16 . . . . . 129 *b*  
19 111 *h*, 113 *u*, 164 *d*  
21 . . . . . 2 *b*  
22 . . . . . 53 *n*  
24 . . . . . 76 *d*, 112 *w*  
27 . . . . . 72 *k*  
28 . . . . . 72 *t*  
29 . . . . . 126 *x*  
30 106 *p*, 113 *o*, 159 *x*  
33 . . . . . 23 *c*, 74 *i*, 75 *oo*  
34 . . . . . 96 (*p*. 286)  
36 48 *g N.*, 67 *dd*, 109 *d*  
38 . . . . . 66 *c*

## 1 Samuel

- 14 39 . . . . . 100 *o N.*, 149 *c*  
43 . . . . . 113 *p*  
44 . . . . . 149 *d*  
45 . . . . . 119 *w N.*  
49 . . . . . 47 *b N.*  
52 . . . . . 112 *u*  
15 1 . . . . . 9 *v*  
2 . . . . . 106 *g*  
4 . . . . . 93 *x*  
5 . . . . . 68 *i*  
6 20 *g*, 22 *s*, 60 *f*,  
68 *h*, 154 *a N.*  
9 67 *t*, 75 *y*, 132 *d*,  
135 *c N.*  
13 . . . . . 121 *f*  
14 . . . . . 37 *f*, 154 *b*  
16 . . . . . 165 *a*  
19 . . . . . 72 *ff*  
20 . . . . . 157 *c*  
23 29 *q*, 53 *l*, 111 *h*,  
119 *x*  
32 . . . . . 118 *q*  
33 . . . . . 119 *w*  
16 1 . . . . . 65 *h*, 127 *d*  
2 . . . . . 114 *g*, 159 *g*  
3 . . . . . 138 *e*  
4 141 *m*, 144 *d*, 145 *u*,  
150 *a*  
7 . . . . . 35 *g*, 132 *c*  
8 . . . . . 125 *i*  
11 . . . . . 133 *g*  
12 . . . . . 128 *x*  
14 . . . . . 112 *h*  
16 . . . . . 120 *b N.*, 124 *i*  
18 . . . . . 128 *t*, 129 *c*  
20 . . . . . 128 *q*  
23 112 *ee*, 112 *oo*, 126 *x*  
17 5 . . . . . 121 *d*, 131 *q*  
12 . . . . . 126 *x*  
14 . . . . . 133 *g*, 134 *l*  
15 . . . . . 113 *u*, 118 *g*  
16 . . . . . 113 *k*  
17 . . . . . 126 *x*, 134 *n*  
20 . . . . . 112 *rr*  
21 . . . . . 122 *i*  
24 . . . . . 111 *i*  
25 22 *s*, 53 *n*, 60 *g*,  
100 *l*, 114 *g*, 116 *s*  
26 . . . . . 34 *f*, 132 *h*  
28 . . . . . 136 *c*  
32 . . . . . 112 *p*  
34 . . . . . 112 *kk*, 126 *r*,  
154 *a N.*  
38 . . . . . 112 *tt*  
40 . . . . . 132 *c*  
41 . . . . . 113 *u*  
43 . . . . . 124 *o*  
46 . . . . . 145 *e*  
47 . . . . . 53 *g*, 145 *c*  
48 . . . . . 112 *uu*

## 1 Samuel

17 50 . . . . . III k  
 55 . . . . . 126 c,  
 137 b  
 58 . . . . . 126 e, 126 f  
 18 1 . . . . . 60 d  
 9 . . . . . 55 c  
 10 . . . . . 54 e, 118 u  
 15 . . . . . 157 c  
 18 . . . . . 137 a  
 19 . . . . . 114 g, 115 e N.  
 21 . . . . . 134 r  
 22 . . . . . 59 c  
 23 . . . . . 114 a  
 28 . . . . . 59 g, 59 i  
 29 . . . . . 68 h, 69 n  
 19 1 . . . . . 115 a  
 2 . . . . . 51 n, 63 c  
 3 . . . . . 119 l  
 10 . . . . . 126 y  
 13 . . . . . 124 h, 132 h N.  
 17 . . . . . 59 h, 150 e  
 22 . . . . . 126 x  
 23 . . . . . 113 t, 135 g  
 20 1 . . . . . 37 d, 116 s  
 2 . . . . . 103 g, 156 f  
 3 . . . . . 118 x, 149 a N.  
 6 51 e, 51 i, 113 n,  
 159 s  
 8 . . . . . 142 g  
 9 . . . . . 150 a  
 10 . . . . . 150 i, 151 a  
 11 . . . . . 118 f  
 13 . . . . . 117 l N., 149 d  
 16 . . . . . 117 g  
 19 . . . . . 120 c  
 20 . . . . . 127 e  
 23 . . . . . 143 a  
 26 . . . . . 152 d  
 27 . . . . . 80 g N.  
 31 . . . . . 128 v, 138 c  
 33 . . . . . 115 c  
 37 . . . . . 150 e  
 40 . . . . . 72 y  
 42 . . . . . 134 d, 135 f  
 21 2 90 i, 119 gg, 152 o  
 3 . . . . . 55 b, 137 c  
 5 . . . . . 119 e N.  
 6 . . . . . 123 b  
 8 . . . . . 129 h  
 9 . . . . . 150 c N<sup>3</sup>  
 10 . . . . . 102 g, 126 r  
 14 60 d, 75 bb, 131 m  
 N.  
 16 . . . . . 150 b  
 22 2 . . . . . 75 oo  
 5 . . . . . 119 s  
 7 117 n, 124 p, 153  
 9 . . . . . 90 i  
 13 . . . . . 113 e  
 15 . . . . . 67 w, 150 b

## 1 Samuel

23 1 . . . . . 93 r  
 7 . . . . . 128 a  
 10 . . . . . 113 o, 117 n  
 11 . . . . . 150 g N., 150 n  
 15 . . . . . 90 e  
 19 . . . . . 150 e  
 21 . . . . . 121 f  
 22 63 n, 135 b, 144 d  
 N<sup>2</sup>  
 23 . . . . . 100 o N.  
 28 . . . . . 22 s  
 24 5 . . . . . 138 b  
 6 . . . . . 117 d  
 11 9 v, 112 rr, 144 o  
 12 114 r, 154 N. (c)  
 18 . . . . . 117 ff  
 19 . . . . . 112 hh N., 117 c  
 25 1 . . . . . 21 d  
 2 . . . . . 67 cc  
 5 . . . . . 44 d, 64 f  
 7 . . . . . 53 p  
 8 . . . . . 72 o, 74 k, 76 g  
 10 . . . . . 67 ee, 126 w  
 11 . . . . . 112 cc  
 14 . . . . . 72 ff  
 15 . . . . . 130 d  
 18 . . . . . 24 b, 75 v, 132 g  
 20 . . . . . 47 k, 112 uu  
 22 . . . . . 149 b  
 24 . . . . . 135 g  
 25 . . . . . 107 p  
 26 65 f, 113 e, 113 gg,  
 144 l N<sup>3</sup>, 149 a N.  
 27 143 d, 145 o, 145 o  
 N<sup>1</sup>  
 28 . . . . . 119 w N.  
 29 . . . . . 143 c  
 31 . . . . . 114 p  
 33 . . . . . 75 qq  
 34 76 h, 106 p, 149 d  
 26 9 . . . . . 112 h, 151 a  
 12 . . . . . 87 s, 152 l  
 13 . . . . . 156 c  
 14 . . . . . 155 m  
 16 . . . . . 117 l, 117 m N.  
 19 . . . . . 72 aa  
 20 . . . . . 117 d  
 22 . . . . . 127 f  
 27 9 . . . . . 112 e, 112 dd  
 10 . . . . . 150 a N.  
 28 3 . . . . . 106 f, 154 a N.  
 7 52 d, 96, 128 u,  
 130 e  
 8 . . . . . 10 h, 46 d, 46 e  
 10 . . . . . 20 h  
 13 . . . . . 132 h N. I  
 15 48 d, 59 f, 75 ll,  
 102 l  
 24 . . . . . 68 h  
 29 6 . . . . . 149 c

## 1 Samuel

29 8 . . . . . 49 m, 130 c  
 10 . . . . . 144 c  
 30 2 . . . . . 156 f  
 6 . . . . . 144 b  
 8 . . . . . 150 a N<sup>1</sup>, 154 a  
 13 . . . . . 134 o N<sup>1</sup>  
 24 . . . . . 161 c  
 26 . . . . . 91 k  
 28 . . . . . 10 g  
 31 2 . . . . . 53 n  
 7 . . . . . 103 g  
 9 . . . . . 124 r

## 2 Samuel

1 4 . . . . . 157 c  
 6 . . . . . 75 rr, 113 o  
 9 . . . . . 72 m, 128 e  
 10 49 c, 61 b, 107 b N.  
 18 . . . . . 150 e  
 21 126 m, 130 a, 152 g  
 23 . . . . . 44 c, 154 a N.  
 24 . . . . . 116 f  
 25 . . . . . 148 b  
 26 . . . . . 75 oo  
 2 5 . . . . . 121 f  
 16 . . . . . 144 d  
 20 . . . . . 136 d  
 21 . . . . . 64 c, 119 s  
 22 . . . . . 102 l, 150 e  
 23 . . . . . 111 g, 116 w  
 26 . . . . . 44 g  
 27 . . . . . 159 ee  
 32 . . . . . 72 r, 118 g  
 3 1 . . . . . 113 u, 145 c  
 2 . . . . . 129 g  
 8 . . . . . 75 qq, 111 e  
 10 . . . . . 114 o  
 11 . . . . . 115 d  
 16 . . . . . 113 u  
 18 . . . . . 113 dd N.  
 25 . . . . . 117 h  
 27 . . . . . 117 ll  
 30 . . . . . 117 n  
 33 . . . . . 107 t  
 34 . . . . . 152 d, 152 e  
 39 . . . . . 141 e  
 4 1 . . . . . 145 p  
 2 . . . . . 128 c  
 4 . . . . . 128 h  
 7 . . . . . 141 e  
 10 . . . . . 111 h, 114 l N.  
 11 . . . . . 117 d  
 5 2 . . . . . 74 k  
 6 . . . . . 35 g, 106 m  
 8 35 g, 116 w, 107 u  
 10 . . . . . 125 h  
 21 . . . . . 146 f  
 24 109 k, 112 s, 117 d  
 6 1 . . . . . 68 h

## 2 Samuel

6	2	125 c
	3	126 e
	6	117 g
	16	112 u
	20	75 y, 148 b
7	5	112 r, 150 d
	14	112 m
	29	120 d
8	2	126 m
	3	17 b
	4	69 v
	8	131 e
9	1	165 a
	3	128 y, 152 s
10	7	131 b
	9	145 k, 146 a
	12	54 k
11	1	23 g
	4	141 e
	11	149 a N.
	19	142 f N <sup>2</sup>
	20	157 c
	24	69 r, 75 rr
	25	117 l
	27	60 d
12	1	72 p
	2	126 d, 126 x, 146 f
	3	152 p
	6	97 h
	9	144 n
	10	114 g
	14	52 o
	15	51 m
	16	112 f, 117 q
	17	75 rr
	28	61 f, 135 a, 150 m N.
	30	127 e
13	4	p. 457 N <sup>1</sup>
	5	75 cc
	8	72 t
	12	75 h, 107 g
	14	117 u
	15	117 q
	17	64 c
	18	47 l, 112 t N., 156 b
	19	113 t
	20	84 a s, 118 p, 154 a N
	23	131 d
	25	152 g, 165 a
	26	159 d
	28	72 w, 159 g
	31	116 k
	32	73 f
	39	131 g, 144 o
14	2	75 m, 136 d
	3	76 g
	4	126 e
	6	60 d

## 2 Samuel

14	7	73 b
	10	116 w
	11	75 f, 119 w N.
	13	92 b, 115 i
	19	47 b N., 70 c
	21	106 m
	26	118 h, 134 g
	30	71
	31	102 l
15	2	111 g, 127 b N.
	4	112 p, 151 a
	5	10 g N <sup>2</sup>
	7	10 g
	12	113 u
	16	117 d
	20	150 a
	21	93 aa N., 130 c, 163 d
	23	117 t
	25	117 e
	27	72 s
	32	116 k, 121 d
	33	49 l, 75 w
	34	67 d, 143 d
	37	93 u
16	1	134 n
	5	112 t, 113 t
	7	128 t
	13	93 gg, 112 f
17	5	135 f
	8	117 h
	9	144 e
	10	67 t
	11	106 i
	12	109 d, 122 l
	13	106 o
	15	135 a
	16	121 a
	17	112 k, 126 r
	22	96, 130 g
	23	51 m
	26	118 g
18	3	63 i, 97 g
	11	114 l, 119 aa, 154 b, 159 w N.
	12	137 c, 154 b
	13	159 cc
	14	108 c, 156 c
	16	22 s
	18	117 d
	19	119 f
	22	74 i
	23	110 b
	29	114 f, 150 a
	33	133 l N.
19	1	135 f, 151 b
	6	70 c, 128 a
	13	112 i
	14	68 h
	18	97 e, 112 t

## 2 Samuel

19	19	53 g
	20	115 g
	25	52 l, 127 f
	27	122 f
	30	106 i
	43	76 b
	44	67 w
20	1	147 c
	5	68 i
	8	142 e
	9	68 h, 141 c
	11	137 c
	12	112 oo, 116 e
	13	69 w
	14	125 h
	18	113 w
	19	130 f N.
	20	149 a, 149 e
	21	53 s, 155 e
	23	16 b, 127 f
21	2	74 h
	3	110 i
	4	120 c
	9	118 i
	11	121 a
	12	75 rr
	15	72 t
	20	35 n
	22	121 b
22	1	2 s, 53 l, 130 d
	24	49 e
	27	67 l
	33	35 d, 131 r
	37	103 d
	38	108 e
	40	68 k
	41	19 i, 116 w
	44	87 f
23	1	2 s, 29 g
	3	116 w
	4	152 u
	5	135 m, 150 a N.
	6	91 f, 143 a
	7	113 w
	8	47 b, 87 f
	11	127 e
	13	134 k
	17	167 a
	19	150 d
24	3	145 n, 154 b
	6	90 i
	11	93 rr
	13	145 h
	16	142 f
	21	165 a
	22	93 pp
	23	106 m
	24	75 n, 113 p

## 1 Kings

1	1	49 b, 67 g
	2	131 b, 144 f
	5	116 o
	6	119 w N.
	12	117 p
	14	116 u
	15	80 a, 90 c
	20	135 g
	21	146 d
	24	150 a, 150 b
	26	135 g
	27	150 f
	31	156 c
	40	117 g, 145 c
	41	146 a
	47	70 e
	52	119 w N.
2	2	116 p
	3	95 u, 114 o
	6	109 d
	7	116 h
	17	131 g
	18	135 a
	21	121 b
	22	110 a, 154 b
	23	149 d
	26	75 z, 93 ss, 118 f, 128 t
	30	75 u
	31	128 w
	36	80 i, 90 i
	40	90 i
	42	72 aa
	43	128 h
3	4	107 b
	7	114 c
	8	166 b
	11	112 tt
	12	166 b
	15	71
	16	107 c
	18	128 f, 135 r
	26	46 e
4	5	93 u
	7	112 l
	12	90 i
	13	128 c
	14	90 d
5	1	144 i
	3	131 c
	7	112 dd
	9	131 e
	12	134 g
	17	117 h
	20	68 c
	25	23 f, 107 e
	29	131 b
6	1	134 h, 134 o
	6	63 i
	7	131 c

## 1 Kings

6	16	117 d
	19	66 i
7	6	92 g
	7	118 p, 126 w
	8	118 g
	14	41 o, 131 b
	15	117 hh
	27	134 l
	28	20 m
	37	91 f
8	1	107 c, 109 k
	5	119 z, 145 c
	12	138 e
	13	118 k
	29	91 k
	30	119 g, 159 g
	31	145 o
	32	118 g
	33	158 d
	44	75 w
	46	49 m
	48	44 i
	64	133 c
9	3	75 w
	8	67 g
	11	75 oo
	17	126 y
	25	112 dd, 113 z
	26	122 t
10	9	115 d
	11	35 m
	12	117 ii
	21	152 y N.
	22	74 i
	23	119 u
	24	164 b N.
	27	126 p
	29	75 t
11	1	10 h
	3	145 o, 145 p
	5	122 f
	8	131 h N.
	9	138 k
	12	135 p
	15	52 f
	16	53 l
	19	54 k
	21	165 a
	25	117 m N.
	30	117 ii
	31	134 l
	33	87 e
	34	117 ii
	39	23 d
	41	150 e
12	2	138 d
	6	64 b, 117 gg
	8	116 g, 118 g
	10	93 q
	12	74 k

## 1 Kings

12	15	115 a
	28	133 c
	31	117 d
	32	21 d, 65 e, 112 pp
13	3	112 tt
	7	10 h
	11	125 b
	12	155 d
	14	126 r
	18	156 d
	30	147 d
	33	109 f, 109 g
14	2	32 h
	3	65 g
	5	94 d, 112 z
	6	118 p, 121 d N <sup>1</sup>
	10	64 d
	12	72 r N,
	13	129 g
	14	136 d N.
	15	91 n
	16	23 c
	17	116 u
	19	129 d, 150 e
	21	10 g
	24	127 g
15	13	119 x
	23	118 g
	25	134 p
16	2	74 l
	10	134 o
	24	29 f, 88 b
	25	67 x
	31	150 d
17	1	93 pp
	3	119 s
	9	90 i
	11	66 g
	13	75 m
	14	66 i, 75 rr
	15	32 l
	16	146 a
18	5	119 w N.
	10	107 e
	27	53 q, 67 y
	32	117 ii, 117 kk
	43	152 p
	44	58 g
19	4	157 b N <sup>2</sup>
	9	126 r
	11	132 d
	15	26 h, 90 c, 90 i
	19	134 o
	20	20 m
	21	131 m
20	14	137 b
	20	145 c
	21	112 tt
	22	54 k
	25	103 b

## 1 Kings

20	27	. . . . .	54 l
	33	. . . . .	53 n
	35	. . . . .	75 mm, 128 v
	39	. . . . .	51 k
	40	. . . . .	116 g N.
21	2	. . . . .	34 c
	8	. . . . .	124 b N.
	10	. . . . .	104 g
	11	. . . . .	116 q, 118 q
	12	. . . . .	112 qq
	13	. . . . .	119 c
	15	. . . . .	69 f
	19	. . . . .	74 k, 135 f
	21	. . . . .	74 k, 74 l
	25	. . . . .	72 w
22	3	. . . . .	150 e
	4	. . . . .	161 c
	7	. . . . .	108 b
	10	. . . . .	121 d
	12	. . . . .	110 f
	15	. . . . .	150 c
	16	. . . . .	102 k, 134 r
	23	. . . . .	126 y
	25	. . . . .	75 pp
	27	. . . . .	131 c
	28	. . . . .	135 r, 144 p, 159 q
	30	. . . . .	104 g, 113 dd N.
	35	. . . . .	71
	49	. . . . .	44 m

## 2 Kings

1	1	. . . . .	49 b
	2	. . . . .	126 y
	3	. . . . .	152 y
	7	. . . . .	37 f
	9	. . . . .	97 i
	10	. . . . .	154 b
	11	. . . . .	120 d
2	1	. . . . .	10 h, 114 q
	9	. . . . .	107 c
	10	. . . . .	52 s, 114 n N.
	16	. . . . .	93 u, 107 q N <sup>s</sup>
	20	. . . . .	72 aa
	21	. . . . .	75 oo
	22	. . . . .	75 qq
	24	. . . . .	122 e
3	3	. . . . .	135 p
	4	. . . . .	2 d, 112 h, 131 k
	8	. . . . .	155 d
	15	. . . . .	112 uu
	16	. . . . .	113 bb, 123 e
	23	. . . . .	113 w
	24	. . . . .	75 ff
	25	. . . . .	112 e
	27	. . . . .	107 k
4	1	. . . . .	125 b
	3	. . . . .	91 l, 133 c N.
	8	. . . . .	126 s
	13	. . . . .	114 k, 117 r

## 2 Kings

4	14	. . . . .	154 b
	16	. . . . .	32 h, 116 p
	23	. . . . .	90 n
	24	. . . . .	66 c
	25	. . . . .	34 f
	27	. . . . .	63 e
	31	. . . . .	29 k
	41	. . . . .	69 f
	43	. . . . .	113 ee
5	2	. . . . .	118 q
	3	. . . . .	151 e
	9	. . . . .	129 d
	10	. . . . .	110 i, 113 bb, 159 d
	11	. . . . .	112 p
	12	. . . . .	107 t
	13	. . . . .	110 f, 142 f, 159 cc
	17	. . . . .	104 g, 159 dd
	18	. . . . .	75 kk
	20	. . . . .	112 gg, 163 d
	22	. . . . .	136 d
	23	. . . . .	72 t, 88 b, 131 d
	26	. . . . .	150 a N <sup>1</sup>
6	5	. . . . .	117 m N.
	8	. . . . .	91 n
	9	. . . . .	51 n
	10	. . . . .	134 r
	11	. . . . .	36
	19	. . . . .	34 b N <sup>s</sup> , 52 n
	22	. . . . .	p. 457 N <sup>1</sup>
	27	. . . . .	109 h, 150 g
	29	. . . . .	74 l
	32	. . . . .	22 s, 100 l
7	1	. . . . .	131 d
	4	. . . . .	112 ff
	8	. . . . .	47 i
	10	. . . . .	135 p N <sup>1</sup>
	13	. . . . .	127 f
	18	. . . . .	10 h
8	1	. . . . .	32 h
	6	. . . . .	53 m, 72 y, 91 e
	8	. . . . .	126 y
	16	. . . . .	52 l
	17	. . . . .	134 e
	21	. . . . .	50 e
9	2	. . . . .	72 w, 76 h
	4	. . . . .	127 g
	17	. . . . .	80 f
	18	. . . . .	32 n, 103 o, 119 b
	19	. . . . .	150 a N <sup>1</sup>
	27	. . . . .	147 c
	31	. . . . .	144 p
	33	. . . . .	76 c
	35	. . . . .	119 m
	37	. . . . .	75 m
10	1	. . . . .	124 b N., 127 f
	6	. . . . .	131 h N.
	15	. . . . .	159 cc
	21	. . . . .	102 h
	23	. . . . .	152 w
	29	. . . . .	93 o

## 2 Kings

11	1	. . . . .	112 pp
	2	. . . . .	116 e
	4	. . . . .	75 pp, 75 q, 97 g
	5	. . . . .	116 h
	12	. . . . .	74 l
	13	. . . . .	87 e
	15	. . . . .	113 cc, 119 e
12	9	. . . . .	72 h, 66 g, 93 h
	12	. . . . .	112 pp N <sup>s</sup>
13	6	. . . . .	74 k
	17	. . . . .	69 r, 76 f
	19	. . . . .	114 k, 159 dd
	21	. . . . .	111 g
14	7	. . . . .	21 e, 112 tt
	8	. . . . .	156 o
	14	. . . . .	93 oo, 112 pp, 112 tt, 124 q
15	16	. . . . .	76 c, 127 i
	29	. . . . .	80 c
16	4	. . . . .	65 e
	7	. . . . .	72 p
	14	. . . . .	127 h
	17	. . . . .	127 h
	18	. . . . .	80 k
17	4	. . . . .	118 u
	6	. . . . .	134 p
	11	. . . . .	53 p
	15	. . . . .	103 l
	29	. . . . .	124 r
18	1	. . . . .	134 p
	4	. . . . .	112 tt
	17	. . . . .	128 w N.
	20	. . . . .	44 i
	26	. . . . .	2 a
	28	. . . . .	2 a
	29	. . . . .	74 l
	30	. . . . .	121 b N.
	36	. . . . .	112 tt
19	2	. . . . .	131 h N.
	4	. . . . .	132 h
	14	. . . . .	124 b N.
	21	. . . . .	72 l
	25	. . . . .	23 f, 75 qq
20	1	. . . . .	49 a
	19	. . . . .	126 x, 141 n
21	11	. . . . .	74 l
	12	. . . . .	67 g
	13	. . . . .	113 h N.
	15	. . . . .	112 tt
	26	. . . . .	144 d N.
22	1	. . . . .	134 e
	13	. . . . .	138 b
	20	. . . . .	61 h, 124 c
23	3	. . . . .	127 c
	4	. . . . .	75 v, 112 pp, 112 pp N.
	8	. . . . .	112 pp N.
	10	. . . . .	112 pp, 114 s
	12	. . . . .	112 rr, 127 f
	14	. . . . .	112 pp N.

## 2 Kings

23	15 . . . . .	67 v
	17 . . . . .	127 f, 127 g
	20 . . . . .	117 d
	35 . . . . .	139 c
24	7 . . . . .	144 b
	14 . . . . .	97 g, 112 tt
25	9 . . . . .	117 d
	15 . . . . .	123 e
	16 . . . . .	126 z, 134 l
	17 . . . . .	134 e
	18 . . . . .	131 b
	19 . . . . .	127 f
	28 . . . . .	122 g
	29 . . . . .	75 rr

## Isaiah

1	2 . . . . .	126 e
	3 . . . . .	124 i
	4 . . . . .	128 l, x, 147 d
	5 37 e, 127 c, 137 b,	156 d
	6 67 m, 126 m, 144 b,	152 o
	7 116 l, 116 n, 118 x,	143 a
	9 106 p, 118 x, 159 x	
	11 106 g, 107 f, 117 z	
	12 . 51 l, 106 g, 164 d	
	14 66 b, 76 b, 102 h,	114 c, 119 aa
	15 60 f, 61 e, 117 z,	124 n, 145 n
	16 . . . . .	54 d, 128 r
	17 . . . . .	113 d, 117 u
	18 . . . . .	126 o, 160 a
	19 . . . . .	120 e
	20 . . . . .	52 e, 121 c
	21 90 l, 95 h, 107 b,	148 b
	22 . . . . .	126 m
	23 . . . . .	107 g, 124 f
	24 . . . . .	51 p
	25 . . . . .	118 w, 124 l
	26 . 118 s N., 135 m	
	27 . . . . .	116 i
	28 . . . . .	147 c
	29 . . . . .	144 p
	30 . 91 d, 116 i, 152 o	
31	. . . . .	93 g
2	1 . . . . .	154 a N.
	2 . . . . .	116 r
	4 . . . . .	91 n
	6 . . . . .	44 g
	7 . . . . .	117 z
	8 . . . . .	145 m
	9 . . . . .	109 e, 117 g
	11 . . . . .	112 s, 146 a
	17 . . . . .	145 o
	18 . . . . .	15 f

## Isaiah

2	20 63 i, 84 <sup>b</sup> n, 135 n,	145 m
	22 . . . . .	116 e, 119 s
3	1 . . . . .	116 p, 122 v
	3 . . . . .	116 k
	6 . . . . .	103 g, 118 g
	7 117 g, 117 ii, 156 b	
	8 . . . . .	53 g, 122 i
	9 . . . . .	135 i, 156 g
	12 . . . . .	124 k, 145 l
	13 . . . . .	115 b
	14 . . . . .	128 h, 154 b
	15 . . . . .	37 c
	16 52 n, 75 v, 111 r,	112 nn, 113 u, 135 o
	17 . 91 c, 91 f, 142 f	
	18 . . . . .	86 g N.
	22 . . . . .	35 f
	24 . . . . .	131 b
4	4 106 o, 107 l, 113 e,	159 n N.
5	1 87 f N., 108 b, 128 v	
	2 . . . . .	114 m, 117 ee
	3 . . . . .	110 a
	4 75 z, 114 k, 150 m	
	5 112 u, 113 d, 113 f,	114 k N., 116 d,
		116 p
	6 117 z, 117 ii, 119 y	
	8 112 w, 116 x, 144 p,	147 d
	9 . . . . .	149 e, 152 y
	10 . . . . .	93 m
	11 112 m, 120 c, 130 a,	156 d
	12 93 ss, 106 l, 141 d	
	13 . . . . .	106 n, 128 t
	14 . . . . .	20 f, 112 s
	15 . . . . .	111 w
	17 . . . . .	118 t, 142 f
	19 . . . . .	48 d, 108 d
	23 . . . . .	116 x, 145 m
	24 . . . . .	114 r, 115 k
	25 . . . . .	136 b
	26 . 133 k N., 145 m	
	28 . . . . .	20 k, 117 z
	29 . . . . .	152 l
	30 . . . . .	136 b
6	1 . . . . .	111 b
	2 88 f, 119 cc, 134 g	
	3 112 k, 133 k, 139 e	N., 141 l
	4 107 b, 107 d, 117 z	
	5 106 n, 128 y, 147 d	
	6 94 b, 155 h, 156 b	
	7 . . . . .	112 x
	8 61 g, 117 c, 124 g	N., 137 b
	9 . . . . .	75 n, 113 r
	10 . . . . .	67 v, 136 b

## Isaiah

6	11 106 o, 121 d, 144 d,	152 y
	12 . . . . .	67 k
	13 52 p, . . . . .	112 mm,
		114 k N., 120 d
7	2 . . . . .	72 q, 122 i
	3 . . . . .	95 s
	4 . . . . .	113 bb
	6 . . . . .	122 i
	7 . . . . .	122 q, 144 b
	8 . . . . .	119 y
	9 . . . . .	148 d, 159 ee
	11 . . . . .	29 u
	13 . . . . .	114 a, 133 c
	14 74 g, 112 t, 113 h,	126 r, 135 a N.,
		135 c
	15 . . . . .	113 f
	17 . . . . .	49 a
	18 . . . . .	124 e
	20 . . . . .	126 x
	23 . . . . .	134 n
	25 . . . . .	118 l, 144 h
8	1 . 29 l, 52 s, 119 u	
	2 . . . . .	49 e, 96
	4 . . . . .	144 d
	6 . . . . .	2 d N., 130 a
	7 . . . . .	154 b
	8 . . . . .	145 o
	9 . . . . .	110 f
	11 . . . . .	45 d, 59 h
	12 . . . . .	47 m, 117 r
	16 . . . . .	67 n
	17 . . . . .	75 z
	19 . . . . .	164 d
	20 . . . . .	145 m
	21 . . . . .	54 k, 118 n
	23 . 67 v, 90 f, 128 h	
9	1 106 n, 130 a, 132 g	
	2 . . . . .	103 g, 130 a
	3 10 h, 20 h, 67 w,	93 g, 118 u, 135 n
	4 112 mm, . . . . .	124 n,
		143 d, 146 e
	5 . . . . .	93 k, 144 d
	6 . . . . .	5 n, 152 u
	8 . . . . .	127 c, 145 c
	11 . . . . .	127 c
	12 . . . . .	116 f
	18 . . . . .	145 o
10	1 . . . . .	10 g, 93 bb
	2 . . . . .	114 r
	4 . . . . .	163 c
	5 . . . . .	152 a
	9 . . . . .	21 d
	10 . . . . .	133 e
	12 . . . . .	47 b, 127 a
	13 23 d, 75 z, 107 b N.	
	14 118 w, 126 o, 132 e	
	15 115 i, 124 k, 150 h	

## Isaiah

10 16 . . . . . 69f  
 17 . . . . . 93v  
 18 . . . . . 67cc  
 22 . . . . . 117z  
 24 . 58i, 119o, 156d  
 30 . . 132b, 144m  
 32 . . 114k, 119o  
 33 . . . . . 23c  
 34 . . . . . 119o  
 11 2 . . . . . 128a  
 7 . . . . . 122e  
 8 . . . . . 142f  
 9 106u, 114c, 115d,  
 116fN., 117n, 126z  
 10 . . . . . 119gg  
 12 . . . . . 20m  
 14 . . . . . 93hh  
 12 1 . . . . . 109k  
 2 . . . . . 80g  
 5 . . . . . 116e  
 6 . . . . . 122s  
 13 3 . . . . . 135n  
 4 . . 146b, 147c  
 6 . . . . . 118x  
 8 . . 47m, 119gg  
 18 . . . . . 52n  
 19 . . . . . 115d  
 20 . . . . . 68k  
 22 . . . . . 145o  
 14 2 54f, 57N<sup>a</sup>, 117w  
 3 22s, 102b, 115g,  
 121b, 121f  
 4 . 49k, 49m, 148b  
 6 . . 117g, 130a  
 9 . . . . . 145t  
 11 . . . 93ss, 145o  
 14 . . . . . 87s  
 17 . . . 116x, 117o  
 19 . 29f, 126p, 130a  
 23 . . . 55f, 113e  
 24 . . . 144b, 149b  
 27 . . . 116g, 126k  
 30 . . . 72w, 133h  
 31 . . . 72v, 113bb  
 15 2 . . . . 70d, 96  
 5 . . . . . 72cc  
 7 . . . . . 155h  
 8 . . . . . 119hh  
 16 2 . . . . . 126p  
 4 . . . . . 145d  
 6 . . . . . 122v  
 7 . . . . . 70d  
 8 . . . 75m, 145u  
 9 . . . . . 75dd  
 10 72bb, 121a, b, 141e  
 17 1 . . . 119x, 121b  
 4 . . . . . 128r  
 5 . . . . . 122n  
 6 118u, 131nN<sup>i</sup>,  
 134s

## Isaiah

17 8 . 35f, 154a N. (b)  
 10 . . . 20m N., 47k  
 11 . . . . . 72n  
 12 . . . . 47m, 75u  
 18 1 . . . . . 124e  
 2 . . . . 52s, 103m  
 3 . . . . . 66b  
 4 . . . . . 10h  
 5 29g, 67v, 72dd,  
 142f, 145g  
 6 . . . . . 73b  
 19 1 . . . . . 72l  
 3 . . . . . 67dd  
 4 . . . 124t, 132h  
 6 . 53g, 53p, 124e  
 9 . . . . . 86i  
 10 . . . . 128y  
 11 . . . . . 133h  
 12 . . . . 109f  
 13 . . . . . 142f  
 17 . 80h, 95d, 143b  
 18 . . . . . 2a  
 22 . . . . . 113s  
 20 1 . . . . . 115k  
 2 . . . 113t, 118n  
 4 . . . . 87g, 118o  
 21 1 . . . . . 114o  
 2 . 44o, 72s, 121b  
 7 . . . 93dd, 117g  
 8 . . . . . 118r  
 9 . . . . . 136d  
 11 . 90f, 93w, 116t  
 12 29t, 75u, 75rr,  
 76d  
 14 . . . . . 76d  
 17 127a, 128a,  
 146a  
 22 1 . . . . 91e, 150l  
 2 75v, 91e, 117s,  
 126e, 128x, 152d  
 3 . . . . . 119w  
 5 . . . . 128a, 133l  
 7 . . . . . 128r  
 10 . . . . . 20m  
 11 . . . . 95v, 124k  
 13 75n, 113d, 113f,  
 113dd  
 14 107c, 112ss, 149b,  
 149e  
 16 . . . 90m, 144p  
 17 . . . . . 113r  
 18 . . . . . 118r  
 19 . . . . . 144p  
 24 . . . 128w, 133h  
 23 1 . . . 110k, 119y  
 4 . . . . . 152z  
 5 . . . . 118u, 128h  
 7 . . . . . 126s N.  
 8 . . . . . 93pp  
 11 . . . . 20o, 53g

## Isaiah

23 12 . 35b, 46e, 118f,  
 130e, 132b  
 13 . . . . 136d N.  
 15 . 44f, 116p, 118t  
 17 . . . . 72l, 91e  
 24 2 . 35g, 116s, 127i  
 3 . . . . . 67t  
 10 . . . . . 119x  
 12 . . . . . 121d  
 16 . . . . . 117g  
 19 . . . 67o, 113w  
 22 . . . . . 117g  
 25 6 . . . 75dd, 93ss  
 7 . . . . . 72p  
 10 . . . . . 72v  
 26 4 . . . . 119i N.  
 9 . . . . . 144m  
 10 . . . . . 159c  
 11 . . . . . 47m  
 16 . . . . 44l, 72o  
 18 . . . . . 124e  
 19 . . . 95h, 122s  
 20 . . . . . 75qq  
 27 3 . . . . . 62a  
 4 10h, 65b, 71,  
 117x, 151b  
 5 . . . . . 162a  
 8 . . . . . 55f  
 9 . . . . . 156f  
 11 . . . 70a N., 124e  
 18 . . . . . 152x  
 28 1 . . . . 124e, 128c  
 2 . . . . . 125c  
 3 . . . . . 47k  
 4 91e, 128w, 135n,  
 144e  
 6 . . . . 90i, 119hh  
 7 . . . . 72l, 118g  
 8 . . . . . 127c  
 9 . . . . . 130a  
 10 . . . . 102h, 147c  
 11 . . . . . 116b  
 12 . . . 23t, 114m N.  
 16 71, 119t, 130f  
 N., 155f  
 17 . . . . 90u, 142f  
 18 . . . . . 145o  
 20 . . . . . 133c  
 21 . . . . 118t, 132b  
 24 . . . . . 144e  
 26 . . . . . 112rr  
 27 . . . . . 152z  
 28 112m, 113w N.  
 150a  
 29 1 19c, 66f, 69h N.,  
 130d  
 4 . . . . . 120g  
 5 . . . . 126p, 133k N.  
 6 . . . . 84s, 144b  
 7 . 75qq, 116i, 118t

## Isaiah

29 8 . . . . . 116 s  
 9 . . . . . 55 g, 72 l  
 13 115 d, 127 a, 142 d  
 14 . 50 e, 113 w, 155 f  
 15 . . . . . 53 q, 112 n  
 16 . . . . . 147 c, 150 f  
 19 128 l, 132 c, 133 h  
 23 . . . . . 131 o  
 30 1 . . . . . 69 h N.  
 2 . . . . . 63 i, 72 q  
 5 . . . . . 78 b  
 6 . . . . . 135 p  
 8 . . . . . 61 f, 135 p  
 11 . . . . . 102 b  
 12 61 d, 111 v, 114 d,  
 114 r  
 13 . . . . . 116 d  
 14 . 63 i, 113 i, 156 g  
 18 . . . 67 c, 130 a  
 19 . 58 g, 67 n, 75 u  
 20 . . . 131 c, 145 n  
 21 . . . . . 56  
 22 . . . 135 n, 145 m  
 23 . . . . . 93 ss  
 24 . . . . . 52 s  
 25 . . . . . 74 i  
 26 . . . 114 r, 134 r  
 28 . . . . . 72 z  
 31 . . . . . 156 d  
 33 . . . . . 32 l  
 31 2 . . . . . 141 f  
 3 . . . . . 75 u  
 5 . . . 67 p, 113 t  
 6 . 138 f N., 144 p  
 8 . . . 125 c, 152 a  
 32 1 . . . . . 143 e  
 7 . . . . . 154 a N.  
 9 . . . . . 44 o  
 11 . 48 i, 67 o, 110 h  
 12 . . . 116 s, 144 i  
 13 . . . . . 128 c  
 17 . . . . . 113 c  
 18 . . . . . 124 e  
 33 1 20 h, 53 q, 53 u,  
 67 v, 120 b, 156 f  
 3 . . . . . 67 d d  
 4 . . . . . 85 h  
 5 . . . . . 116 s  
 6 . . . . . 130 b  
 7 . . . . . 75 u  
 9 . . . 29 q, 145 t  
 10 . . . 54 c, 133 l  
 12 . . . . . 20 i  
 14 . . . 84<sup>a</sup> s, 117 b b  
 15 117 r N., 119 z,  
 124 e  
 16 . . . . . 124 b  
 20 . . . . . 152 t  
 34 4 . . . 67 t, 126 o  
 5 . . . . . 52 k

## Isaiah

34 6 . . . . . 54 h  
 10 . . . . . 102 i  
 11 . . . 21 c, 80 g  
 13 . . . . . 117 z  
 17 . . . . . 59 g  
 35 1 . . . . . 47 n  
 2 . . . 117 q, 130 b  
 4 . . . . . 65 f  
 7 . . . . . 135 p  
 9 . . . 84<sup>b</sup> f, 132 c  
 36 2 . . . . . 128 w N.  
 8 . . . . . 127 f  
 9 . . . 119 s, 119 u  
 11 . . . . . 2 a  
 14 . . . . . 74 l  
 16 . . . 110 f, 127 f  
 17 . . . . . 114 r  
 37 3 . . . 69 m, 152 k  
 11 . . . . . 150 a  
 14 . . . 124 b N.  
 17 . . . . . 10 g  
 19 . . . 113 f, 113 z  
 22 . . . . . 130 e  
 24 . . . . . 128 r  
 25 . . . . . 124 e  
 26 75 q, 114 k, 117 i  
 28 . . . . . 114 c  
 29 . . . . . 112 n n  
 30 113 z, 113 ee, 126 b  
 38 3 . . . 16 f N., 157 c  
 5 50 e, 113 b b, 155 f  
 9 . . . . . 114 r  
 10 . . . 108 g, 121 d  
 14 . 48 i N., 61 f N.  
 15 . . . . . 55 g  
 16 75 m m, 103 g, 135 p  
 17 . . . . . 119 f  
 18 . . . 116 h, 152 z  
 20 . . . 86 i, 114 i  
 39 1 . . . . . 124 b N.  
 2 . . . 15 e N., 126 x  
 40 1 . . . . . 107 f  
 3 . . . . . 146 b  
 4 . . . . . 93 v  
 6 . . . 112 q, 127 c  
 9 . . . . . 119 e  
 10 . . . . . 119 i  
 11 . . . . . 93 x  
 14 . . . . . 124 e  
 18 . . . 15 c, 75 d d  
 19 . . . . . 119 h h  
 20 . . . 155 f, 156 g  
 22 . . . . . 126 b  
 25 . . . . . 150 m  
 26 . . . . . 124 e  
 29 . . . . . 152 v  
 30 . . . . . 69 q  
 31 . . . . . 8 k  
 41 1 . . . . . 119 g g  
 2 35 n N., 75 g g, 155 n

## Isaiah

41 3 . . . . . 118 q  
 4 . . . . . 135 a N.  
 5 . . . . . 75 u  
 7 . . . . . 29 f  
 8 . . . . . 138 d  
 10 . . . . . 75 b b  
 12 . . . . . 135 n  
 15 . . . . . 96  
 17 . . . . . 20 i  
 23 48 g N., 75 l, 75 v,  
 109 d  
 24 . . . . . 155 n  
 25 . . . 23 d, 76 d  
 28 . 109 h, cf. 159 d  
 42 4 . . . . . 67 q  
 5 . 65 d, 93 ss, 124 k  
 6 . 107 b N., 109 k  
 13 . . . . . 126 p  
 18 35 g, 126 e, 126 f  
 20 . . . 75 n, 144 p  
 21 . . . . . 120 c  
 22 29 q, 72 y, 119 h h,  
 124 q  
 24 113 d, 114 m N.,  
 138 g  
 25 . . . . . 131 k  
 43 1 . 61 h, 74 e, 91 d  
 2 . . 159 d d, 159 f  
 6 . . . . . 122 v  
 8 . 53 m, 69 v, 74 l  
 9 . . . 51 o, 106 n N.<sup>2</sup>  
 10 . . . . . 135 a N.  
 25 . . . . . 141 h  
 44 3 . . . . . 71  
 9 . . . . . 5 n  
 13 . . . . . 64 i  
 15 . . 66 e, 103 f N.  
 16 . . . . . 67 ee  
 19 . . . . . 150 a  
 21 20 f, 57 N., 117 x  
 24 . . . . . 65 d  
 28 . . . 53 n, 114 p  
 45 1 . . . . . 67 p  
 2 . . . . . 70 b  
 4 . 111 b N., 131 g  
 9 . . . . . 152 u  
 10 . . . . . 47 o  
 14 . . . . . 10 g  
 46 5 . . . . . 75 d d  
 47 1 . . . . . 120 c  
 2 . . . 46 d, 63 l  
 5 . 100 g N.<sup>2</sup>, 118 o  
 7 . . . . . 94 g  
 8 . . . 90 l, 144 p  
 10 59 g, 61 h, 75 v,  
 116 f  
 12 . . . . . 138 f  
 14 . . . 28 b, 67 cc  
 48 8 . . . 52 k, 157 a  
 9 . . . . . 119 h h

## Isaiah

48	11	67 t
	14	119 hh
	17	61 h, 93 q
	18	111 x, 151 e
49	6	67 t, 115 a, 142 f
		N <sup>2</sup>
	7	111 q
	11	145 u
	13	126 o
	15	160 b
	18	32 c
	19	67 dd
	21	72 p
	23	122 f N., 156 c
	26	135 l
50	2	133 c, 150 m, 152 y
	8	15 c, 20 f
	9	136 c
	10	137 c
	11	20 n
51	1	155 k
	2	107 b N.
	3	146 e
	9	72 s, 118 u, 124 q
	10	93 pp, 138 k
	12	61 h, 111 m
	13	52 k
	15	65 d
	17	128 q
	19	47 b, 122 q
	21	50 f, 130 b
52	1	120 c
	5	55 b
	7	75 x, 106 g
	8	117 a N <sup>2</sup> , 146 b
	11	67 t
	12	61 h
	14	93 q
53	1	151 a
	2	166 a
	3	96, 128 q
	4	116 l, 117 ii
	5	121 a, 128 q
	8	103 f N.
	9	160 c
	10	74 k, 75 ii
	11	117 n, 120 h, 132 b
54	1	67 ff, 144 p, 155 f
	4	91 l
	5	124 k, 124 k N.
	6	58 g
	10	103 b
	11	152 a N.
	12	21 d
	14	54 c, 110 c
	15	137 c, 159 w
55	2	152 a N.
	3	93 m
	9	161 b
56	3	138 k

## Isaiah

56	4	138 f
	5	112 mm
	8	20 m
	9	29 t
	12	29 t
57	4	93 m
	5	67 u
	6	20 h
	8	47 k
	17	113 h
	20	113 d
58	3	19 c, 20 h, 150 m
	9	115 b
	13	119 hh
59	3	51 h
	5	73 d, 80 i
	9	93 r
	10	152 v
	12	67 k
	13	52 e, 75 n, 113 d
	14	72 ee
	21	143 a
60	3	107 b N.
	4	51 m, 122 v
	7	60 e
	9	58 g
	14	118 g, 125 h
61	1	84 <sup>b</sup> n
	7	119 hh
62	2	16 f
	9	20 m, 52 p
	12	152 a N.
63	3	53 p, 76 c
	11	128 c
	16	60 d
	19	151 e, 155 m
64	3	75 hh
	6	72 cc
65	1	51 c, 155 n
	2	126 s
	5	117 x
	11	35 g
	14	70 d
	17	29 i N., 51 m
	18	110 c
	20	75 oo
	24	107 c
66	13	155 d
	15	119 i
	18	167 b

## Jeremiah

1	10	45 g
	13	90 e
2	2	49 k
	8	155 n
	11	72 e, 155 n
	12	46 d
	15	44 m

## Jeremiah

2	16	117 u
	17	116 g N.
	19	60 a
	20	44 h N.
	21	126 z
	24	60 e, 122 d
	27	59 h, 69 s
	31	85 h
	33	44 h
	35	114 d
	36	68 h
3	1	113 ee, 159 w
	5	47 k, 66 f, 69 r
	6	75 ii, 132 b
	7	84 <sup>a</sup> k
	8	91 l
	9	112 ss
	15	113 h
	22	75 pp, 75 rr
4	1	143 d
	2	10 g
	5	120 h
	7	20 h, 93 t
	11	67 v
	13	67 ee
	18	75 n
	19	44 h, 108 g, 133 l
		N.
	30	145 t
5	6	20 b, 67 cc
	7	65 b
	13	52 o, 138 i
	22	58 i, 58 k, 60 e
	26	67 p
6	4	10 g
	8	51 c, 152 a N.
	10	108 h
	17	112 dd
	20	126 x
	28	133 i
	29	67 u
7	4	133 i N.
	9	112 o, 113 ee
	19	57 N <sup>4</sup> , 135 k
8	4	150 m
	5	128 c
	11	75 qq, 133 l
	13	72 aa, 113 w
	14	67 dd
	19	100 m, 102 m
9	1	108 f, 151 b
	2	53 n, 119 u
	3	63 c
	4	53 q, 113 d
	11	109 i
	12	114 r
	17	74 k
	23	113 d, 113 g, 144 e
10	3	145 u N <sup>3</sup>
	4	109 g

## Jeremiah

10 5 23 *i*, 47 *n*, 75 *oo*,  
113 *b*  
11 . . . . . 1 *c*  
17 . . . . . 46 *d*, 90 *n*  
18 . . . . . 67 *ee*  
19 . . . . . 63 *c*, 126 *y*  
22 . . . . . 146 *b*  
23 . . . . . 72 *z*  
11 7 . . . . . 113 *k*  
15 . . . . . 53 *n*, 90 *g*, 91 *e*  
16 . . . . . 84<sup>a</sup> *a*  
19 . . . . . 45 *g*  
12 4 . . . . . 145 *k*  
5 . . . . . 55 *h*  
9 . . . . . 68 *i*  
13 4 . . . . . 127 *e*  
10 . . . . . 52 *s*  
16 . . . . . 144 *c*  
17 . . . . . 69 *p*  
19 . . . . . 75 *m*, 118 *q*  
20 . . . . . 145 *m*  
21 . . . . . 64 *a*  
14 1 . . . . . 138 *e* *N*.  
16 . . . . . 103 *g*  
18 . . . . . 155 *h*, 159 *p*  
15 10 . . . . . 61 *h*, 91 *c* *N*.  
18 . . . . . 50 *f*, 102 *l*  
16 16 . . . . . 73 *b*, 132 *b*  
17 2 . . . . . 28 *a*, 45 *g*  
7 . . . . . 93 *oo*  
11 . . . . . 161 *a*  
17 . . . . . 75 *hh*  
18 . . . . . 53 *m*, 72 *y*, 74 *l*  
18 7 . . . . . 45 *g*  
16 . . . . . 119 *q*  
23 . . . . . 75 *ii*  
19 5 . . . . . 144 *b*  
11 . . . . . 75 *qq*  
15 . . . . . 74 *k*  
20 9 21 *d*, 112 *kk*, 132 *d*  
15 . . . . . 59 *f*  
17 . . . . . 111 *l*, 122 *n* *N*.  
21 1 . . . . . 115 *t*  
13 . . . . . 66 *f*  
22 14 . . . . . 87 *g*  
15 . . . . . 10 *g*, 55 *h*, 142 *g*  
16 . . . . . 144 *p*  
19 . . . . . 113 *h*  
20 . . . . . 10 *h*, 46 *d*  
22 . . . . . 22 *s*  
23 23 *f* *N*., 80 *d*, 90 *n*  
24 . . . . . 58 *i*  
26 . . . . . 72 *k*  
28 . . . . . 10 *g*  
29 . . . . . 133 *l* *N*.  
23 6 . . . . . 20 *d*, 60 *c*, 74 *e*  
9 . . . . . 126 *p*  
14 . . . . . 113 *h* *N*<sup>2</sup>, 152 *x*  
32 . . . . . 52 *s*  
33 . . . . . 117 *m* *N*.

## Jeremiah

23 37 . . . . . 58 *g*, 75 *u*  
39 . . . . . 23 *l*  
24 7 . . . . . 115 *c*  
25 3 . . . . . 53 *k*  
15 . . . . . 131 *k*  
26 . . . . . 127 *g*  
27 . . . . . 76 *h*  
34 . . . . . 91 *l*  
36 . . . . . 24 *e*  
26 5 . . . . . 113 *k*  
6 . . . . . 8 *k*, 37 *b*  
9 . . . . . 75 *qq*  
27 16 . . . . . 90 *e*  
18 . . . . . 72 *o*, 76 *g*  
20 . . . . . 53 *q*  
29 1 . . . . . 53 *p*  
8 . . . . . 53 *o*  
17 . . . . . 132 *e*  
23 . . . . . 64 *e*  
25 . . . . . 124 *b* *N*.  
30 11 . . . . . 113 *n*  
16 . . . . . 67 *s*  
26 . . . . . 134 *m*  
31 1 . . . . . 75 *hh*  
2 . . . . . 113 *dd*  
3 . . . . . 117 *x*  
8 . . . . . 119 *q*  
15 . . . . . 145 *m*  
18 . . . . . 51 *c*  
21 . . . . . 44 *h*, 126 *y*  
22 . . . . . 47 *o*  
28 . . . . . 45 *g*  
32 . . . . . 63 *o*, 138 *b* *N*.  
33 . . . . . 60 *a*  
38 . . . . . 17 *b*  
40 . . . . . 127 *g*  
32 4 . . . . . 51 *k*  
10 . . . . . 126 *s*  
12 . . . . . 127 *h*  
14 . . . . . 124 *b* *N*.  
35 . . . . . 74 *k*  
33 20 . . . . . 128 *d*, 131 *r*  
22 . . . . . 116 *g*  
34 9 . . . . . 132 *d*  
36 33 . . . . . 117 *l*  
37 3 . . . . . 53 *q*  
11 . . . . . 112 *uu*  
12 . . . . . 53 *q*  
15 . . . . . 112 *tt*  
16 . . . . . 87 *i*  
38 4 . . . . . 75 *rr*  
6 . . . . . 127 *f*  
9 . . . . . 111 *l*  
11 . . . . . 8 *k*  
12 . . . . . 93 *x*  
14 . . . . . 126 *w*  
16 . . . . . 17 *b*  
23 . . . . . 144 *i*  
26 . . . . . 115 *a*  
28 . . . . . 112 *qq*

## Jeremiah

39 7 . . . . . 53 *q*, 72 *z*  
12 . . . . . 22 *s*  
14 . . . . . 115 *c*  
40 3 . . . . . 112 *qq*  
4 . . . . . 35 *d*  
5 . . . . . 72 *s*  
16 . . . . . 75 *hh*  
41 6 . . . . . 113 *u*  
12 . . . . . 119 *g*  
42 2 . . . . . 75 *ff*  
6 . . . . . 17 *a*, 32 *d*  
10 . . . . . 19 *i*  
16 . . . . . 112 *y*  
44 7 . . . . . 114 *o*  
8 . . . . . 8 *k*  
18 . . . . . 67 *c*  
19 . . . . . 53 *k*, 58 *g*, 144 *u*  
21 . . . . . 52 *o*  
23 . . . . . 74 *g*  
25 . . . . . 72 *k*, 146 *g*  
46 1 . . . . . 138 *e* *N*.  
5 . . . . . 117 *q*  
8 . . . . . 68 *i*  
16 . . . . . 126 *w*  
20 . . . . . 84<sup>b</sup> *n*  
47 4 . . . . . 45 *g*, 67 *cc*  
48 2 . . . . . 67 *t*  
11 . . . . . 72 *dd*  
15 . . . . . 145 *u*  
31 . . . . . 70 *d*  
32 . . . . . 127 *f*  
36 . . . . . 80 *g*  
44 . . . . . 131 *n* *N*<sup>1</sup>  
45 . . . . . 119 *w*  
49 3 . . . . . 54 *b*  
8 . . . . . 46 *a* *N*<sup>2</sup>  
10 . . . . . 75 *pp*  
11 . . . . . 47 *k*, 60 *a* *N*.  
12 . . . . . 141 *h*  
16 . . . . . 90 *l*, 147 *c*  
25 . . . . . 80 *g*  
28 . . . . . 20 *b*, 67 *cc*  
30 . . . . . 20 *g*  
36 . . . . . 20 *m*  
37 . . . . . 67 *aa*  
50 5 . . . . . 51 *o*  
11 . . . . . 80 *k*  
34 . . . . . 53 *l*, 73 *d*  
51 3 . . . . . 17 *b*, 152 *h* *N*.  
9 . . . . . 75 *qq*  
13 . . . . . 90 *n*  
14 . . . . . 163 *d*  
29 . . . . . 111 *w* *N*.  
33 . . . . . 53 *l*  
56 . . . . . 20 *h*, 52 *k*  
58 . . . . . 20 *i*  
59 . . . . . 134 *p*  
52 12 . . . . . 155 *d*  
20 . . . . . 128 *d*

## Ezekiel

1	6	87 t, 88 f
11		91 l
14		113 s N.
20		123 d N <sup>2</sup>
2	3	126 x
10		19 h
8	3	49 e
15	67 ce, 154 a	N. (b)
4	9	87 e
12		58 k, 95 e
5	11	72 r, 109 d
12		52 n, 75 hh
13		54 c
16		109 d
6	3	93 v
6		67 p N., 67 dd
8		91 l
9		72 dd
10		119 ii
11		128 c
12		91 e
14		133 l
7	7	127 g
14		72 s, 113 a N.
24		93 oo
8	2	90 f
3		75 qq
16		75 kk
9	2	116 k
3		116 k, 121 d N <sup>1</sup>
7		112 tt
8		64 i
11		116 k
10	3	131 n, 131 n N <sup>2</sup>
15		72 dd
17		72 g, 72 dd
11	3	150 a N <sup>1</sup>
13		150 a N <sup>1</sup>
24		90 c
18	2	93 oo
3		152 x, 155 n
11		35 m
18		87 f, 103 f N <sup>2</sup>
19		72 k, 93 r
20		32 i, 91 l
14	3	51 k, 51 p
14		112 ll
22		117 l, 126 w
16	4	22 s, 52 q, 53 s, 64 e, 71
5		71
6		123 d N <sup>2</sup>
10		49 c
27		131 r
31		91 l
32		117 d
33		20 l, 64 c
34		121 a
45		96
47		103 m

## Ezekiel

18	50	47 l
51		96
52	52 p, 91 n, 95 p, 96	
53		91 e, 91 f
54		103 b
55		72 k
57		72 p
59		44 i
17	5	19 i, 66 g
7		52 d
9	45 e, 93 m, 150 a	N <sup>1</sup>
15		29 i, 93 rr
19		67 v
21		117 m
18	6	131 c
7		131 r
10	119 w N., 139 d	
14		103 l
28		75 t
29		145 u
32		139 d
19	1	124 e
2		80 h
12		53 u
20	9	67 t
16		117 m
22		112 tt
37		23 f
38		145 u
41		119 i
21	12	67 t
15		75 n
18		64 d
21		73 a
22		124 o
29		53 l
31		113 bb N <sup>2</sup>
32		133 l
33		45 c, 68 i
35		72 y
22	4	47 k
20		66 f
23	5	63 m
5		48 d
28		91 e, 138 e
32		47 k
42		21 c
44		96
45		103 b
47		103 b
48		55 k, 91 f
49		74 k, 76 b, 144 a
24	11	67 q
19		75 m
26		53 e, 54 k
25	3	67 u
4		91 e
6		23 c, 74 e
15		117 q

## Ezekiel

26	2	67 t
10		130 b
14		47 k
15		51 l
17		52 e, 138 k
21		10 g
27	3	90 m
7		121 b
19		20 i
31		80 h
32		23 k
34		116 g N.
35		117 q
28	4	32 g
16	23 d, 68 k, 75 qq,	III w N.
17		75 n
23		55 d
24		72 p
29	3	117 x, 124 e
7		127 c
30	9	93 y
12		124 e
16		73 d
31	3	67 v
5		44 f
7		76 f
16		128 a N <sup>1</sup>
32	12	51 n
19		46 a N <sup>2</sup>
30		20 m, 72 n
32		53 s
33	17	143 a N <sup>2</sup>
26		44 k
34	2	57 N <sup>4</sup>
8		57 N <sup>4</sup>
10	57 N <sup>4</sup> , 149 c, 167 b	
21		103 b
31		32 i
35	6	10 k
9		72 k
10		117 m
12		84 b e
36	3	67 r, 75 y, 113 g
5		91 e
11		70 e
12		69 s
25		34 f
32		152 d
37	2	112 pp
7		60 a N.
8		9 u, 29 i
11		116 t, 119 s
16		66 g, 119 u
17		52 n, 64 h
19		117 m N.
38	21	49 l
23		54 k
39	2	55 f
9		66 e

Ezekiel

39	26	75 q
40	3	74 l
	4	74 d
	5	134 n
	16	91 l
	17	121 d
	19	80 k
	27	134 g
	28	126 w
	31	93 ss
	43	20 m
	45	136 d N.
	48	92 g
41	7	67 dd
	15	91 l
	18	121 d
	20	5 n
	22	141 b
	25	131 n N1
42	5	68 h, 131 n
43	7	117 m
	17	103 o
	27	75 rr
44	3	117 m
	8	58 g
	9	93 hh, 143 e
	12	112 e N.
45	2	65 d
	12	97 e
	16	127 g
46	6	132 g N.
	9	93 a
	17	72 o
	19	127 f
	22	53 q, 53 s
	23	121 d
	24	124 r
47	3	128 n
	4	131 e
	7	91 e
	8	75 oo
	15	127 f and N.
	17	117 m
48	14	72 dd

Hosea

1	2	52 o, 130 d
	6	120 c, 152 a N.
	7	119 o
2	1	130 c
	3	96
	5	72 w
	6	52 n
	11	120 e
	14	91 e
	21	133 l
	25	152 a N.
3	1	125 c
	2	20 h

Hosea

3	5	2 v N.
4	2	113 ff
	3	119 i
	8	145 m
	14	155 f
	15	145 m
	16	150 a
	18	55 e
5	2	64 a
	3	135 a
	8	147 c
	15	60 a
6	1	109 k
	2	119 y N., 134 s
	3	155 g
	4	120 g
	6	119 w, 133 b
	9	23 l, 75 aa, 93 s
	10	114 l
7	2	157 a
	4	80 k
	5	93 ss
	6	91 c
	12	24 f, 70 b
	14	70 d
	16	34 b N.
8	3	60 d
	4	67 v
	7	90 f
	9	119 s
	10	20 g, 111 w N.
9	6	130 a
	9	120 g
	11	69 m
	12	159 m
	15	109 d
10	4	75 n
	6	121 b
	10	60 a, 71 i
	11	90 l
	14	9 b, 23 g, 53 u, 72 p, 156 c
	15	133 i
11	1	68 f
	3	19 i, 55 h, 66 g
	4	68 c
	7	75 rr
12	1	124 h
	5	58 k
	11	112 dd
	14	118 q
13	2	91 e, 128 l
	3	120 g
	8	122 e
	10	150 l
	14	93 q
	15	75 rr
14	1	84 a, 145 u
	3	128 e
	4	68 f

Hosea

14	5	118 q
	10	69 b, 166 a N.

Joel

1	2	100 n, 126 e, 150 g
	5	126 e
	6	152 v
	7	113 n
	8	63 l, 116 k
	12	102 b
	15	147 d
	17	20 h
	18	148 a
	20	145 k
2	2	109 d
	4	72 u, 126 p
	6	23 d
	13	152 g
	17	150 e
	21	46 e
	22	144 a
	24	93 r
	26	114 o
4	1	125 k
	3	69 u
	11	51 o, 64 h
	14	123 e, 147 c
	18	117 s
	21	49 k, 75 s

Amos

1	3	134 s, 158 c
	4	49 m
	5	145 c
	8	145 e
	9	114 r, 158 c
	11	58 g, 112 t, 114 r
2	6	61 b
	7	126 b
	9	53 n
	10	69 x
	12	51 n
	16	118 n, 128 y
3	4	163 c
	5	113 q
	7	163 c
	8	159 h
	9	124 e
	11	67 t, 154 a N.
	12	88 f, 126 r
	13	125 h
4	1	135 o, 144 a
	2	75 oo, 112 x
	3	44 k
	4	113 z
	7	112 h N., 144 c

## Amos

- 4 8 . . . . . 134 s  
 9 . . . . . 126 n  
 10 . . . . . 154 a N.  
 11 . . . . . 115 d  
 13 29 e N., 116 g N.  
 5 2 . . . . . 128 k  
 3 . . . . . 117 z, 129 g  
 4 . . . . . 110 f  
 5 . . . . . 122 h  
 7 . . . . . 126 b  
 8 . . . . . 111 u, 117 ii  
 11 . . . . . 61 e  
 14 . . . . . 109 k, 152 g  
 15 . . . . . 67 cc  
 18 . . . . . 152 d  
 19 . . . . . 112 m, 126 r  
 21 20 h, 106 g, 154 a  
 N.  
 26 . . . . . 112 x, 112 rr  
 6 1 . . . . . 112 n  
 2 . . . . . 125 h, 126 y  
 6 63 e, 93 k, 119 m  
 N.  
 10 114 l, 145 m, 152 s  
 12 123 a N., 144 d  
 13 . . . . . 152 a N.  
 14 . . . . . 125 c  
 7 1 . . . . . 86 i, 147 b  
 2 . . . . . 112 uu  
 4 . . . . . 112 tt  
 7 . . . . . 156 b  
 14 . . . . . 128 v  
 15 . . . . . 119 b  
 8 4 . . . . . 53 q  
 8 . . . . . 125 e  
 9 . . . . . 49 l  
 10 . . . . . 128 h, 135 p  
 13 . . . . . 54 k, 146 g  
 9 1 . . . . . 61 g, 144 e  
 3 . . . . . 112 p  
 7 . . . . . 150 e  
 8 53 k, 113 n, 113 v  
 11 . . . . . 116 d, 118 u  
 13 . . . . . 54 k

## Obadiah

- 3 . . . . . 90 l, 93 x  
 10 . . . . . 128 h  
 11 9 v, 61 f N., 69 u  
 13 . . . . . 47 k

## Jonah

- 1 3 116 d, 122 t, 135 p  
 5 . . . . . 51 m  
 6 . . . . . 120 b  
 7 . . . . . 150 k  
 9 . . . . . 2 b  
 10 . . . . . 117 q  
 11 . . . . . 113 u, 165 a

## Jonah

- 1 14 . . . . . 16 f  
 15 . . . . . 61 c  
 2 2 . . . . . 122 s  
 4 . . . . . 117 r  
 3 5 . . . . . 133 g  
 4 1 . . . . . 117 q  
 2 . . . . . 16 f, 114 n N.  
 6 . . . . . 117 q  
 9 . . . . . 113 k  
 10 . . . . . 96, 128 v  
 11 20 m, 97 b, 150 a

## Micah

- 1 2 109 k, 135 r, 144 p  
 5 . . . . . 23 c, 137 a  
 7 52 l, 67 y, 117 ii  
 8 69 b N., 118 n  
 10 . . . . . 113 v  
 11 122 s, 131 c, 145 m  
 13 . . . . . 110 k  
 15 . . . . . 74 k  
 2 3 . . . . . 118 q  
 4 67 u, 144 d, 148 b  
 6 . . . . . 72 dd, 145 o  
 7 . . . . . 100 n, 118 n  
 8 . . . . . 72 p, 116 h  
 12 . . . . . 72 k, 127 i  
 3 1 . . . . . 114 l, 150 e  
 4 . . . . . 109 k  
 6 . . . . . 119 w, 144 c  
 12 . . . . . 87 e, 121 d  
 4 3 . . . . . 91 n, 145 c  
 6 68 h, 84 a s, 122 s  
 8 . . . . . 68 f  
 9 . . . . . 117 q  
 10 10 k, 76 g, 145 n  
 11 . . . . . 119 dd  
 12 . . . . . 90 i  
 13 44 h, 72 q, 117 ii  
 14 . . . . . 119 o  
 5 1 . . . . . 135 g, 142 g  
 2 . . . . . 106 o, 155 l  
 4 72 i, 128 l, 134 s  
 6 1 . . . . . 138 e  
 3 53 p, 75 ee, 163 b  
 5 . . . . . 117 gg  
 8 . . . . . 163 d  
 9 . . . . . 146 b  
 10 . . . . . 47 b N., 118 g  
 11 . . . . . 47 b  
 13 . . . . . 115 c  
 7 1 . . . . . 93 p  
 2 117 ff, 119 i, 152 k  
 3 . . . . . 135 f  
 4 . . . . . 133 e, 133 g  
 8 . . . . . 122 s  
 10 75 p, 75 w, 75 hh  
 145 n

## Micah

- 7 11 . . . . . 126 x  
 12 . . . . . 126 aa  
 14 . . . . . 90 m  
 17 . . . . . 116 h  
 18 . . . . . 148 c  
 19 . . . . . 129 g

## Nahum

- 1 2 . . . . . 5 h, 128 u  
 3 . . . . . 75 hh, 143 a  
 4 . . . . . 69 u  
 5 . . . . . 126 k  
 12 . . . . . 67 t  
 2 4 . . . . . 52 q  
 5 . . . . . 55 g, 93 ss  
 8 . . . . . 63 p, 91 c  
 9 . . . . . 130 d N.  
 11 . . . . . 67 t, 133 l  
 14 . . . . . 91 l  
 3 5 . . . . . 53 p  
 7 . . . . . 52 g, 67 cc  
 8 . . . . . 70 e, 133 b  
 9 . . . . . 91 e  
 10 . . . . . 69 u  
 11 . . . . . 145 p  
 15 . . . . . 110 a, 110 k  
 17 . . . . . 20 h

## Habakkuk

- 1 5 . . . . . 116 s  
 6 . . . . . 13 c, 155 e  
 8 . . . . . 67 ee  
 11 . . . . . 138 h  
 14 . . . . . 152 u  
 15 . . . . . 63 p  
 16 . . . . . 103 g  
 17 . . . . . 114 k, 156 g  
 2 1 . . . . . 37 b  
 3 . . . . . 72 dd  
 6 . . . . . 147 c  
 10 . . . . . 116 s, 118 p  
 12 . . . . . 112 n  
 14 . . . . . 116 f N.,  
 155 g  
 15 . . . . . 90 m, 113 z  
 17 20 n, 60 d, 67 v  
 19 100 g N., 152 p  
 3 2 . . . . . 75 mm  
 6 . . . . . 67 k, 67 ee  
 8 . . . . . 131 r  
 9 . . . . . 117 q  
 10 . . . . . 91 l  
 13 22 s, 75 aa, 75 n,  
 113 h  
 15 . . . . . 144 m  
 17 . . . . . 95 f, 145 u  
 19 . . . . . 86 i

## Zephaniah

- 1 2 . 72 *aa*, 113 *w* N.  
 14 . . . 52 *s*, 90 *o*  
 2 2 . . . 152 *y*  
 7 . . . 135 *p*  
 9 . . . 8 *k*  
 15 . . . 152 *s*  
 3 1 . . . 75 *rr*  
 7 . . . 120 *g*  
 11 . . . 135 *n*  
 16 . . . 145 *p*  
 18 . . . 69 *t*  
 20 . . . 91 *l*

## Haggai

- 1 1 . . . 129 *f*  
 4 126 *z*, 131 *h* N.,  
 135 *g*  
 6 . . . 113 *z*  
 9 . . . 37 *f*  
 2 5 . . . 44 *o*, 117 *l*  
 7 . . . 145 *e*  
 12 . . . 159 *w*  
 17 . 117 *m* N., 152 *n*

## Zechariah

- 1 2 . . . 117 *q*  
 8 . . . 132 *d*  
 13 . . . 131 *c*  
 14 . . . 117 *q*  
 17 . . . 72 *k*  
 2 8 . . . 118 *r*  
 10 . . . 154 *b*  
 11 . . . 29 *o* N.  
 17 . . . 72 *v*, 72 *ee*  
 3 1 . . . 61 *b*, 115 *c*  
 4 . . . 113 *z*  
 7 . . . 53 *o*  
 8 . . . 126 *e*  
 9 . 88 *f*, 97 *c*, 122 *n*  
 4 2 . . . 91 *e*, 97 *c*  
 7 . . . 126 *x*  
 10 . . 72 *dd*, 127 *h*  
 12 . . . 10 *g*  
 5 2 . . . 134 *n*  
 4 . . . 73 *d*, 75 *mm*,  
 80 *i*  
 7 . . . 74 *i*, 136 *d* N.  
 9 . . . 74 *k*  
 10 . . . 32 *n*  
 11 . 23 *k*, 72 *ee*, 103 *g*  
 6 7 . . . 54 *k*  
 10 . . . 49 *l*  
 12 . . . 155 *e*  
 7 1 . . . 134 *p*  
 5 59 *a*, 113 *z*, 117 *x*,  
 135 *e*  
 7 . . . 117 *l*

## Zechariah

- 7 10 . . . 139 *c*  
 14 . . . 52 *n*  
 8 2 . . . 117 *q*  
 5 . . . 132 *d*  
 6 . . . 150 *a*  
 17 . . . 117 *l*  
 23 . . . 157 *a*  
 9 5 . . . 75 *p*, 75 *hh*  
 9 72 *s*, 124 *o*, 154 *a*  
 N.  
 11 . . . 135 *f*, 152 *u*  
 12 . . . 116 *s*  
 10 2 . . . 124 *h*  
 5 . . . 72 *p*  
 6 . . . 72 *x*  
 11 2 . . . 126 *w*  
 5 . . . 19 *k*  
 7 96, 130 *g*, 132 *c*,  
 133 *h*  
 10 . . . 67 *w*  
 17 . . . 90 *l*  
 12 10 . . . 138 *e* N<sup>1</sup>  
 12 . . . 123 *d*  
 13 7 . 72 *s*, 110 *k*, 144 *a*  
 14 4 . . 93 *v*, 128 *w* N.  
 10 . . 72 *p*, 126 *w*  
 12 . . 67 *dd*, 145 *m*

## Malachi

- 1 2 . . . 68 *f*  
 6 . . . 32 *c*  
 10 . . . 151 *a*, 153  
 13 . . . 37 *c*, 147 *c*  
 14 . . . 80 *d* N.  
 2 5 . . . 67 *u*  
 14 . . . 95 *k*  
 15 . . . 144 *p*  
 16 . . . 116 *s*, 155 *n*  
 3 1 . . . 150 *g*  
 2 . . . 126 *k*  
 9 . . . 67 *u*, 144 *p*  
 14 . . . 100 *g*  
 20 . . . 44 *d*

## Psalms

- 1 2 . . . 163 *a*  
 3 16 *g*, 107 *g*, 119 *cc*  
 6 . . . 68 *c*  
 2 1 . . . 106 *l*  
 2 . . . 119 *dd*, 126 *h*  
 3 . . . 91 *l*, 108 *b*  
 4 . . . 126 *h*  
 6 135 *a*, 135 *n*, 154 *b*  
 7 . . . 44 *d*, 69 *s*  
 10 . . . 126 *h*, 154 *b*  
 12 . . 118 *g* N., 130 *a*  
 3 1 . . . 129 *c*  
 2 . . . 67 *ee*

## Psalms

- 3 3 . . . 90 *g*, 152 *n* N.  
 5 . . . 144 *m*  
 6 . . . 49 *e*  
 8 . . . 72 *s*, 117 *ll*  
 4 1 . . . 124 *f*  
 3 . 37 *e*, 47 *m*, 156 *d*  
 4 . . . 154 *b*  
 7 . . . 76 *b*  
 8 . . . 133 *e* N., 155 *l*  
 5 4 . . . 118 *i*  
 5 107 *s*, 116 *f*, 117 *bb*  
 7 . . . 128 *a*, 128 *t*  
 8 . . . 107 *s*  
 9 . . . 24 *f* N., 70 *b*  
 10 122 *g*, 124 *e*, 145 *m*,  
 152 *o*  
 11 . . . 29 *e*  
 12 . . . 116 *g*, 156 *d*  
 13 . . . 117 *ee*  
 6 2 . . . 152 *h*  
 4 . . . 147 *c*  
 6 . . . 152 *o*  
 7 . . . 106 *g*  
 10 . . . 142 *f*  
 7 3 . . . 152 *l*  
 4 . . . 159 *m*  
 5 . . . 49 *e*  
 6 . . . 63 *n*  
 7 72 *s*, 119 *gg*, 156 *d*  
 10 124 *g*, 132 *h*, 158 *a*  
 12 . . . 127 *b*  
 13 . . . 120 *g*  
 16 . . . 155 *h*  
 17 . . . 10 *h*  
 8 2 . . . 66 *h*  
 3 . . . 128 *a*  
 4 . . . 159 *dd*  
 5 107 *v*, 111 *m*, 150 *h*  
 6 . . . 117 *cc*  
 9 1 . . . 5 *h*  
 2 . . . 13 *c*  
 7 . . . 135 *f*  
 11 . . . 106 *k*  
 14 . . . 20 *b*, 63 *l*  
 15 . . . 91 *l*  
 16 . . . 138 *g*  
 19 . . . 152 *z*  
 21 . . . 157 *a*  
 10 1 . . . 5 *h*  
 5 . . . 141 *c*  
 9 . . . 91 *e*  
 10 . . . 93 *x*, 154 *N*.  
 11 . . . 106 *g*  
 12 . . . 66 *c*, 76 *b*  
 11 1 118 *r*, 129 *c*, 148 *b*  
 2 . . . 47 *m*  
 4 . . . 145 *u*, 155 *e*  
 6 . . . 109 *k*  
 7 . . . 103 *f*  
 12 2 . . . 123 *b*

Psalms		Psalms		Psalms	
12	3 . . . 117 t, 123 f	21	4 . . . 117 ff	34	2 . . . . . 21 d
	4 . . . . . 122 q		7 . . . . . 117 ii, 124 e		6 . . . . . 109 e
	7 . . . . . 109, 97 h		13 . . . 117 ii N., 156 d		9 . . . . . 155 f
	8 . . . . . 126 y	22	2 . . . . . 59 h		12 . . . . . 60 f, 126 o
	9 . . . . . 54 k		3 . . . . . 152 d	35	1 . . . . . 73 d
13	4 . . . . . 117 r N.		4 . . . . . 117 bb		8 . . . . . 156 g
	5 . . . 44 e, 59 t, 152 z		6 . . . . . 112 h		10 . . . . . 9 u
14	1 . . . . . 154 a N.		7 . . . . . 116 l		14 . . . . . 93 hh
	3 . . . . . 152 o		8 . . . . . 119 q		16 . . . . . 113 h
	5 . . . . . 117 p		9 . . . . . 144 p		19 . . . . . 131 q N.
	7 . . . . . 151 b		14 . . . . . 118 r	36	6 . . . . . 35 n
	11 . . . . . 118 n		15 . . . . . 67 t		8 . . . . . 75 u
16	1 . . . 48 i N <sup>2</sup> , 61 f N.		16 . . . . 121 c, 122 n		9 . . . . . 75 u
	2 . . . . . 44 t, 152 t		18 . . . . . 107 s		13 . . . . . 64 d
	3 . . . . . 130 d, 143 e		22 . . . . . 23 f, 119 ff	37	1 . . . 5 h, 35 b, 75 bb
	4 93 m, 145 p, 155 f		29 . . . . . 116 s		5 . . . . . 67 n
	5 . . . . . 50 e		32 . . . . . 116 e		9 . . . . . 20 f
	6 . . . . . 80 q, 122 q	23	2 . . . . . 124 e, 128 p		14 . . . . . 45 g
	8 . . . . . 116 s		4 . . . . . 107 x, 159 bb		15 . . . . . 20 h
	9 . . . . . 111 r		5 126 n, 141 c, 141 d		16 . . . . . 129 b
	10 . . . . . 114 m		6 . . . . . 69 m N.		20 . . . . . 29 o, 75 m
	11 . . . . . 122 q, 124 e	24	1 . . . . . 129 c, 130 a		23 . . . . . 121 f
17	3 . . . . . 59 h		2 . . . . . 107 b, 124 e		24 . . . . . 159 bb
	4 . . . . . 143 e		4 . . . . . 128 y		31 . . . . . 145 k
	5 . . . . . 113 gg		10 . . . . . 136 c	38	11 . . . . . 55 e
	9 . . . . . 138 g	25	1 . . . . . 5 h		13 . . . . . 124 e
	10 . . . . . 91 f		10 . . . . . 141 c		21 . . . . . 61 c
	12 . . . . . 126 p		11 . . . . . 112 nn	39	13 . . . . . 10 h
	13 . . . . . 144 m		14 . . . . . 114 i		14 . . . . . 75 gg
18	1 2 r, 53 l, 130 d,	26	2 . . . . . 48 i	40	2 . . . . . 75 aa
	154 a N.		3 . . . . . 112 rr		5 . . . . . 93 oo
	3 . . . . . 93 pp, 155 i		4 . . . . . 128 t		6 . . . . . 108 f
	4 . . . . . 116 e, 132 b		7 . . . . . 53 q		15 . . . . . 29 o N.
	7 . . . . . 109 g N <sup>2</sup> , 107 b		10 . . . . . 20 f		18 . . . . . 29 q
	10 . . . . . 69 p		12 . . . . . 93 qq	41	3 . . . . . 109 e
	12 . . . . . 109 k		14 . . . . . 144 m		5 . . . . . 74 h
	17 . . . . . 117 g	27	7 . . . . . 159 dd, 167 a		8 . . . . . 54 f
	18 . . . . . 126 z	28	1 . . . . . 119 ff	42	2 . . . . . 123 f, 155 g
	22 . . . . . 119 ff		7 . . . . . 53 q		4 . . . . . 115 e N.
	26 . . . . . 93 h, 93 s		9 . . . . . 10 g		5 . . . . . 117 x
	28 . . . . . 132 f		12 . . . . . 124 g, 128 v		6 . . . . . 111 t
	30 . . . . . 67 q, 119 o		4 . . . . . 141 c N <sup>2</sup>	10	1 . . . . . 68 g, 102 l
	31 126 c, 140 d, 143 a		10 . . . . . 111 r	43	1 . . . . . 72 s
	33 116 f, 116 x, 117 cc	30	2 . . . . . 60 f		2 . . . . . 102 l
	35 . . . . . 145 k		4 . . . . . 69 m		3 . . . . . 124 b
	38 . . . . . 107 b N <sup>2</sup>		8 . . . . . 90 n, 93 aa	44	3 . . . . . 144 m
	40 . . . . . 116 i	31	2 . . . . . 108 c		6 . . . . . 119 o
	41 . . . . . 117 ii N.		21 . . . . . 93 r		18 . . . . . 156 f
	49 . . . . . 116 i	32	1 . . . . . 75 qq, 116 k		20 . . . . . 119 q
19	3 . . . . . 20 f		2 . . . . . 155 i		23 . . . . . 128 q
	4 . . . . . 152 t		6 . . . . . 143 e, 153		26 . . . . . 67 k
	5 . . . . . 135 p		8 107 g, 138 g, 156 c		27 . . . . . 72 s
	6 . . . . . 122 o		9 114 a, 114 k, 114 s	45	1 . . . . . 124 e
	8 . . . . . 116 g	33	5 . . . . . 116 s		3 . . . . . 55 e
	10 . . . . . 126 b, 141 e		7 . . . . . 118 w		5 . . . . . 131 c, 154 a N.
	11 . . . . . 116 e		8 . . . . . 145 e		6 . . . . . 15 o, 29 o N.
	14 . . . . . 49 k, 67 p		10 . . . . . 67 v		7 . . . . . 128 d
20	3 . . . . . 135 m		12 . . . . . 155 h		8 . . . . . 117 ee
	4 . . . . . 48 d		15 . . . . . 126 b		9 . . . . . 87 f, 141 d
21	2 109 k, 126 h, 148 b	34	1 . . . . . 5 h		10 . . . . . 20 h N <sup>2</sup>

**Psalms**

45 12 75 *bb*, 109 *h*, 124 *i*  
 16 . . . . . 76 *g*  
 18 . . . . . 53 *q*, 123 *c*  
 46 3 . . . . . 115 *g*  
 4 . . . . . 132 *h* *N*.  
 5 . . . . . 124 *b*, 132 *c*  
 7 . . . . . 119 *g*  
 48 6 . . . . . 164 *b* *N*.  
 11 . . . . . 93 *g*, 93 *x*  
 15 . . . . . 126 *aa*  
 49 6 . . . . . 102 *l*  
 7 . . . . . 126 *b*  
 8 . . . . . 113 *v*  
 14 . . . . . 115 *e*  
 15 10 *g*, 67 *ee*, 114 *h*  
*N*.  
 50 3 . . . . . 109 *e*, 144 *c*  
 4 . . . . . 115 *b*  
 10 . . . . . 90 *n*  
 12 . . . . . 159 *m*, 159 *r*  
 17 . . . . . 142 *d*  
 21 112 *cc*, 113 *x*, 157 *a*  
 22 . . . . . 116 *b*  
 23 . . . . . 58 *i*  
 51 4 . . . . . 75 *gg*, 120 *g*  
 5 . . . . . 142 *f*  
 7 . . . . . 64 *h*  
 9 . . . . . 165 *a*  
 10 . . . . . 155 *h*  
 14 . . . . . 117 *ff*  
 18 . . . . . 108 *f*  
 19 . . . . . 128 *h*  
 52 5 . . . . . 119 *w*  
 15 . . . . . 58 *i*  
 53 6 . . . . . 91 *e*, 116 *i*  
 54 6 . . . . . 119 *i*  
 55 3 . . . . . 108 *g*  
 10 . . . . . 52 *n*  
 16 . . . . . 74 *k*  
 18 . . . . . 108 *g*  
 19 . . . . . 119 *gg*  
 22 . . . . . 10 *g*  
 23 . . . . . 117 *x*  
 56 4 . . . . . 155 *l*  
 57 2 . . . . . 75 *u*  
 5 . . . . . 117 *bb*, 144 *m*  
 58 2 . . . . . 52 *n*  
 5 . . . . . 63 *n*  
 9 . . . . . 69 *x*, 96, 118 *r*  
 59 6 125 *h*, 128 *x*, 131 *s*  
 8 . . . . . 151 *a*  
 16 . . . . . 159 *s*  
 60 4 . . . . . 75 *pp*  
 5 . . . . . 131 *c*  
 13 . . . . . 80 *g*, 158 *a*  
 61 1 . . . . . 80 *f*  
 8 . . . . . 75 *cc*  
 62 4 . . . . . 52 *q*  
 5 . . . . . 145 *m*  
 8 . . . . . 13 *c*

**Psalms**

63 2 . . . . . 132 *d*  
 4 . . . . . 60 *e*  
 6 . . . . . 117 *t*  
 64 5 . . . . . 69 *r*  
 7 . . . . . 67 *e*  
 8 . . . . . 117 *ff*  
 9 . . . . . 130 *a*  
 65 6 . . . . . 92 *g*  
 10 . . . . . 53 *n*, 60 *g*  
 11 . . . . . 117 *y*  
 66 6 . . . . . 108 *g*  
 13 . . . . . 119 *n*  
 17 . . . . . 144 *m*  
 68 3 . . . . . 19 *c*, 51 *k*, 67 *t*  
 5 . . . . . 119 *i* *N*<sup>s</sup>, 122 *t*  
 7 . . . . . 117 *bb*, 124 *e*  
 9 . . . . . 136 *d* *N*.  
 17 . . . . . 131 *c*  
 18 . . . . . 21 *c*, 97 *h*  
 19 . . . . . 20 *f*, 117 *bb*  
 22 . . . . . 128 *c*  
 23 . . . . . 75 *u*  
 24 . . . . . 10 *g*, 103 *m*  
 34 . . . . . 119 *g*  
 69 4 . . . . . 118 *p*  
 5 . . . . . 131 *q* *N*.  
 9 . . . . . 48 *i*  
 10 . . . . . 95 *b* *N*.  
 11 . . . . . 144 *l* *N*<sup>s</sup>  
 24 . . . . . 64 *h*  
 33 . . . . . 69 *s*  
 71 1 . . . . . 108 *c*  
 7 . . . . . 131 *r*  
 23 . . . . . 44 *o*  
 72 2 . . . . . 107 *n*  
 13 . . . . . 72 *r*  
 14 . . . . . 69 *f*  
 17 . . . . . 10 *g*  
 20 . . . . . 52 *q*  
 73 2 . . . . . 75 *u*  
 7 . . . . . 145 *o*  
 9 . . . . . 63 *n*, 69 *x*  
 14 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 16 . . . . . 49 *e*, 108 *e*  
 17 . . . . . 108 *h*  
 20 . . . . . 53 *q*, 119 *y* *N*.  
 27 . . . . . 119 *ff*  
 28 . . . . . 73 *d*  
 74 7 . . . . . 119 *gg*  
 8 . . . . . 76 *f*  
 10 . . . . . 64 *e*  
 19 . . . . . 80 *f*  
 75 4 . . . . . 116 *w*, 146 *g*  
 76 6 . . . . . 54 *a* *N*<sup>2</sup>  
 11 . . . . . 124 *e*  
 77 2 . . . . . 63 *o*  
 4 . . . . . 75 *l*, 75 *u*  
 10 . . . . . 67 *r*  
 11 . . . . . 67 *r*  
 16 . . . . . 20 *g*, 125 *c*

**Psalms**

77 18 . . . . . 55 *b*, 93 *bb*  
 20 . . . . . 20 *h*  
 78 6 . . . . . 107 *k*  
 15 . . . . . 132 *h* *N*.  
 16 . . . . . 74 *l*  
 21 . . . . . 66 *e*  
 44 . . . . . 75 *u*, 124 *e*  
 54 . . . . . 138 *g*  
 80 8 . . . . . 131 *s*  
 11 . . . . . 52 *q*, 121 *d*  
 14 . . . . . 5 *n*, 56  
 15 . . . . . 125 *h*  
 19 . . . . . 72 *t*  
 81 9 . . . . . 109 *b*  
 11 . . . . . 116 *f*  
 83 12 . . . . . 131 *o*  
 19 . . . . . 144 *l* *N*<sup>s</sup>  
 84 9 . . . . . 125 *h*  
 86 2 9 *v*, 48 *i* *N*., 61 *f* *N*.  
 9 . . . . . 117 *n*  
 87 3 . . . . . 121 *d* *N*<sup>1</sup>, 145 *u*  
 5 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 88 5 . . . . . 152 *u*  
 6 . . . . . 116 *h*  
 17 . . . . . 55 *d*  
 89 7 . . . . . 124 *q*, 128 *v*  
 10 . . . . . 76 *b*  
 40 . . . . . 64 *e*  
 48 . . . . . 135 *f*  
 51 . . . . . 132 *b*  
 52 . . . . . 20 *h*  
 90 2 . . . . . 107 *c*, 152 *r*  
 3 . . . . . 109 *k*, 111 *t*  
 4 . . . . . 118 *r*  
 5 . . . . . 155 *g*  
 6 . . . . . 112 *m*  
 8 . . . . . 73 *d*  
 10 . . . . . 49 *e*  
 13 . . . . . 147 *c*  
 15 . . . . . 87 *n*, 130 *d*  
 91 4 . . . . . 67 *p*, 109 *k*  
 6 . . . . . 67 *q*, 118 *i*  
 9 . . . . . 117 *ii*  
 11 . . . . . 20 *c*  
 12 . . . . . 60 *e*  
 92 12 . . . . . 132 *b*  
 93 5 . . . . . 75 *x*  
 94 1 . . . . . 53 *m*, 69 *v*  
 9 . . . . . 93 *qq*  
 12 . . . . . 20 *g*  
 20 . . . . . 60 *b*, 63 *m*  
 99 6 . . . . . 74 *i*, 75 *oo*, 119 *i*  
 100 3 . . . . . 103 *g*  
 101 5 . . . . . 55 *b*, 64 *i*, 90 *m*  
 102 4 . . . . . 67 *u*  
 9 . . . . . 116 *i*  
 14 . . . . . 67 *cc*  
 19 . . . . . 106 *e*  
 28 . . . . . 67 *g*, 135 *a* *N*<sup>1</sup>  
 103 1 . . . . . 10 *g*

Psalms		Psalms		Psalms	
103	3 . . . 91 e, 91 l	119	117 . . . . 75 l	144	14 . . . . 122 e
	4 . . . . 58 g		128 . . . . 130 f N.	145	1 . . . . 5 h
	5 . . . . 145 k, 156 d		136 . . . . 155 n		7 . . . . 132 b
	9 . . . . 117 g		137 . . . . 145 r		13 . . . . 123 c
104	1 . . . . 106 g	120	1 . . . . 90 g, 127 e	147	1 . . . . 52 p
	3 20 m N <sup>a</sup> , 35 b, 126 b		5 . . . . 117 bb		2 . . . . 20 m
	8 . . . . 138 g		6 . . . . 119 s	149	2 . . . . 124 k
	11 . . . . 90 n	121	1 . . . . 127 e	Proverbs	
	12 . . . . 93 s		3 . . . . 107 p, 109 e	1	9 . . . . 91 n
	18 . . . . 20 m, 126 x		5 . . . . 124 k		10 . . . . 68 h, 75 hh
	20 . . . . 109 h, 159 d	122	6 . . . . 75 u		16 . . . . 145 u
	21 . . . . 114 p	123	1 . . . . 90 m		19 . . . . 29 f
	25 . . . . 136 d		4 . . . . 119 s, 127 g	20	47 k, 48 d, 86 i
	26 . . . . 138 g	124	4 . . . . 90 f	21	75 v
	28 . . . . 47 m, 159 c	125	1 . . . . 155 g	22	63 m, 93 i N.
105	12 . . . . 118 x	126	6 . . . . 113 p, 113 u	23	159 d
	28 . . . . 53 n	127	1 . . . . 118 i	28	60 e
	43 . . . . 78 l		2 23 l, 80 h, 114 n	2	8 . . . . 114 i N.
107	23 . . . . 5 n, 17 e	128	3 . . . . 75 v, 96		10 . . . . 145 u
	43 . . . . 93 m		5 . . . . 110 i	11	58 i
108	7 . . . . 144 m	131	1 . . . . 72 l	14	128 w
109	2 . . . . 117 t	132	1 . . . . 52 r	19	116 i
	3 . . . . 57 N <sup>a</sup>		3 . . . . 128 m	22	144 g
	10 . . . . 64 e		4 . . . . 80 g	3	3 . . . . 110 f
	13 . . . . 75 v		12 34 b, 91 n, 138 g	8	22 s
110	1 . . . . 164 f	133	2 . . . . 126 x	12	16 b
	2 . . . . 110 c	135	7 . . . . 53 o	25	109 e
	3 . . . . 141 c	136	1 . . . . 2 r	26	119 i
	4 . . . . 90 l		3 . . . . 102 m	4	4 . . . . 75 n
111	1 . . . . 5 h		6 . . . . 65 d	8	60 f, 67 l
112	1 . . . . 5 h	137	1 . . . . 124 e	13	20 h
	8 . . . . 164 f		3 . . . . 117 gg	21	72 ee
	9 . . . . 120 g		5 . . . . 159 m	25	70 b
113	5 . . . . 90 m		6 . . . . 58 g	5	2 . . . . 145 u
	7 . . . . 90 m		7 . . . . 75 cc, 116 d	4	96
	8 . . . . 90 n	138	2 . . . . 16 f	6	72 l
	9 . . . . 90 n		6 . . . . 69 b N., 69 p	13	75 ee
114	1 . . . . 128 a N <sup>2</sup>	139	1 . . . . 59 h	16	150 a
	8 . . . . 90 m, 90 n		2 . . . . 73 a N.	17	152 o
115	7 . . . . 143 d, 147 e		5 . . . . 91 e	22	60 a, 131 m N.
116	1 . . . . 90 n		8 . . . . 66 e, 159 m	6	24 114 i N., 128 w
	4 . . . . 16 f		11 103 d, 111 x, 159 f	7	2 . . . . 75 n
	6 . . . . 53 g		12 . . . . 133 b N <sup>a</sup>	5	114 i N.
	7 . . . . 72 s, 91 l		14 . . . . 75 gg, 118 p	7	108 h
	12 . . . . 91 l		18 . . . . 159 c N.	8	91 e
	15 . . . . 90 f		20 23 i, 68 h, 75 oo	11	94 d
118	5 20 g, 59 f, 119 gg		21 . . . . 72 cc	13	67 da, 68 e
	7 . . . . 119 i		22 . . . . 117 g, 128 r	26	116 l
	10 . . . . 60 d	140	4 . . . . 91 l	8	3 . . . . 47 k
	11 . . . . 67 cc		10 . . . . 75 mm	4	96
	13 . . . . 113 p		13 . . . . 44 i	12	117 bb
	14 . . . . 80 g	141	3 . . . . 20 h, 48 i	13	122 v
	18 . . . . 20 g, 59 f		4 . . . . 96	17	68 f
	23 . . . . 74 g		5 . . . . 74 k	22	59 f
	25 . . . . 53 m		8 . . . . 75 bb	25	107 c, 152 r
	26 . . . . 59 e		10 . . . . 145 m	26	124 l
119	1 . . . . 5 n, 75 oo	142	5 . . . . 113 bb	27	67 r
	18 . . . . 75 cc	143	6 . . . . 106 g	28	93 v
	28 . . . . 91 n	144	2 . . . . 87 f	30	122 f

**Proverbs**

8	32	130 d, 155 n
9	1	86 l
	5	119 m
	9	109 h
	10	124 h
	12	159 ff
	13	137 c, 152 u N.
	18	116 l
10	4	23 g, 72 p, 117 t
	26	124 k
	31	117 z
11	3	67 n
	14	123 b
	15	67 t
	21	22 s
	25	69 w
12	1	16 f
	10	145 h
	17	159 c
	18	75 qq
	19	108 h
	28	152 g
13	4	131 n
	6	142 f
	10	153
	21	117 c
	23	23 g
	24	117 ff
14	1	86 l, 145 k N.
	2	116 k
	3	47 g
	7	152 u N.
	10	22 s
	13	131 n N <sup>1</sup>
	14	72 p
	20	121 f
	30	124 d
	34	72 bb
	35	114 i N.
15	1	20 c, 22 s
	5	63 n
	20	107 f
16	3	124 e
	4	127 i
	11	128 a N.
	30	141 i N.
	33	121 b
17	4	68 i
	10	66 f
	12	113 cc, 133 b N., 152 g
	15	154 a N. (c)
	21	114 i N.
	26	153
18	6	145 u
	16	92 g
	22	159 h
	24	47 b
19	7	9 u
	8	114 i

**Proverbs**

19	25	63 n, 144 h
20	2	128 h
	9	107 t
	10	123 f
	13	110 h
	16	63 l
	22	22 s
	25	114 i
21	6	128 c
	12	125 c
22	21	10 k, 124 k, 131 c
23	1	73 a, 73 d
	7	152 t
	22	138 g
	24	159 i
	29	131 q
	35	120 c
24	1	5 h
	4	29 o
	14	48 l
	17	51 l
	22	151 a
	31	117 z
25	2	53 k
	3	29 i N.
	5	126 n
	9	75 bb
	11	93 r
	12	161 a N.
	13	124 k
	16	76 h, 91 d
	17	69 v
	19	52 s, 67 s, 92 g
	23	72 bb
	26	53 s
	27	113 b
28	7	75 u
	8	67 cc
	17	155 e
	23	145 u
	28	122 n
27	6	63 c
	7	143 a
	9	146 e
	15	75 x
	24	150 g N.
	25	20 h
28	6	88 e N.
	22	10 h
29	6	67 q
30	1	96
	3	124 h, 166 a
	6	10 k, 69 v
	13	72 l
	14	114 i N.
	17	10 g N., 20 h N.
	18	134 s
	24	133 g
	28	144 h
	30	152 b

**Proverbs**

30	31	35 m
31	1	128 h
	2	37 f
	3	53 g, 87 e
	4	75 n
	10	2 r, 5 h
	30	54 g

**Job**

1	1	155 e, 156 b
	3	123 a
	4	97 c, 112 dd
	5	107 e, 112 f, 118 h
		164 d
	6	119 cc, 126 s, 128 v
	7	107 h
	12	136 d
	14	116 r, 119 cc, 122 c, 135 o, 141 i, 145 c
	15	49 e, 122 i, 135 o
	16	116 u, 164 a
	18	116 u
	19	122 g
	21	23 f, 74 k, 118 n
2	1	128 v
	3	111 l
	9	110 f
	10	150 a, 153
3	2	68 e
	3	29 e, 68 d, 107 k, 155 f, 155 i
	4	141 c N.
	6	75 r
	8	114 m
	9	109 a N., 152 k
	11	152 z
	13	106 p, 159 dd
	15	155 e
	17	106 l
	19	135 a N.
	20	128 y
	24	145 p
	25	75 u
4	2	28 b, 87 e, 150 m
	3	107 e, 132 f
	5	111 t, 144 b
	6	143 d
	7	136 c
	17	107 f, 133 b N., 150 h
	19	144 g, 145 t
	20	29 l, 67 g, 67 y
	21	150 m
5	1	61 h, 91 d
	2	117 n
	3	135 a
	5	119 s
	7	128 v, 161 a
	8	107 x

## Job

5	10	126 b
12		166 a
13		91 e
14		118 u
16		90 g
18		75 qg
19		134 s
22		109 e
24		159 g
27		20 g
6	2	113 w, 144 g
5		150 h
7		66 b, 106 g
8		95 h, 151 d
9		120 d
10		108 f
12		141 d, 150 f
13		150 g N.
16		126 b
17		130 d, 155 l
19		119 s
20		135 p, 145 u
21		75 l, 152 a
22		22 p, 64 a, 69 o
25		154 a
26		65 f, 69 v
28		120 g
7	2	155 g
3		121 c, 144 g
4		124 f
6		133 b
13		112 h, 119 m
14		58 i, 60 d
15		133 b
18		123 c
20		102 l, 119 aa, 159 h
21		37 f
8	5	159 r
7		145 u
9		141 d
10		125 c
11		75 r, 150 h, 152 a N.
14		72 r, 93 oo
18		29 g, 64 g
19		145 d
21		23 e, 75 pp
9	6	54 k
7		109 g, 165 a
8		87 s
11		117 n, 159 w
15		55 b, 159 n, 160 a
16		111 x
18		20 h, 114 m
19		147 b
20		53 n, 107 x
22		106 i
24		150 l N.
26		155 g, 161 a N.
27		159 u

## Job

9	29	107 n
31		126 r
32		116 s, 152 d, 166 a
33		109 i, 152 d
34		60 d
10	1	72 dd
7		119 aa N.
8		111 e
15		159 ff
16		109 h, 120 g
17		154 a N.
18		107 n
19		17 n
21		107 c
22		90 g, 152 a N.
11	2	128 t
3		111 t
5		151 b
6		110 i, 134 r N.
9		91 e
11		128 t
12		51 g, 131 c N.
15		119 w, 159 ee
17		48 d, 108 e, 133 e 144 c
20		103 m
13	3	152 d
4		111 u
6		29 t, 75 u, 124 e
7		145 k
11		135 i, 161 a
12		141 d
14		159 w
15		15 c
17		116 s, 116 x, 118 o
23		117 n
24		128 a, 152 u
13	3	53 k, 113 d
7		150 h
9		67 g
13		119 ff, 131 c
15		153
16		152 e
17		113 r
21		29 g, 60 d, 64 h
25		117 c
26		124 e
27		54 f, 93 r
28		144 p, 155 h
14	1	116 l
2		111 s
3		150 b, 153
4		151 b
6		109 f, 156 g
9		65 e, 112 m
10		111 t
11		161 a
19		145 k
22		153
15	3	113 h, 119 h h

## Job

15	6	145 u
7		121 d
10		131 g
11		133 c
13		125 c
15		67 ee
16		116 e
17		75 bb, 138 h, 143 d
20		146 a
21		118 f
22		75 v
23		147 c
26		128 r
18	3	150 g
4		103 l, 108 f, 119 g
5		60 f
6		63 f, 108 e, 159 ff
7		53 p, 75 ee, 144 p
8		120 c
9		118 g, 119 g
10		54 k, 119 g
12		112 t
13		95 h
14		126 p
16		44 m, 55 e
17		152 a N., 160 a
19		124 b
22		69 x, 75 u, 145 u
17	1	124 c
2		20 h, 73 e, 75 ff
4		72 cc
5		75 w
7		75 p
9		10 h
10		120 e, 135 r
13		124 b
16		47 k
18	2	130 a
3		75 qg
4		51 n, 139 f
7		67 dd, 135 n
8		54 k
12		109 k
18		144 g
21		130 d
19	2	21 d, 60 e, 75 gg, 75 oo
3		53 n, 120 c
7		63 h N., 159 w
10		69 p, x
15		60 a
17		67 ee
18		159 e
19		138 h
23		53 u, 67 y, 126 s, 151 d
24		51 m
25		118 n
26		119 w, 144 g
28		117 n

Job

20 4 . . . . . 150 e  
 9 . . . . . 122 l  
 10 . . . . . 72 k  
 12 . . . . . 159 q  
 17 . . . . . 109 e, 130 e  
 19 . . . . . 154 a N.  
 22 . . . . . 74 h, 118 e  
 23 . . . . . 103 f N.  
 24 . . . . . 159 c  
 26 . 68 f, 145 u, 156 f  
 29 . . . . . 131 e, 135 m  
 21 4 100 n, 135 f, 143 a,  
 150 g  
 5 . . . . . 67 v  
 7 . . . . . 117 z  
 9 . 119 w, 141 c N<sup>s</sup>  
 11 . . . . . 52 n  
 13 . . . . . 20 i, 66 f  
 16 . . . . . 20 f, 106 n N<sup>2</sup>  
 17 . . . . . 150 h  
 21 . . . . . 37 d, 146 a  
 22 . . . . . 142 d  
 23 . . . . . 139 g  
 25 . . . . . 119 m  
 27 . . . . . 155 k  
 29 . . . . . 44 d, 64 f  
 32 . . . . . 124 c  
 22 2 . . . . . 103 f N<sup>s</sup>  
 3 . . . . . 67 y  
 7 . . . . . 152 e  
 9 . . . . . 121 b  
 12 20 i, 117 h, 141 c,  
 158 a  
 16 . . . . . 121 d, 149 a  
 18 . . . . . 106 n N.  
 20 . . . . . 91 f, 149 e  
 21 48 d, 110 f, 135 p  
 23 . . . . . 159 ff  
 29 . . . . . 23 f  
 30 . . . . . 152 q  
 23 2 . . . . . 119 aa  
 3 . . . . . 120 e  
 6 . . . . . 100 l  
 9 . . . . . 109 k  
 11 . . . . . 76 c  
 12 . . . . . 143 d  
 13 . . . . . 119 i  
 16 . . . . . 67 v  
 24 1 . . . . . 75 m, 121 f  
 5 . . . . . 118 r, 145 m  
 7 . . . . . 118 o  
 10 . . . . . 118 o, 152 u  
 14 109 k, 118 x, 120 c  
 19 . . . . . 161 a  
 21 . . . . . 70 d  
 22 . . . . . 87 e, 156 f  
 23 . . . . . 91 l  
 24 . 51 m 67 m, 67 y  
 25 . 150 l N., 152 a  
 25 2 . . . . . 116 z

Job

25 3 . . . . . 91 d  
 5 . . . . . 67 ee  
 26 2 152 a N., 152 u,  
 152 v  
 4 . . . . . 117 gg  
 5 . . . . . 119 c  
 7 . . . . . 116 s  
 9 . . . . . 56  
 14 . . . . . 119 m  
 27 3 . . . . . 128 e  
 5 . . . . . 149 a  
 6 . . . . . 119 w N.  
 7 . . . . . 118 x  
 12 . . . . . 117 q  
 19 . 68 h, 120 d N.  
 23 . . . . . 103 f N.  
 28 1 . . . . . 155 h  
 2 . . . . . 121 d, 127 ii  
 4 . . . . . 126 b  
 5 . . . . . 118 w  
 6 . . . . . 124 l  
 11 . . . . . 119 x  
 12 . . . . . 119 ff  
 17 . . . . . 152 z  
 25 . . . . . 114 r  
 27 . . . . . 60 d  
 29 2 118 u, 130 d, 151 b  
 3 67 p, 118 h, 131 o  
 6 . . . . . 23 f  
 8 . . . . . 120 g N.  
 10 . . . . . 44 c, 146 a  
 12 . . . . . 152 u, 155 n  
 15 . . . . . 141 d  
 16 . . . . . 130 d, 155 n  
 21 . 20 i, 24 e, 67 g  
 23 . . . . . 118 w  
 25 . . . . . 10 g, 126 p  
 30 3 . . . . . 126 b, 133 l  
 6 . . . . . 114 k, 133 h  
 10 . . . . . 106 g  
 13 . . . . . 152 u, 155 n  
 14 . . . . . 75 u  
 15 . . . . . 121 b  
 19 . . . . . 59 f, 75 ll  
 20 . . . . . 72 bb  
 26 . . . . . 49 e, 108 e  
 28 . . . . . 118 n, 120 c  
 31 1 . . . . . 148 a  
 5 . . . . . 72 ff  
 7 . . . . . 23 c, 108 f  
 9 . . . . . 159 m  
 10 . . . . . 87 e  
 11 . . . . . 32 l, 131 s  
 12 . . . . . 155 f  
 15 . . . . . 58 k, 72 cc  
 18 117 x, 126 p, 163 b  
 22 . . . . . 91 e  
 26 67 p, 111 q, 118 n,  
 118 q  
 27 . . . . . 75 q

Job

31 28 . . . . . 159 dd  
 29 . . . . . 112 e  
 31 . . . . . 151 b  
 34 . . . . . 156 f  
 35 . . . . . 151 b  
 32 6 . . . . . 68 e, 69 m  
 7 . . . . . 146 a  
 11 . . . . . 68 i  
 12 . . . . . 103 o  
 17 . . . . . 63 f  
 18 . . . . . 23 f, 74 k  
 22 . . . . . 120 c  
 33 4 . . . . . 16 h, 75 mm  
 5 . . . . . 48 i, 54 k  
 21 . . . . . 14 d, 64 e  
 25 . . . . . 56  
 30 . . . . . 51 l, 72 v  
 32 . . . . . 61 d  
 34 13 . . . . . 90 f  
 18 . . . . . 113 ee N.  
 22 . . . . . 115 g  
 36 . . . . . 159 cc  
 35 10 . . . . . 124 k  
 11 . . . . . 68 k  
 15 . . . . . 152 k  
 36 2 . . . . . 65 e  
 7 . . . . . 111 b N.  
 18 . . . . . 145 u  
 32 . . . . . 122 o  
 36 . . . . . 143 d  
 37 5 . . . . . 118 p  
 6 . . . . . 75 hh  
 12 . . . . . 90 f  
 14 . . . . . 117 w  
 16 . . . . . 124 e  
 18 . . . . . 150 b  
 24 . . . . . 59 i  
 38 2 . . . . . 136 c  
 3 . . . . . 126 p  
 5 . . . . . 159 dd  
 6 . . . . . 137 b  
 7 . . . . . 67 n, 128 v  
 12 . . . . . 119 w N.  
 13 . . . . . 5 n, 114 r  
 14 . . . . . 118 w, 134 r  
 16 . . . . . 150 h  
 18 . . . . . 122 q, 150 b  
 19 . . . . . 155 k  
 21 . . . . . 107 c, 146 a  
 24 . . . . . 165 a  
 26 . . . . . 152 u, 155 e  
 27 . . . . . 133 l  
 28 . . . . . 150 g  
 30 . . . . . 118 w  
 32 . . . . . 145 m  
 39 1 . . . . . 64 d  
 2 . . . . . 91 f, 150 b  
 3 . . . . . 135 o  
 9 . . . . . 22 s  
 13 . . . . . 150 f

## Job

39	15	. . . . .	135 p
	17	. . . . .	119 m
	24	. . . . .	75 oo
	26	. . . . .	53 n
	30	. . . . .	55 f
40	2	. . . . .	113 ee, 113 gg
	5	. . . . .	134 r, 134 s
	8	. . . . .	150 g
	19	. . . . .	116 g N., 127 l
	22	. . . . .	67 n
	23	. . . . .	159 w
	24	. . . . .	66 f
	25	. . . . .	150 a N <sup>1</sup>
	30	. . . . .	150 b
	32	. . . . .	69 v
41	1	. . . . .	93 ss, 150 a N <sup>1</sup>
	2	. . . . .	72 cc
	4	. . . . .	103 g, 124 e
	7	. . . . .	118 r
	12	. . . . .	154 a N.
	15	. . . . .	156 g
	17	. . . . .	76 b
	20	. . . . .	128 v
	22	. . . . .	133 h
	25	. . . . .	24 b, 75 v, 126 b
	26	. . . . .	16 f, 117 a N <sup>4</sup>
42	2	. . . . .	44 i
	3	. . . . .	133 d, 156 f
	5	. . . . .	75 mm
	7	. . . . .	164 d
	8	. . . . .	163 d
	10	. . . . .	91 k
	13	. . . . .	97 c
	15	. . . . .	135 o, 145 o
	16	. . . . .	75 t

## Canticle

1	1	. . . . .	133 i
	6	. . . . .	60 a, 75 x
	7	. . . . .	36, 75 v
	8	. . . . .	20 h
	10	. . . . .	75 x, 141 c
	15	. . . . .	141 d
2	7	. . . . .	144 a
	12	. . . . .	85 u N.
	13	. . . . .	141 d
	14	. . . . .	69 v, 93 ss
	17	. . . . .	119 s
3	7	. . . . .	131 n
	8	. . . . .	50 f
	11	. . . . .	75 n
5	5	. . . . .	135 b
	8	. . . . .	137 b N.
	9	. . . . .	59 h
	16	. . . . .	85 g N., 141 c
6	8	. . . . .	32 n
	11	. . . . .	67 dd
7	1	. . . . .	137 b N.
	2	. . . . .	93 x

## Canticle

7	10	. . . . .	126 x, 133 h
8	2	. . . . .	87 f, 131 c N.
	4	. . . . .	137 b N.
	5	. . . . .	59 g N.
	6	. . . . .	93 m
	10	. . . . .	74 i
	14	. . . . .	119 s

## Ruth

1	1	. . . . .	49 b N.
	8	. . . . .	135 o, 144 a
	9	. . . . .	46 f, 74 h, 74 k,
		. . . . .	110 i
	12	. . . . .	106 p, 107 x
	13	. . . . .	51 m, 103 f N.,
		. . . . .	152 g
	14	. . . . .	76 b
	16	. . . . .	138 e
	19	. . . . .	91 f
	20	. . . . .	46 f, 80 h
	21	. . . . .	118 n
	22	. . . . .	32 n, 138 k
2	2	. . . . .	10 h, 64 i
	3	. . . . .	129 d
	6	. . . . .	138 k
	8	. . . . .	47 g, 47 o
	9	. . . . .	75 qq, 112 kk
	14	. . . . .	53 n, 66 c, 69 v,
		. . . . .	103 g
	15	. . . . .	35 k
	16	. . . . .	67 o
	20	. . . . .	121 f
	21	. . . . .	47 o, 122 g
3	2	. . . . .	91 f, 141 c
	3	. . . . .	44 h, 104 g
	4	. . . . .	47 o, 109 k, 112 s
	6	. . . . .	59 g
	12	. . . . .	163 d
	14	. . . . .	107 c
	15	. . . . .	64 c, 69 o, 134 n
	18	. . . . .	163 c and N.
4	1	. . . . .	69 p, 72 t
	3	. . . . .	129 h, 138 k
	4	. . . . .	29 i N., 152 o
	7	. . . . .	112 h
	15	. . . . .	59 g

## Lamentations

1	1	. . . . .	5 h, 90 l
	4	. . . . .	69 l, 87 e
	8	. . . . .	67 y, 72 es, 117 p
	9	. . . . .	124 f
	10	. . . . .	120 c, 155 f
	14	. . . . .	130 d, 155 n
	16	. . . . .	75 v, 117 z
	19	. . . . .	107 q, 165 a
2	7	. . . . .	64 e
	11	. . . . .	51 l
	16	. . . . .	15 c

## Lamentations

2	18	. . . . .	80 f
3	1	. . . . .	144 p
	5	. . . . .	53 n
	12	. . . . .	80 h
	14	. . . . .	87 f
	22	. . . . .	20 o
	26	. . . . .	100 g N., 107 g
	33	. . . . .	69 u
	48	. . . . .	29 q, 69 p, 117 z
	50	. . . . .	109 k
	53	. . . . .	69 u
4	1	. . . . .	54 k, 75 rr
	2	. . . . .	75 rr
	5	. . . . .	117 n
	14	. . . . .	51 h, 120 g
	17	. . . . .	100 o
	21	. . . . .	90 n
5	5	. . . . .	72 ee N., 121 a
	10	. . . . .	145 u

## Ecclesiastes

1	1	. . . . .	122 r
	2	. . . . .	133 i
	4	. . . . .	116 l
	6	. . . . .	113 u
	9	. . . . .	137 c
	13	. . . . .	112 pp N.
	16	. . . . .	135 b
	17	. . . . .	86 l
2	1	. . . . .	135 b
	5	. . . . .	112 pp N.
	7	. . . . .	145 u
	8	. . . . .	122 v
	13	. . . . .	24 e, 133 b
	15	. . . . .	93 rr, 135 e
	19	. . . . .	150 g
	20	. . . . .	64 e
	21	. . . . .	131 m
	22	. . . . .	36
	26	. . . . .	75 oo
3	2	. . . . .	2 s
	4	. . . . .	114 b
	11	. . . . .	152 y
	14	. . . . .	165 b
	15	. . . . .	114 i
	18	. . . . .	36, 67 p
	19	. . . . .	93 rr
	21	. . . . .	100 m, 150 i N.
	22	. . . . .	102 k
4	2	. . . . .	113 gg
	3	. . . . .	117 l
	10	. . . . .	124 o, 131 n
	14	. . . . .	35 d
	17	. . . . .	133 e
5	5	. . . . .	53 q
	6	. . . . .	143 d
	7	. . . . .	124 h
	8	. . . . .	32 l

**Ecclesiastes**

5 11 . . . . . 69 *n*  
 14 . . . . . 109 *i*  
 15 . . . . . 161 *b*  
 16 . . . . . 147 *e*  
 18 . 112 *pp N.*, 141 *h*  
 7 7 . . . . . 117 *c*  
 16 . 54 *c*, 54 *k*, 131 *q*  
 24 . . . . . 133 *k*  
 26 . . . . . 75 *oo*  
 27 . . . . . 122 *r*  
 8 1 . . . . . 35 *n*, 75 *rr*  
 10 54 *g*, 119 *ii*, 128 *w N.*  
 9 1 . . . . . 93 *ww*  
 4 . . . . . 143 *e*  
 12 . . . . . 52 *s*  
 14 . . . 112 *pp N.*  
 10 5 . . . 75 *qq*, 155 *h*  
 15 . . . . . 145 *m*  
 17 . . . . . 91 *l*  
 18 . . . . . 88 *b*  
 20 . . . . . 53 *n*  
 11 2 . . . . . 134 *s*  
 3 . . . . . 23 *i*, 75 *s*  
 12 1 . . . . . 124 *k*  
 4 . . . . . 72 *t*, 128 *v*  
 5 . . . . . 73 *g*  
 6 . . . . . 67 *q*, 67 *t*  
 7 . . . . . 109 *k*  
 9 . . . . . 145 *h*

**Esther**

1 4 . . . . . 93 *ww*  
 5 . . . . . 74 *h*  
 8 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 17 . . . . . 93 *m*  
 2 9 . . . . . 75 *v*  
 11 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 3 4 . . . . . 157 *c*  
 8 . . . . . 100 *o N.*  
 4 2 . . . . . 114 *l*  
 8 . . . . . 93 *ww*  
 6 13 . . . . . 20 *g*  
 7 2 . . . . . 109 *f*  
 5 . . . . . 74 *g*, 137 *a*  
 8 . . . . . 114 *i*  
 8 1 . . . . . 137 *c*  
 8 . . . . . 63 *c*  
 9 1 . . . . . 135 *a N.*  
 6 . . . . . 113 *z*  
 7 . . . . . 2 *s*  
 23 . 124 *e*, 145 *o N.*

**Daniel**

1 4 . . . 23 *c*, 128 *a N.*  
 5 . . . . . 135 *o*  
 10 . . . . . 93 *ss*  
 12 . . . . . 75 *cc*  
 13 . . . . . 75 *hh*

**Daniel**

1 15 . . . . . 93 *ss*  
 2 1 . . . . . 124 *o*  
 4 . . . . . 1 *c*  
 3 15 . . . . . 167 *a*  
 8 3 . . . . . 93 *n*  
 9 . . . . . 135 *o*  
 11 . . . . . 72 *ee*  
 13 125 *b*, 126 *z*, 127 *f*  
 22 47 *k*, 87 *i*, 95 *u*,  
 116 *w*  
 9 5 . . . . . 91 *n*  
 13 . . . . . 117 *m*  
 19 . . . . . 48 *i*  
 11 6 116 *f*, 127 *i*, 139 *h*  
 11 . . . . . 131 *n*  
 20 . . . . . 93 *dd*  
 23 . . . . . 53 *l*, 54 *k*  
 35 . . . . . 53 *q*  
 12 2 . . . . . 102 *b*, 124 *e*  
 7 . . . . . 93 *aa N.*  
 11 . . . . . 134 *g*  
 13 . . . . . 87 *e*

**Ezra**

2 62 . . . . . 131 *r*  
 69 . . . . . 97 *g*  
 3 3 . . . . . 124 *q*, 147 *a*  
 6 . . . . . 134 *p*  
 12 . . . . . 126 *aa*  
 4 7 . . . . . 55 *h*  
 8 . . . . . 1 *c*  
 6 21 . . . . . 8 *k*  
 7 12 . . . . . 1 *c*  
 28 . . . . . 49 *e*  
 8 1 . . . . . 64 *i*  
 18 . . . . . 14 *d*  
 23 . . . . . 51 *n*  
 25 . . . . . 93 *oo*, 138 *i*  
 29 . . . . . 127 *g*  
 30 . . . . . 92 *g*  
 36 . . . . . 112 *rr*  
 9 6 . . . . . 22 *s*  
 10 13 . . . . . 141 *d*  
 14 . . . . . 127 *i*, 138 *i*  
 16 . . . . . 45 *g*  
 17 . . . . . 127 *c N.*

**Nehemiah**

2 3 . . . . . 67 *dd*  
 7 . . . . . 68 *g*  
 12 . . . . . 131 *e*, 137 *c*  
 13 . . . . . 5 *n*  
 3 8 . . . . . 124 *o*, 128 *v*  
 13 . . . . . 35 *d*  
 31 . . . . . 128 *v*  
 4 3 . . . . . 49 *e N.*, 53 *n*  
 4 . . . . . 119 *m*  
 7 . . . . . 20 *h*

**Nehemiah**

4 9 . . . . . 49 *e N.*, 67 *x*  
 12 . . . . . 116 *k N.*  
 17 . . . . . 152 *n*  
 5 14 . . . . . 91 *e*  
 6 6 . . . . . 90 *k*  
 8 . . . . . 23 *c*, 74 *i*  
 10 . . . . . 144 *i*  
 11 . . . . . 100 *m*  
 7 2 . . . . . 118 *x*  
 64 . . . . . 64 *i*  
 66 . . . . . 23 *i*  
 8 2 . . . . . 74 *l*  
 8 . . . . . 2 *t*  
 10 . 85 *g N.*, 128 *p*,  
 152 *v*, 155 *n*  
 11 . . . . . 105 *a*  
 9 13 . . . . . 132 *d*  
 35 . . . . . 126 *x*  
 10 37 . . . . . 123 *r N.*  
 39 . . . . . 53 *k*  
 11 17 . . . . . 53 *q*  
 12 44 . . . . . 95 *n*  
 47 . . . . . 95 *n*  
 13 9 . . . . . 165 *a*  
 13 . . . . . 53 *g*, 53 *n*  
 16 . . . . . 9 *b*  
 21 . . . . . 73 *f*  
 24 . . . . . 2 *a*, 2 *w*

**1 Chronicles**

2 13 . . . . . 47 *b*  
 30 . . . . . 152 *u*  
 48 . . . . . 145 *u*  
 3 5 . . . . . 69 *l*  
 4 10 . . . . . 61 *a*, 167 *a*  
 42 . . . . . 131 *n*  
 5 1 . . . . . 114 *k*  
 2 . . . . . 141 *a*  
 20 . . . . . 63 *c*  
 6 63 . . . . . 90 *f*  
 7 5 . . . . . 124 *q*  
 8 8 . . . . . 52 *o*  
 38 . . . . . 29 *q*  
 9 13 . . . . . 128 *c*  
 22 . 135 *a N.*<sup>1</sup>, 155 *d*  
 25 . . . . . 134 *m*  
 27 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 33 . . . . . 147 *a*  
 10 2 . . . . . 53 *r*  
 13 . . . . . 114 *k*  
 11 6 . . . . . 116 *w*  
 39 . . . . . 23 *f*  
 12 2 . . . . . 24 *f N.*, 70 *b*  
 8 . . . . . 114 *b*  
 17 . . . . . 61 *c*  
 23 . . . . . 155 *d*  
 33 . . . . . 123 *f*  
 38 . . . . . 23 *f*

## 1 Chronicles

15	12 . . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
	19 . . . . .	131 <i>d</i>
	24 . . . . .	53 <i>o</i> , 55 <i>e</i>
	26 . . . . .	63 <i>i</i>
	27 . . . . .	56, 127 <i>g</i>
16	8 . . . . .	2 <i>s</i>
19	8 . . . . .	131 <i>b</i>
20	8 . . . . .	69 <i>t</i>
21	1 . . . . .	125 <i>f</i>
	17 . . . . .	141 <i>h</i> <i>N</i> .
22	7 . . . . .	143 <i>a</i> <i>N</i> .
23	6 . . . . .	63 <i>n</i>
	26 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i>
24	3 . . . . .	63 <i>n</i>
26	28 . . . . .	138 <i>i</i>
27	12 . . . . .	127 <i>d</i>
28	2 . . . . .	143 <i>a</i> <i>N</i> .
	11 . . . . .	96
	15, 18 . . . . .	131 <i>d</i>
29	1 . . . . .	155 <i>d</i>
	3 . . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
	8 . . . . .	138 <i>i</i>
	33 . . . . .	65 <i>f</i>

## 2 Chronicles

1	4 . . . . .	138 <i>i</i> , 155 <i>n</i>
2	12 . . . . .	117 <i>n</i>

## 2 Chronicles

3	17 . . . . .	126 <i>k</i>
4	3 . . . . .	123 <i>a</i> <i>N</i> .
	13 . . . . .	131 <i>d</i>
5	11 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i>
8	18 . . . . .	93 <i>r</i>
11	22 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
15	3 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
	8 . . . . .	127 <i>f</i>
16	4 . . . . .	125 <i>h</i>
	9 . . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
	10 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
	12 . . . . .	75 <i>rr</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
	14 . . . . .	124 <i>c</i>
17	11 . . . . .	93 <i>x</i>
18	3 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
	23 . . . . .	155 <i>d</i>
	26 . . . . .	131 <i>c</i>
19	2 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i>
	6 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
20	1 . . . . .	102 <i>b</i>
	19 . . . . .	128 <i>v</i>
	22 . . . . .	155 <i>l</i>
	34 . . . . .	63 <i>p</i>
	35 . . . . .	54 <i>a</i> <i>N</i> .
21	4 . . . . .	119 <i>w</i> <i>N</i> .
	17 . . . . .	133 <i>g</i>
22	5 . . . . .	35 <i>d</i>
23	1 . . . . .	117 <i>n</i>
25	17 . . . . .	156 <i>e</i> <i>N</i> .

## 2 Chronicles

26	5 . . . . .	114 <i>c</i>
	10 . . . . .	22 <i>s</i>
	15 75 <i>rr</i> , 114 <i>n</i> , 126 <i>x</i>	
	18 . . . . .	114 <i>l</i>
28	10 . . . . .	142 <i>f</i> <i>N</i> .
	21 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
	23 . . . . .	53 <i>o</i>
29	6 . . . . .	67 <i>y</i>
	10 . . . . .	165 <i>a</i>
	17 . . . . .	134 <i>p</i>
	18 . . . . .	117 <i>n</i>
	27 . . . . .	155 <i>l</i>
30	9 . . . . .	114 <i>p</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
	17 . . . . .	155 <i>d</i>
	18 . . . . .	130 <i>d</i> <i>N</i> <sup>1</sup>
	19 . . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
31	7 69 <i>n</i> , 71, 142 <i>f</i> <i>N</i> <sup>1</sup>	
	10 . . . . .	121 <i>d</i> <i>N</i> <sup>1</sup>
	17 . . . . .	117 <i>m</i>
32	9 . . . . .	101 <i>a</i>
	13 . . . . .	8 <i>k</i>
	30 . . . . .	69 <i>u</i>
34	10 . . . . .	45 <i>g</i>
	11 . . . . .	16 <i>f</i>
	12 . . . . .	10 <i>h</i>
35	4 . . . . .	93 <i>wo</i>
	21 109 <i>g</i> , 135 <i>g</i> , 147 <i>a</i>	
	23 . . . . .	69 <i>r</i>
36	23 . . . . .	137 <i>c</i>



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